

Urban Planning – Handling an increasingly diversified and multicultural Copenhagen

Do urban planners have to make room for diversity?



Master Thesis

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05. May 2015



Context table

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The demographic shift	3
1.3	Inter-ethnic tension in Denmark	4
1.3.1	<i>Short summary</i>	7
1.4	The role of urban planners in a multicultural context	8
1.4.1	<i>Understanding the city</i>	8
1.4.2	<i>The planners role</i>	9
1.4.3	<i>From rational planning to communicative planning</i>	10
1.4.4	<i>Then what is relevant to study?</i>	11
1.5	Main problem	11
1.5.1	<i>Focus areas</i>	11
1.5.2	<i>Keywords</i>	12
2	Methodological approach	13
2.1	Introduction	13
2.2	Circular process	16
2.3	Critical case study	16
2.3.1	<i>What is a case study</i>	17
2.4	Post positivistic approach	22
2.5	Interview guide	23
2.6	Generalizability	24
2.7	Quality of the data	25
3	Understanding diversity and multiculturalism	27
3.1	Communities	27
3.2	Competing interest	28
3.3	Multiculturalism	30



3.3.1	<i>Understanding migration</i>	31
3.3.2	<i>Social Movements</i>	32
3.3.3	<i>The right to difference</i>	32
3.3.4	<i>The right to the city</i>	33
3.4	Trying to define multiculturalism	33
3.5	Race and ethnicity	35
3.6	Planning with a multicultural perspective	35
4	Understanding planning	38
4.1	Planning in the 21 st century	38
4.2	The challenge of investigating an urban planner	38
4.2.1	<i>The planning process</i>	42
4.2.2	<i>Planning?</i>	42
4.2.3	<i>Doctrine model</i>	43
4.2.4	<i>Synoptic planning model</i>	43
4.2.5	<i>Incremental planning</i>	45
4.2.6	<i>Mixed-scan</i>	46
4.2.7	<i>Participation oriented planning models</i>	47
4.3	Different planning roles	51
4.4	Sehesteds four planner types	52
4.4.1	<i>The planner as a professional development consultant</i>	53
4.4.2	<i>The planner as a manager</i>	53
4.4.3	<i>The marked planner</i>	53
4.4.4	<i>The process planner</i>	54
4.4.5	<i>Short summary</i>	54
4.5	Rationales in planning	55
4.6	Power, democracy and network planning	56
4.7	Problems with network planning	59



5	Analysis	60
5.1	The planning process	61
5.1.1	<i>Initiating the planning process</i>	63
5.1.2	<i>How are the plans developed</i>	64
5.1.3	<i>Who are included in the planning process</i>	65
5.1.4	<i>How are the plans adapted</i>	66
5.1.5	<i>Part conclusion</i>	67
5.2	The urban planners role	69
5.2.1	<i>Planner A – Process planner</i>	69
5.2.2	<i>Planner B - Manager</i>	72
5.2.3	<i>Planner C - Manager</i>	74
5.2.4	<i>Planner D - Manager</i>	75
5.2.5	<i>Planner E – Professional development Planner</i>	77
5.2.6	<i>Part conclusion</i>	79
5.3	Discussion	80
5.3.1	<i>Sehesteds four planners in a multicultural context</i>	80
5.3.2	<i>The need for a fifth planner type</i>	82
6	Recommendations	83
6.1.1	<i>Policy</i>	83
6.1.2	<i>Management support</i>	84
6.1.3	<i>Insight into cultural differences</i>	84
6.1.4	<i>Official documents</i>	85
6.1.5	<i>Reflecting over planning</i>	85
7	Conclusion	87
7.1	Is the future of planning?	88
8	Postscript	89



9 Bibliography



1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Today, cities and nations around the world struggle with an increased cultural and ethnic diversity. Inter- and intra-national migration and market globalization, at a speed and volume which has never been seen before result in a changing dynamics of the social, political, and economic structures in urban societies. The increasing diversity within cities challenges the hierarchies of power, disrupts the status quo and poses questions to ideological constructions of identity and citizenship. It forces the redefinition of the concepts of belonging, inclusion and citizenship. Urban planners today, as well as politicians, government officials, and everyday citizens, must find ways to accommodate changing demographics and corresponding social, political and economic conditions both spatially and systemically. This has to be done in order to create practices and policies that work towards ensuring justice and equality in society.

Why is it even relevant to look at whether or not urban planners take into account that the overall population – especially in major cities - is becoming more diversified and multicultural? The question is whether immigrants in a larger degree than seen before create a situation of inter-ethnic tension within psychical urban planning. Their wish to (co)-exist in a different built environment than what is normally seen in Denmark could potentially create new and previously unseen tension within Danish society. The last decade has spurred a debate about how much - especially Muslim - immigrants should be allowed to express their cultural and religious symbols in the Danish society. Their wish to build more distinct mosques is a clear example of buildings, which has not before been seen within the built environment in Copenhagen before. As different culturally defined buildings become more and more numerous a competition between the different expressions begin emerge. Urban planners are faced with having to plan for a more diversified and multicultural population and to mediate possible conflicts while ensuring all groups have a feeling that their needs and preferences are being accommodated. An ethnically diverse population increases the need for a more case to case approach where innovative and creative planning is in focus.

This investigation aims at discussing and analysing how urban planning takes place in Copenhagen, as can be seen on figure 1. Were the cases of Gentofte, Brøndby, Frederiksberg and Copenhagen are used as the basis of an analysis. The purpose is to research what role – if any – urban planners have in a context where they have to plan for a more diversified population due to a continued influx of immigrants into Copenhagen. Does this change anything in regards of doing urban planning? Are diversity and multiculturalism concepts that urban planner should take into account when they plan?

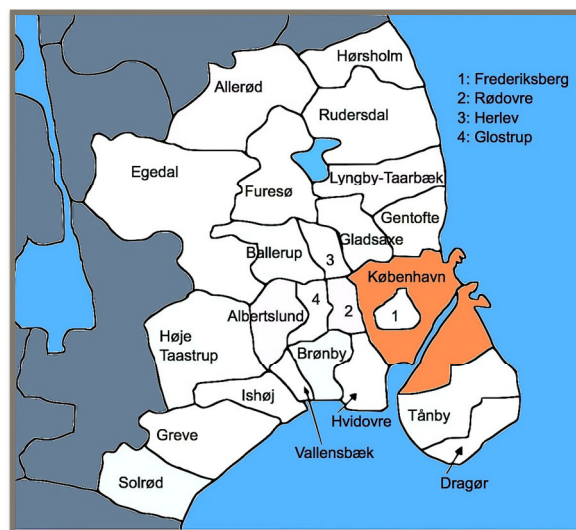


Figure 1. Copenhagen Metropolitan Area

This investigation seeks to clarify what urban planning can do in regards to handling diversity and secondly what increased diversity and multiculturalism means for a planner. A premise of this research is that ethnic groups compete to express their need within the built landscape. This is discussed by using theories such as ‘multicultural planning’, ‘planning theory’ and ‘diversity theories’. The intention is to examine what recommendations and experiences could be relevant in regards to how urban planners handle multiculturalism and diversity.

Multicultural planning in itself is not a new concept within urban planning. Yet in Denmark it does not seem to have played any obvious role in how urban planning is approached in Copenhagen. But understanding where immigrants fit into the urban space is becoming more important in planning the future of Copenhagen. Looking into whether or not there are any suggestions to how all groups regardless of ethnicity, religion and social-economic standing can be taken into account when doing urban planning. The end goal is to discuss whether or not urban planners play a role or should play a role in handling a more complex, multicultural and diversified population.

1.2 The demographic shift

A more diversified society seem to be a demographic fact that cannot be denied in the case of Copenhagen - although it is not a subject that is often talked about in Denmark. Just by looking at the statistical data in figure 2 it becomes clear that it is necessary to insure some kind of philosophy that encourages ethnic tolerance and understanding.

Population in 2014 sorted by ancestry and municipality						
	2014					Increase in percentage between 08 to 14
	Total population	Danish ancestry	Immigrants	Descendants	Procent of population being immigrant/descendant	
København	570.967	440.886	98.121	31.960	22,8	2,1
Frederiksberg	102.700	84.770	14.534	3.396	17,5	1,9
Dragør	13.964	12.884	918	162	7,7	1,3
Tårnby	42.086	37.265	3.654	1.167	11,5	2,0
Albertslund	27.754	20.140	4.800	2.814	27,4	2,1
Ballerup	48.496	41.554	4.701	2.241	14,3	2,6
Brøndby	34.687	24.621	6.305	3.761	29,0	5,0
Gentofte	74.415	63.990	9.110	1.316	14,0	3,1
Gladsaxe	66.675	55.247	8.284	3.145	17,1	4,2
Glostrup	22.109	18.698	2.339	1.072	15,4	3,6
Herlev	27.779	23.151	3.036	1.593	16,7	2,5
Hvidovre	51.935	43.075	6.018	2.842	17,1	3,3
Høje-Taastrup	48.830	37.152	7.531	4.148	23,9	4,6
Ishøj	21.611	13.886	4.618	3.107	35,7	4,8
Lyngby-Taarbæk	54.346	47.598	5.642	1.107	12,4	1,8
Rødovre	37.546	31.325	4.256	1.966	16,6	3,1
Vallensbæk	15.099	12.215	1.857	1.028	19,1	5,1
Allerød	24.188	22.489	1.339	360	7,0	0,8
Egedal	42.254	39.250	2.282	722	7,1	1,4
Furesø	38.541	33.865	3.438	1.239	12,1	1,1
Hørsholm	24.753	22.262	2.111	381	10,1	1,6
Greve	48.252	42.256	4.268	1.728	12,4	1,9
Solrød	21.374	19.889	1.200	285	6,9	1,4

Figure 2: Population in Copenhagen sorted by ancestry. Source: www.dst.dk

A part of this responsibility falls to urban planners and policymakers, who have to ensure that there is room for multiculturalism in their day to day work. An assumption made in this investigation is that inter-ethnic tension actually already to some degree exists in Copenhagen, a point that I will try to explain and substantiate in more detail in the next section.

Supplementing the above figure, a population projection is shown in figure 3, which illustrates that the current status of the ethnical composition will become even more diversified. Figure 4 shows that immigrants and descendants will only increase their percentage of the total population in the

Projections of population movement in the country after country of origin, ancestry and time								
	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050
Western countries								
Immigrants	208.610	237.742	255.668	269.465	280.732	290.225	298.661	306.328
Descendents	23.235	31.008	41.085	51.257	61.838	73.554	86.741	101.028
Procent of population	4,6	5,4	5,9	6,3	6,7	7,1	7,5	8,0
Non-western countries								
Immigrants	282.803	309.721	332.112	352.339	370.072	385.173	397.467	406.756
Descendents	132.241	154.047	176.130	197.176	217.465	237.771	258.074	278.215
Procent of population	8,3	9,3	10,0	10,8	11,5	12,1	12,8	13,4
Denmark								
Persons of danish origin	5.001.668	5.013.630	5.060.333	5.104.529	5.129.711	5.135.475	5.127.013	5.120.204
Procent of the population either being a immigrant or decscendent	12,9	14,6	15,9	17,0	18,1	19,2	20,3	21,3

Figure 3: Projections of populations - sorted by ancestry. Source: www.dst.dk

future. And since immigrants have a tendency to seek towards the larger city it we can only expect the number to be even larger when only looking a city scale.

Unwittingly immigrants and descendants begin to affect and change both the social fabric of Danish society and the built environment. Not all changes might be ones that ethnic Danes appreciate, which could potentially lead to tensions or conflict. The risk of conflict is the main reason this thesis becomes significant in its aim at understanding, if urban planners can help handle the increased diversity and multiculturalism and which lessons from various planning theories concerning diversity and multiculturalism that urban planners could benefit from.

1.3 Inter-ethnic tension in Denmark

In order concretize why urban planning is not only a relevant factor but an important one, we have to understand the dynamic of society. The built environment is where differences, through the use of both public and private space are expressed. May it be the greengrocers, kiosks or new religious buildings, the city changes as its inhabitants do. Urban planners play a unique role in handling the process of adapting the city so as to accommodate newcomers and their need and wish to express themselves in built environment.

First I will start with substantiating the claim that inter-ethnic tensions already exist in Denmark by delving into different newspaper articles. The articles I have chosen to focus on are ones where there is a negative attitude towards immigrants influence on the expression of the city or



neighbourhood. That being said there are also articles with a more neutral or positive attitude towards immigrants changing the built environment, it has simply been a choice just to focus on the negative ones. The focus of this investigation is how urban planners handle the changing demographic profile, with its potential for more conflict within citizens' interests. With a focus on what guides planners in their work - be it policy, professional pride or personal conviction.

One of the first articles I have chosen to draw attention to is one where the mayor of culture and leisure¹ in Copenhagen municipality expresses his discontent with Nørrebro's new multicultural marked square.

*"Nørrebro has gone through big changes over the last years and now we are taking one of the last places with a Danish expression... letting it be displaced by putting up stalls inspired by foreign food and expressions"*²

And:

*"...he wishes that you at any given time - regardless if you are taking a stroll in Nørrebro, Amager or Brønshøj should be able to see that you are in Denmark"*³

This mayor is from the 'Danish People Party'⁴, which in itself makes this politician rather biased on elements concerning multiculturalism as their party-line is that immigrants should assimilate not integrate into the Danish society. Which is visible in a later statement: "... he argues that Nørrebro's immigrants should forget their own cultures and not open stores after store with groceries from their home countries"⁵. But in return we can view him as him a representative of those who oppose a more multicultural expression within the built environment. An important element here is to

¹ Kultur- og Fritidsborgmester

² Kjær, «DF-borgmester kritiserer nyt multikulturelt marked på Nørrebro». "Nørrebro har været under stor forandring i mange år, og nu tager man et af de sidste områder med et dansk udtryk... og vil lade det fortrænge ved at sætte udenlandsk-inspirerede boder op."

³ Ibid. "...han ønsker, at man til hver en tid » « uanset om man slentrer en tur på Nørrebro, Amager eller Brønshøj skal kunne se, at man befinder sig i Danmark."

⁴ Dansk Folkeparti

⁵ Kjær, «DF-borgmester kritiserer nyt multikulturelt marked på Nørrebro». "...han argumenterer for, at Nørrebro's indvandrere bør glemme deres egne kulturer og ikke åbne butikker med varer fra deres hjemlande på strøben"

understand that the case he refers to is one where the neighbourhood development plan has been facilitated by municipal planners. The above quotes are to exemplify the fact that there is actually a potential for conflict in how the urban environment evolves and that the urban planner perhaps more than have to plan in an environment where also cultural needs change.

Another example is the debate that arose around the now newly built mosque in Nørrebro. Although the Røvsinggade mosque not the first mosque in Denmark it is one of the most known. Partly due to the financing where the state of Qatar donated 150 million but also because it is one of the most prominent mosques compared to other mosques in Denmark. A writer and social commenter Niels Jesper states in his newspaper article that: *“At the same time the right-wing opposed to Islam have found - in the mosques domes and towers - a clear symbol of the insidiously islamization of Denmark, which is planned and financed by the fundamentalist dictatorship in Qatar... the Røvsinggade-mosque becomes the very symbol of the conflict between the West and the Muslim world.”*⁶

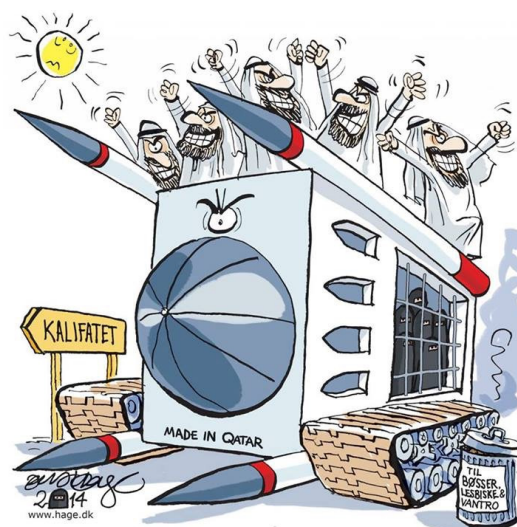


Figure 4: Hage, Berlingske⁷

Here again we see that the changing expression of the urban environment becomes a symbol of the changing demographic profile of Danish society (figure 4). Another example is the satirical drawing of the Røvsinggade mosque published in Berlingske Newspaper. When planning for and allowing new buildings within the urban setting it has to be considered whether or not the building has a risk becoming a symbol that might lead to tension or conflict between different ethnic groups. Urban planners are now faced with having to adapt to a new reality. One where they have to, have the

⁶ Jespersen, «Stormoskeen risikerer at styrke de konservative kræfter». ⁶ “Samtidig har højrefløjens islammodstandere i moskeens kupler og tårne fundet et tydeligt symbol på den snigende islamisering af Danmark, der er planlagt og finansieret af det fundamentalistiske diktatur i Qatar. ”... Røvsinggade-moskeen selve symbolet på konflikten mellem vesten og den muslimske verden.”

⁷ Hage, TILLYKKE!. I dag bliver den nye stormoské i København indviet.



necessary insight, communicative and mediating skills that enable them ensure that the city can evolve and include all its citizens with the least amount of conflict.

The last case I want to draw attention to was one that got a lot of media attention a couple of years ago. In order to complete understand the quotes and the case I will try to give a short resume the proceedings. It takes places in a public housing area, where a board of representatives had been elected. Since the board are elected by, and within the local residents they were of mainly of Muslim conviction. This in itself should not lead to any conflict within the neighbourhood, since the neighbourhood was constituted by a wide variety of cultural and ethnical backgrounds – including Danish. But as it can be seen in the quote below there were conflict of interests.

“The relationship between Muslims and the other inhabitants in this small neighbourhood have been inflamed... there has through the years been different conflicts... among other things because the previous board of representatives did not want to spend any money on buying a Christmas tree.”⁸

A simple matter of buying a Christmas tree suddenly became a huge issue ‘the drop that spilled the cup’ so to speak. Instead of being able to solve their problems themselves the housing agency had to get involved ending with them disbanding the board of representatives. Since the board did not manage to represent the needs and wants of all inhabitants in the public housing area. This is a clear example were the responsible caseworker had intervene in order to mediate between the different groups within the neighbourhood.

1.3.1 Short summary

I do not find it necessary to further substantiate my claim with more newspaper articles. The point of the above section was only to shortly illustrate that we already see conflict or tension when new ethnic groups are allowed express themselves in the built environment. I will attach a list in the appendix of the acquired articles, wherefrom I have chosen a couple of quotes. The above articles

⁸ Hansen, «Bestyrelsen i boligområde blev afsat: Nu ser vi fremad». “Forholdet mellem muslimer og de øvrige beboere i det lille boligkvarter har været betændt... Der har gennem årene været flere konflikter... blandt andet fordi den daværende bestyrelse ikke ønskede at bruge penge på et juletræ.”

substantiate the fact that cultural and ethnical tension and conflict are already happening in Denmark. Coupled with the statistical data that proves that immigrants are only going to expand their percentage of the Danish total population multiculturalism is an issue that is relevant to study in a Danish context. What I wanted to show was that you have to recognise the potential for tension and conflict as an urban planner and act accordingly to the new reality.

1.4 The role of urban planners in a multicultural context

In order to understand how multiculturalism translates to the local level, it is important to first grasp what defines a city and its position in society. The increase of international migration and the emerging politics of differences make cities into places where struggle and contestation takes place. As a rule the right to difference and participation is inherent to living in the city. Today's cities are sites where the multiple expressions of differences and the facilitation of participation of diverse and culturally different citizens take place.

1.4.1 Understanding the city

We have a tendency to take for given the fact that our institutions presides over all citizens, that it tries to make decisions that are in the best interest of all, that it recognizes and represents all equally with respect. That we have a government that distributes funding and resources, that prioritizes and sets a national agenda, thereby constructing a social and physical environment where public debate on economic, social and psychical problems can take place. The problem is what happens if these institutions - be it on the national, regional or local level – are fixed in a single cultural ideology. What happens if the system is set up in a way that favours some while systematically suppresses the need and rights of others? What if the system is so bound by a history that has made it culturally stuck in an ethnocentric thinking not taking into account that the surrounding society has changed? To what degree are the people who constitute an institution coloured by their own conception and beliefs of society? How well can we expect these civil servants to represent citizens if they do not have insight into a more complex and diversified society structure with multiple cultural perceptions within a single society? These factors constitute a real risk that might lead to social exclusion, racial discrimination, cultural oppression and injustice of vulnerable groups. It is these differences that the multicultural city brings into the forefront. These are the questions that scholars have begun to make concerning urban planners, policies and planning processes. If the city is the space where ethnic competition and urban struggle take place then certainly urban planning and the

management professions constitutes the represents of institutions and are the ones in the best position to address the problems of accommodating diversity and multiculturalism with the cities. As Leonie Sandercock also states "*cities are where we need to look to see the workings and failings of multiculturalism, the successes or otherwise of a multicultural society*"⁹. Arguing that as the city becomes more multicultural the structures of social life and urban space are pushed towards ever changing definition of the sense of belonging. The struggle and negotiation between 'old' and 'new' citizens constantly changing the social and urban structures or as Sandercock states "*pluri-ethnic, multicultural city is continually creating new sites of struggle which are part of the landscape of postmodernity - a landscape of difference*"¹⁰. This is further illustrated by Scott Bollens who writes "*Cities are focal points of urban and regional economies dependent on multi-ethnic contacts, social and cultural centres and platforms for political expression, and potential centres of grievance and mobilization*"¹¹. In short the city is where ethnic conflict plays out and where the structures are challenged by different ethnic groups who all want a part of the power¹². It is the government who creates the social and political environment whilst it is the municipalities, which has the role of facilitating the interaction with the labour market, institutions, schools and so on.

1.4.2 The planners role

According to Sandercock the different socio-cultural forces have led to today's planners having to face a planning context made up by multicultural cities, providing new challenges which requires a customized planning practice¹³. This change in planning practices is also identified by Healey who sees the urban planner's role as "*managing our coexistence in shared space*"¹⁴. Sandercock also states that planners have long been ignorant of diversity and cultural diversity, which is partly expressed by the planning systems ability to reproduce the majority's dominant cultural values and norms. Sandercock points out that the majority norms have been present in the planners' own practical attitude, behaviour and practices. In some cases, planning expressed xenophobia or racism

⁹ Sandercock, «Sustaining Canada's Multicultural Cities».

¹⁰ Sandercock, «Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning».

¹¹ Bollens, «Managing Urban Ethnic Conflict».

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Sandercock, «Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning».

¹⁴ Ibid. P.13

and planners have sometimes been challenged cultural practices that are incompatible with their own values¹⁵.

1.4.3 From rational planning to communicative planning

Viewing planning in a rational perspective means looking at planning as a scientific action. This means that in the rational/traditional planning process it is possible to resolve any problem – it is just a question of finding the proper solution. A rational planner does not ask for whom or how, but only what is it for? This means that in theory the planner plans neutrally and without attitude¹⁶. Rational planning is mainly about big plans and reforms which take place in the municipalities or regions. They are developed, regulated and controlled by occupational professional technical departments. In rational planning the plans are developed by authoritative centres of politicians and technical experts. With this top-down approach to planning the planner's own professional and technical knowledge are at the centre of the planning process¹⁷. This kind of planning has its power centred in the city council, parliament and other public institutions with their related technical departments¹⁸.

As this planning perspective is seen as outdated and that planners have largely moved away from this perspective it can be interpreted as an indication that this planning process is not contemporary in relation to the changing needs and expectations of society¹⁹. The individualization of society and its focus on participation in the workplace, in the city and in the home, breaks with the ideas in rational planning of top-down management and control. Planning has changed focus and it is becoming much more communicative and inclusive. Planning can no longer be seen as neutral science; rather it is a process, which emphasizes on the planning process and the people being planned for^{20,21}. In the case of planning a multicultural city the planning tasks are much more extensive. The greater focus on the process leads to more responsibility and more extensive tasks,

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Agger et al., *Borgerne på banen*.

¹⁷ Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*.

¹⁸ Agger et al., *Borgerne på banen*.

¹⁹ Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*.

²⁰ Sehested, «Urban Planners as Network Managers and Metagovernors».

²¹ Agger et al., *Borgerne på banen*.

which now include juggling with different companies, stakeholders and experts. Planners are acting as advisors and facilitators between the political visions for development of the municipality and the extensive network of stakeholders in neoliberal planning²². There is therefore a structure of governance situations where planning is exercised through various policy networks. And it is here that the interaction between public and private actors takes place in order to achieve consensus on a solution²³.

1.4.4 Then what is relevant to study?

Reviewing the literature on multiculturalism and diversity reveals a wide series of perspectives and ideas for reforming how urban planning is approached. In order to use this information, I have tried to outline three principal challenges within to the planning profession in relation to diversity and multiculturalism. 1) The need to expand the scope of planning practices and policies to reflect the multicultural nature 2) to build competences and capacity in planners to meet the needs of all citizens 3) how to recognize, respect and lend legitimacy to the individual experiences of a multicultural community.

1.5 Main problem

How can and should urban planners in Copenhagen deal with an increased diversified and multicultural society in their work?

A second question of the thesis is twofold and asks: how increasing cultural and ethnic diversity in cities impacts the role of urban planners and whether "multicultural planning" as a distinct planning practice should be advocated for within the Danish urban planning profession.

1.5.1 Focus areas

- Multiculturalism and diversity as a resource rather than the opposite
- Are the urban planners missing a fifth multicultural role
- How do planners relate to and understand multiculturalism and diversity?

²² Andersen, *Den skinbarlige virkelighed*.

²³ Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*. P.173



1.5.2 Keywords

Complexity, integration, assimilation, inclusion, barriers, equality, acceptance, acknowledgement, multiculturalism, difference, diversity and planning roles

2 Methodological approach

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework created in order to answer the research question. Firstly the chosen approach is shortly presented followed by different sections, which goes into explaining the research design and which methods are applied in the study. In short this chapter handles the methodology of obtaining knowledge, processing knowledge and lastly explaining what theoretical stance that has been chosen in the thesis.

When trying to get an understanding of multiculturalism and diversity and how urban planning could or should represent these aspects when planning for Danish society, it soon became clear that there are several sources available. But mainly there are four central sources of information which I have used as listed below:

- Statistical data from: Statistics Denmark, The Ministry of Children, Gender Equality, Integration and Social Affairs and The Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs
- Local and municipal plans, strategies etc. from Gentofte, Frederiksberg, Brøndby and Copenhagen
- National newspaper articles
- Surveys and reports concerning diversity and multiculturalism

These four sources contain a great amount of data, which in itself could answer a great deal of the questions surrounding how diversity and multiculturalism is present in society. Consisting of a large amount of both quantitative and qualitative data. But although there is a lot of data available on the subject it does not give enough insight on how and if multiculturalism and diversity fits into the actual planning process. Therefor it is necessary to obtain another source of data - which in the case of this thesis has been done by interviewing planners from four of the municipalities within Copenhagen.

In order to get from the research question to the conclusion there has to be a framing of the approach and methodology of how this study is going to answer the question of what role an urban planner has in conveying multiculturalism and diversity. The method has to correspond to the challenges that the

research question represents - as well as being able to handle the challenges that the methods will create for the study. The objective of this chapter, is first to outline the theoretical considerations in the methodological approach, providing the basis for choosing the research design. Subsequently a description of how it should be conducted. This is done in order to insure a transparent study approach, which will make the terms of the study clear for the reader and to strive for valid and credible results.

The approach consists of several parts which are shown in figure 5. Mainly it consists of a critical case study approach with an added literature study - these two elements constitute the overall research frame. As shown in figure 5 the initial problem, discussion and conclusion are not seen at being a part of the literature or case study. This is not because they are independent rather it is that they belong to both parts in an overall collaboration.

The next section will go through the methodological standpoint of this study, which will also argue choosing the critical case study as the appropriate study method. The next section will furthermore argue that Bent Flyvbjergs ideas on the critical case study approach supplemented with Robert Yin as the method theorist are the best choice for this study and that it also becomes necessary to perform a literature study.

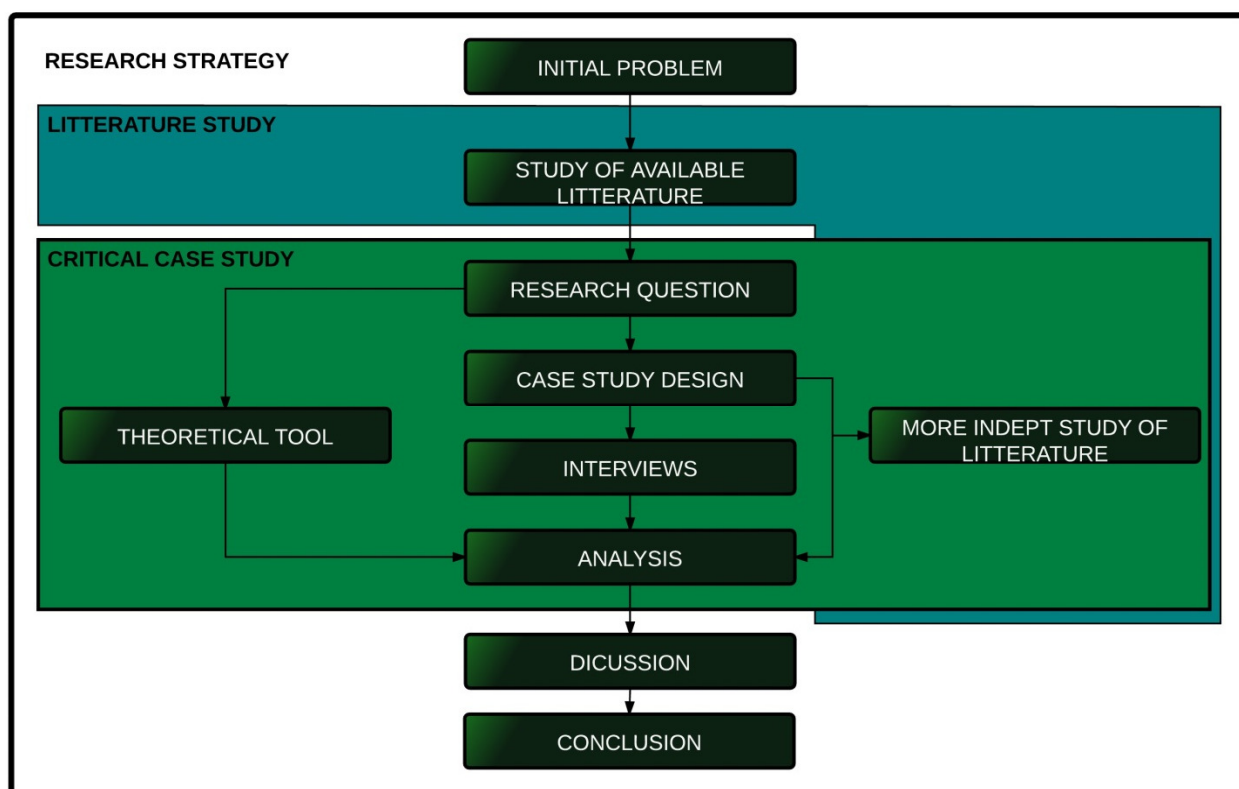


Figure 5. Research strategy

The thesis began with a literature study, where I would be completely open to what literature study would bring of knowledge. I would therefore explore planning theories, theories concerning diversity and multiculturalism. The purpose of the study was to generate knowledge about planning, diversity and multiculturalism and based on the results, I could define the focus of my thesis further. So I started this study being open and to compare different contexts such as between especially multiculturalism and planning and to be open to all possible focusses that might be relevant to proceed with. The results of the literature study resulted in a lot of different information about the planning, diversity and multiculturalism but not as much insight into how, when and if multiculturalism should be an included aspect in urban planning.

In order to define the specific focus of the thesis I selected some of the findings to into more detail with. I did so by making various extractions from the study and checking if there seemed to be some interesting aspects. Among other things it showed that the idea to include multiculturalism as an important dimension in planning was mainly based on top of the ideas of network planning. This got me curios as to how this fitted into planning. Both in the sense that I needed to understand how planning was done – was rational planning still present when planning. And as Network planning relies more on the urban planner to fit into different roles ²⁴ it let me to the question of which of these planning roles then took upon him to include aspects of the needs of a multicultural and diverse society? As multiculturalism is often most apparent in major cities it therefore became natural for me to select Copenhagen as the case that I wanted to use in order to investigate this further. This thesis is twofold in that it attempts to first ascertain whether or not Sehesteds planning roles and multicultural planning element are present in the planners I interview and secondly from a theoretical standpoint to discuss whether network planning needs a fifth planning role.

As the deductive study is based mainly on the assumption that network planning is present in Copenhagen, there is risk that the planners to adhesive to that model but rather rational planning instead. But as this is a limited study and to investigate which planning model is in play would merit its own study – I have chosen to assume that it is planning in Copenhagen is mainly based on network planning ideals. The aim of the thesis is limited to research the boundaries of network

Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*.

²⁴ Ibid.

planning and Sehesteds planning roles in relation to handling diversity and multiculturalism. In the thesis I have also described and worked with the rationalist planning as it often has been the planning form that has characterized previous planning which is further elaborated in section 4. Planning forms can move in many different directions but rationalistic planning is taken into account in the thesis because it can help to understand planning in general and to understand what it has been characterized by.

2.2 Circular process

The study does not end by a decision on whether or not network planning with element of multicultural planning is present in Copenhagen as a deductive studies otherwise would do. The recommendation in part 6 is constructed in that the starting point in the analysis results, which has led forward to an issue that is discussed and leads to recommendations through reasoning, drawing on relevant theories and empirical data. In addition, there openness to that empirical data can give rise to new interesting questions, which may give rise to criticism and revision of e.g. the theories about role types. This is not a real beginning and end of the work and the last word is not said about network planning, planning roles and multicultural planning in Copenhagen when the last dot in this thesis is placed. It is also typical for the case study that the process is circular²⁵.

2.3 Critical case study

There are several reasons why choosing a critical case study approach makes sense. First; the premise for doing a critical study is that if Copenhagen does seem to be able include diversity and multiculturalism in their planning then the likelihood of any other city in Denmark doing it becomes very small. Secondly; the concepts of 'diversity within urban planning' are situated in the social sciences. Thirdly; it is a real-life event - where a researcher has no or little control over the event. Fourthly; the aim is to retain a holistic approach to a complex subject and finally that this thesis' research question consist both of an exploratory and explanatory question. All the above elements combined forms the overall basis for choosing a case study approach over other alternatives. The case study approach therefor forms the backbone of the research strategy.

²⁵ Andersen, *Den skinbarlige virkelighed*.

2.3.1 What is a case study

As described in the introduction the theoretical basis for this study is inspired by Yin's case study research from 2003. Yin works with case studies from the standpoint that you have to explain and show how you are willing to follow a strict methodical path. This means that the use of Yin's approach should create a case study, which presents a clear picture of the chosen methodology and provide the reader with insight into how these method are used. Also, according to Yin²⁶ it is necessary to guard the study against methodical critiques of validity by creating thorough arguments of evidence - whilst simultaneously relating it to any competing explanations. Furthermore, he also argues that it is also important to know the limitations of a case study and being aware of the constraints it creates. Emphasizing his point that the main objective is 'through and rigorous methods' providing a study of high quality.

The qualitative case study of Copenhagen is based on empirical data. A case study can lead to one becoming aware of elements, which the investigated actors were not even aware of (Flyvbjerg 1988). It may be that urban planners (and management and politicians) in Copenhagen is not aware whether there they are conducting multicultural or network planning in their planning process and therefore are not aware of it. Therefore I do not go directly into specific planning theories planning in the interviews (see annex 1). Instead I chose to question the level of involvement of elements of multiculturalism and diversity in urban planning, as it can help to identify how they view and approach planning and thereby uncovering the existence of the multicultural and network planning. In the interviews I touched topics which the interviewee had not even considered, which may mean that the interview may have caused attention to something in their planning process they have previously taken for granted or not been aware of²⁷.

Yin believes that case studies *"arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena"*²⁸. Stating that a case study is able to explore and capture a holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events. It can thus, according to Yin be used to study things such as group behaviour, organization and neighbourhood change etc.²⁹.

²⁶ Yin, *Case study research - Design and Methods*. P.11

²⁷ Kvale, *Interview - En introduktion til det kvalitative forskningsinterview*.

²⁸ Yin, *Case study research - Design and Methods*. P.2

²⁹ Ibid. P.2

According to Yin a good design consists of five components³⁰:

1. *A study's question*
2. *Its propositions, if any*
3. *Its unit(s) of analysis*
4. *The logic linking the data to the propositions; and*
5. *The criteria for interpreting the findings*

2.3.1.1 *Study question*

The research question is the core of all studies. The question is defined by several criteria and sets the scene for the type of study to be made³¹.

2.3.1.2 *Study propositions*

Often a study will be subjugated to a number of factors and by being aware of these it is possible to focus the study³². Propositions are basically assumptions about the subject or phenomenon being studied, which helps to shape the study. Assumptions help outline the general disposition of the theory in a particular field - for example Yin mentions³³ that if one examines why and how organizations cooperate, there will be an assumption of mutual benefits. This offers two insights: that it is precisely the mutual benefits that should be examined and a theoretical reflection that other factors are not considered being significant in this context.

2.3.1.3 *Unit of analysis*

It can according to Yin be difficult to define what constitutes the "case" and it has been a problem for many investigators. Defining the case is an important element in creating validity and the arguments. It is therefore necessary to have a clear definition of what is relevant in the case. Here Yin mentions the example of a study that sought to examine a local group as a neighbourhood, but where fact showed that they lived geographically separated and therefore could not be said to constitute a

³⁰ Ibid. P.21

³¹ Ibid. P.7

³² Ibid. P.22

³³ Ibid. P.22



neighbourhood³⁴. In other words, there has to be a reasonably logical link between the object the case describes and what you are trying to study.

2.3.1.4 Linking data to propositions

As one of the elements of a good case study, it is important to know and be able explain how the link between the assumptions relating to the research question and the data you expect to collect through the case study fit together.

2.3.1.5 Criteria for interpreting the findings

The fifth and final step in designing the case study - is defining the criteria that are to be applied to the analysis of the collected data³⁵. It is relates to logical link that was described previously. In short it is basically about ensuring a method design where the analysis ends up creating a clear and logical connection between the research question and the analysis.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. P.26

2.3.1.6 Judging quality of research design

Yin works with four types of criteria for ensuring quality of a case study³⁶. The four types are; constructed validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability as can be seen in figure 6.

Test	Case study tactic	In which phase the tactic is used
Construct validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use multiple sources of evidence • Establish a chain of evidence • Have key informants review draft case study report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data collection • Data collection • Composition
Internal validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do pattern-matching • Do explanation-building • Address rival explanations • Use logic models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis • Data analysis • Data analysis • Data analysis
External validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use theories in single case studies • Use replication logic in multiple case studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research design • Research design
Reliability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use case study protocol • Create a case study database 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data collection • Data collection

Figure 6 (Yin 2003). Tactics and criteria for ensuring quality

The four criteria outline the tactics that can and should be applied in order to ensure that the case study is conducted in a manner that ensures the quality of the study. The constructed validity is ensured when the case study is designed. Ensuring that it has adequate validity is done in the process of collecting data (seen in the first row of figure 6). One example is to collect data from multiple types of data as a way to increase credibility. Another example is to take steps to establish chains of evidence clarifying the link from the analysis of data and on to theory and the research questions. Finally, you can let one of your sources (e.g. interviewees) go through a draft of the report in order to “approve” the results of the case study. Internal validity (second row in figure 6) is about the logic used when analysing the data collected; how evidence, explanations and connections made. The four tactics is primarily to check the data against a pattern that may explain relationships and substantiate data from a theoretical basis. A possibility is to build an explanatory model, which can incorporate all the data and help explain parts, which might not fit in with the rest of the findings. By doing this

³⁶ Ibid. P.34

it also becomes possible to address conflicting models/theories and demonstrate why they are not plausible based on the collected data. Finally it is also an option to build a logic model to explain the data in relation to the theoretical context.

The external validity (third row in figure 6) of a study addresses the case study's generalizability. Here you find the relationship between the case being studied and to the surrounding society, which is the core of generalizability. So if you make a multi-case study and use the same logic in all case studies, one can ensure a generalizability of the studies. And also if you use an "external" theory as a foundation in single-case study, the reliability and generalizability can be constructed from the links between data and theory. Reliability is the last element (fourth row in figure 6) and is associated with the data collection process. It is about the reliability of the data being collected. This is achieved in two ways, one is to create a protocol for the collection of data and secondly by creating a database of the collected data. A protocol is a description of the structure of the planned approach, and the database is an accessible version of the data, so that the reader can go into the dataset and verify the arguments used in the processing of the data.

In addition to the criteria set for judging the quality of the research design Yin also a set of criteria for what constitutes what he calls the exemplary case study³⁷. The first criteria is that the case study has be significant, which means that the study must have a meaning and value. The study must to some degree have an interest to the public by being generalizable or be a special case. The second criteria is that it must be holistic. It is an abstract concept, but is best understood as the case study has be able to relate to the whole field within the chosen case's framework, that is, for example, by showing that you have made a great effort to collect all data is possible. An exemplary case study should also consider alternative models, which might explain the phenomena being studied. In addition the data should represent all available information concerning the case and also provide sufficient evidence. To insure that the case appears credible, it must be presented in an interesting and credible manner.

³⁷ Ibid.

2.4 Post positivistic approach

The study of urban planners role in regards to network planning in a multicultural context can be seen as part of a social approach, as studied how the individual urban planners perceive their world and work, and this opinion is thus subjective. In the constructivist worldview characterized the reality of our understanding and interpretation of it³⁸. Reality perception thus depends on how people who look at it and the analysis in this thesis is based on this perception of reality.

The knowledge gained through the analysis must provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon rather than knowledge that can be generalized and measured. The thesis focuses on the particular and context-sensitive. In science, work the other hand, often from the context-independent, with a total weight of which can be measured and weighed, which is a rationalistically approach. This study focuses on the context-dependent, due to the fact that there is a study of the people in a society that is not stagnant, but that is changing all the time. Opinions change constantly. Urban planning and the approach, also changes constantly. Bent Flyvbjerg (1999) worked on this area in his book "Rationality and Power Volume 1". He has tried to develop of the concrete science, as he defines as the science of the particular, the contextual and narrative.

The thesis does not state that one particular reality of urban planning. There is openness to what the data shows of differences. Thus, the interviews with the five urban planners show different approaches and ways to perceive planning in the different municipalities. This means that from the very beginning, that there was an understanding that there is no single reality around urban planner's approach to planning. The reality depends on who sees it and therefore there is not only one approach to urban planning. When it is not a search for a certain reality about urban planning, it can be seen as a post positivistic approach. In the post-positivist approach, it is only the empirical experience that is the reality. This way of looking at the world is very different from the realistic way to perceive the world. If I had selected the realistic way of seeing the world in this study could only act on what could be weighed and measured, since in this approach only accepts that there is one particular reality around the planning approach.³⁹ Thus it was not appropriate to examine urban

³⁸ Fuglsang og Bitsch Olsen, *Videnskabsteori i samfundsvidenskaberne*.

³⁹ Simonsen og Hansen, *Geografiens videnskabsteori*.

planners' different approaches to handling multiculturalism in planning if the thesis had the rationalist approach.

2.5 Interview guide

Interview is chosen as one of the primary sources in collecting data. There is access to other data sources, such as documents from the municipalities, as there are a lot of public documents within the urban planning in municipalities. But the interview constitutes the primary source of data ensuring insight into the municipalities internal workings. The starting point is a semi-structured interview that contains the main elements that has to be covered⁴⁰. The aim is to work very openly during the interview and let the respondents speak freely, within the limit of specific questions derived from theory or other sources. This done in order to minimize the risk of excluding some interesting perspectives as the examiner had not even thought of. Kvale states that a criteria of quality is the that the shorter the interviewer's questions and the longer the interviewee's answers, the better⁴¹. With an approach where there is an open start, which results in most of the interviewees giving long answers.

The interview was structured based on Steinar Kvale⁴². It should be noted that it was decided to conduct the interviews in Danish, since it was considered that it would allow the interviewees to use their native language and freely to express themselves without being inhibited by having to express themselves in a secondary language.

The purpose of these interviews was to supplement the written data, gathering information about how the municipalities in Copenhagen approach diversity in urban planning. The four municipalities and interviewees were chosen randomly as they all are part of the planning process and therefore could account for the dynamics within the planning process.

The interviewees are:

- Frederiksberg municipality:
 - Planner A, Geograf, Urban planner

⁴⁰ Kvale, *Interview - En introduktion til det kvalitative forskningsinterview*.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

- Copenhagen municipality:
 - Planner C, Architect, Chief consultant, Byplan indre
 - Planner B, Geograf, Team leader for centre for urban development
- Gentofte municipality:
 - Planner D, Surveyor, Local Plan
 - Planner E, Geograf, Municipal plans

The interview guide was standardized, so that all the interviewees were asked the same questions. The questions revolved around how the municipalities approached planning in general with a special focus on how they handled diversity within their citizens. The questions were based on themes derived from theory ensuring that the questions were all aimed at examining what influenced the process and what kind of elements were deemed relevant in the planning process. It was by the study group deemed that discussing this would give the necessary information to answer the research question.

The interviews were conducted as face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Because it was semi-structured the questions would not strictly determine the structure of the interview, but serve as guideline to ensure that all the important topics were covered in the interview. Had the interview been structured, the interviewee would not, to the same extent, have had the possibility of emphasizing what they found important⁴³. The questions asked were for the most part open and general; the questions could therefore be applied to all of the interviewees. This allows the interviewee to discuss whatever he would find relevant within the different themes. This is deemed to be an advantage as the interviewees would then have the possibility of answering the same questions, thereby ensuring different perspectives on the same subject.

2.6 Generalizability

The result of the thesis is based on a single case study but how generalizable are the results? This will be discussed in this section.

⁴³ Ibid.

The knowledge obtained through the thesis, is context-sensitive and says so exclusively something about the approach to multiculturalism in planning in the context of Copenhagen. Most municipalities probably work according to the same conditions, so the findings in some degree may represent several other municipalities or urban areas

According to Flyvbjerg you do not need to only use case studies to make hypotheses out from⁴⁴. He argues that you can use a single case study to generalize from. He believes that it depends on the case and how it is selected. He believes you have to select "critical cases" as it can provide knowledge about the basic mechanisms that generate a given problem. There are different kinds of critical cases that one can choose from depending on the intended purpose of the study. You can choose an "extreme deviant case" that can provide information about a case that ex is particularly problematic⁴⁵. The case can rather be seen as a critical case, selected from achieving "maximum variation" as Flyvbjerg calls it⁴⁶. In this case I randomly selected five urban planners from random municipalities in Copenhagen with the purpose to obtain knowledge about the approach to diversity and multiculturalism in planning. The identified mind-sets of the urban planners which I identify should be form a basic for generalizing to several other urban planners approach multiculturalism in planning in Copenhagen and other urban areas. This is how the case study can be used to generalize from. Like Flyvbjerg says about the critical case studies. These cases gives insight into the approaches to urban planning which other urban planners would probably recognize and perhaps be able to reflect in as there are other planners in other municipalities that are subjected to the same framework. Thus the case study is used able to generalize even though the results are context-sensitive and limited to Copenhagen.

2.7 Quality of the data

In this study data is gathered through both literature and interviews in order to gather data for the analysis. Because it is not possible to directly observe what happened, as it has already taken place, the researcher has to rely on interview and documents to gain data about this. By using both interviews and literature, more aspects of the case are covered as each method has its own strengths

⁴⁴ Flyvbjerg, *Rationalitet og magt*.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

and weaknesses. Using more than one source can therefore ensure a more accurate data foundation for the analysis and increase the validity.

Mainly qualitative methods are used since they can build an in-depth understanding of the phenomena and help reveal the underlying mechanisms and structures. Qualitative methods for collecting data are particularly useful for investigations into cases where the aim is to insure a more detailed understanding. Qualitative data cannot be measured or observed in the same way as quantitative data, but the qualitative information can give a better understanding of what lies behind the decision⁴⁷. It does not mean that quantitative data is not used in this study but rather that the quantitative data is secondary.

Data can be divided into first-hand data and second-hand data. First-hand investigation is data collected and interpreted by the researcher. Examining second-hand data, means examining others' investigation of a subject. Second-hand data has been used in the case-presentation, e.g. articles. Both first- and second hand data is used in the analysis. The advantage of the first-hand data is that it has not been interpreted or analysed by others, as second-hand data has, and therefore earlier mistakes or influences in another direction than what the study is focused on would not influence the study.

⁴⁷ Andersen, *Den skinbarlige virkelighed*.

3 Understanding diversity and multiculturalism

3.1 Communities

In order to understand concepts such as diversity or even multiculturalism we first have to understand what a community is, what it consists of and what planner need to understand about the dynamics within a community. A community consists of three dimensions; a geographical dimension, a social dimension and lastly an identity dimension. The geographical dimension is the space wherein people live and people compete for the resources to sustain life⁴⁸. The second dimension of community is composed of the social interaction between people. It is here we find social structures such as family, groups and companies etc. In this space it is possible for the people to get their social needs fulfilled and it is where they can express their common interests. The third dimension is the most intangible. It is in this dimension that groups form their ideas and values and where they it is possible for them to express them through local community institutions⁴⁹. A community's identity is composed by unique ideas, values and history, which separates each community from each other⁵⁰. Structures such as unions might be forced to conform into an overall context set by urban society. Symbols on the other hand cannot be controlled in the same manor. A community therefore constitutes a space where groups are able to express and defend their differences with the surrounding society⁵¹.

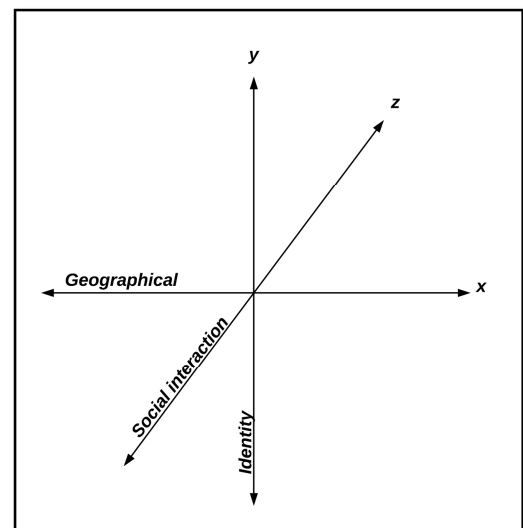


Figure 7. The three dimensions within a community

For a planner it can be hard to fully understand the third intangible identity dimension and especially understanding how the dimension fits into the other two dimensions. A planner should recognize a

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, «In Search of the Community in the Changing Countryside.»

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.

⁵¹ Ibid.

community as being organized, that it is this space different groups compete for resources and the right to express their identity. Understanding these dimensions and how they interrelate enables a planner to read the public's narrative and to ascertain community identity and perceive which strategies they utilize in the planning process⁵². Official statement, newspaper articles etc. are all valuable sources to gain insight into local narratives. Here it is possible for planner to gain an insight into the assumptions of local citizens concerning the future development of their community.

3.2 Competing interest

Where there are different groups there are also going to be a basis for competition, an example could be the labour market which often flows into an inter-ethnic competition⁵³. When the present government announced that it was going to focus on getting newly arrived refugees into work there was an almost immediate debate on whether or not these refugees were getting the resources and/or jobs that should befall ethnic Danes instead⁵⁴. The idea that the built environment also serves as a community symbol or cultural symbol has not really been taken into account in Denmark. It has really only been within the last decade that we have begun to have a discussion arise around the subject of how our built environment is changing to include new community, religious and cultural symbols. The continued inflow of immigrants and descendants has resulted in larger and more organized groups with different needs and wishes.

For a planner to understand that the built environment actually changes as a result of inter-ethnic competition he must first understand the symbolism of buildings⁵⁵. The problem is that you might not be able to recognise this until a new building or project begins and only this disruption of the existing landscape makes the connection between community identity and the built environment clear. Religious buildings might be the most obvious type which illustrates this relationship. At one point in time churches served as a way of showing the wealth of the parish⁵⁶. Buildings therefore also function as tangible symbols, which when juxtaposed with other communities shows the identity and

⁵² Maines og Bridger, «Narratives, Community and Land Use Decisions».

⁵³ Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*.

⁵⁴ «Regeringen vil flytte flere penge fra danskere til flygtninge» Den Korte Avis - Klar – Skarp – Seriøs».

⁵⁵ Burnet and Multicultural History Society of Ontario, *Migration and the Transformation of Cultures*.

⁵⁶ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.

position of the community⁵⁷. In order to express their identity communities compete in order to get their expression represented on the built environment both on a functional but especially on a visual level⁵⁸. Immigration in itself creates a series of inter-connected effects. A shift in the ethnic composition within a city will in return over time change the built environment. The arrival of new different groups will result in them constructing new facilities and adapting already existing buildings in order to accommodate their needs. As more of these changes and new building appear and the more they vary from preceding buildings the more distinct a need there will be for a planner to handle the process of renegotiating the identity of an urban space. The different groups have to adjust to each other differences over time, although the process is not always visible or conscious – but that does not mean that there is not an on-going negotiation taking place, one that should hopefully result in a mutual accommodation between ethnic groups⁵⁹. Not thereby saying that groups make equal compromises. In reality negotiation is often not done on equal terms, there is a difference in the degree to which different groups control the means of cultural production and expansion⁶⁰.

Accommodating different needs is an on-going process following a constant and fluent transformation of the demographic and cultural landscape within an urban environment. This means that the principles currently accepted are constantly under negotiation⁶¹. A concept which is relevant to understand inter-ethnic competition is 'integration'. Integration is derived from an idea looking at the relationship between different ethnic groups and negotiates compromises. The concept integrates some ideas from assimilation while still retaining the possibility of having a different cultural and ethnic identity - thereby satisfying both parties⁶². Since integration is not a fixed concept its negotiation - of the relationship between groups – takes a very fluent form, being constantly negotiated on several levels; neighbourhood, municipal, state etc., which are all inter-connected and affecting each other.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Burnet and Multicultural History Society of Ontario, *Migration and the Transformation of Cultures*.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. P.14

⁶¹ Ibid. P. 11

⁶² Ibid. P.15

Planners should acknowledge the built environment as an outcome of the competition between citizens needs and that it is a space where they can express their identities^{63,64}. Viewing the built environment as being separate from the social sphere might hinder the ability to perceive the problems within a neighbourhood. Much too often technical argument pushes the focus on social phenomena's into the background.

3.3 Multiculturalism

Even though there is plenty of literature, theories and even professions working with multiculturalism I still cannot help to wonder what it is all about. What is multiculturalism? Is Denmark multicultural? How is it expressed within the urban environment? Does it have any consequences for urban planning? Originally I first perceived multiculturalism as a contemporary concept that has come into existence to handle problems that had arisen within my own lifetime.

In Denmark there really has not been any real debate on how we should handle the fact that we seemingly have become a multicultural and increasingly diversified society. We see more and more signs of tension or beginning conflict resulting from different ethnic groups and their view on society which differs from ex. Ethnic Danes. There is a focus on diversity – although when reading municipal policies it feels more like they are (or should be) talking about multiculturalism.

I will try to examine multiculturalism as a social phenomenon that emerged as oppressed people began demanding justice and equality in the aftermath of WW2. The massive migration across both political and psychical boundaries which gave birth to new problems, that had to be addressed, understood and tackled. The goal is to illustrate that multiculturalism is not in fact a new conception of urban life but rather that it is a way to understand the city as a unit and space where differences, struggles and contestation takes place.

The purpose is not to evaluate whether multiculturalism is a positive or negative. Rather I hope to remain neutral towards the concept and simple verify its relevance in urban planning and whether it is something a Danish planner should be aware of and take into account when planning. Illustrating

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*.

that multiculturalism simply is a concept that embodies much of what we understand about urban life. That it is here we find people struggling for recognition, the right to express differences and the right to representation. Simply put that it within urban spaces that differences and cultures converge, understanding that multicultural cities are not a new concept in urban society. However that does not mean that it is all old and irrelevant news. What has changed and continues to change is the way cultures converge, how language and religion impact the political, psychical and social structures of society and it is these changing dynamics that urban planners has to learn to adapt to.

I started with Sandercock in my attempt to understand multiculturalism and ended up having to elaborate two phenomena's which has shaped the development of the new politics; the rise of civil society and social movements and the age of migration⁶⁵.

3.3.1 Understanding migration

When I first began researching the subject I thought migration as a new phenomenon that came as a result of the increasing globalisation. This notion was soon disproved nevertheless it also became apparent that although the phenomenon might not be a result of your modern society the scale and significance of the migration might be⁶⁶. There are many different and shifting factors contributing to why groups, individuals, and families choose to migrate across psychical and political borders. There is a continuing wider gap between poor and rich; there are those who are in search for better lives with the hope of finding a job. We see natural disasters where entire parts the social, psychical and political structures collapses pressing survivors to move to begin new lives. Political power struggles such as civil wars, military coups or occupations creates mass migration of people in search for more stable and secure setting. Even the increased competition between conglomerates creates an ever increasing need for cheap labour, a demand which is often met by immigrants from less developed countries where people are willing to take the jobs that citizens from developed countries shun. The end result of all these factors is that large urban areas become more culturally and ethnically diverse simple due to the scale of different people it attracts.

⁶⁵ Sandercock, «Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning».

⁶⁶ Ibid.

3.3.2 Social Movements

Sandercock put the rise of social movements and civil society in the 1970th which marked the urban uprising of oppressed and marginalized people. It gave birth to the uprising of the feminist movement, the Chicano movement, the black power movement; all seeking to make their claim on space, to equal rights and to representation of their community. We see the same tendencies in the environmental, anti-racism, gay-rights movements today in their attempt to expand the notions of citizen rights⁶⁷. Urban areas continue as the site where social struggle and competition over space take place. The economic and political interests of the urban citizen is no longer bound to specific spatial or geographical boundaries resulting in a discourse reflecting social and political diversity. With technology and transportation helping to facilitate a sharing of information and to migrate over great distances in a short time-period. The ability to still keep in touch and to economically support family member from afar mean that the sense of belonging does not necessarily change as people migrate making citizenships more plural.

3.3.3 The right to difference

Sandercock defines the 'right to difference' as the struggle for acknowledgement of different socially constructed groups of people which fills more and more in the urban areas of the world⁶⁸. The wish for new policies that addresses social injustice lead to an mobilization of civil society claiming justice, wanting recognition of differences, a redistribution of resources and the accept and understanding of distinct sexual, racial and ethnic groups⁶⁹. This mobilization works towards the creation of policies of difference, which can embody the claim for representation within the urban space and society with particular emphasis on respect and recognition of difference. If this is not met there is a risk that individuals or groups become invisible and marginalized in the society in which they live. Rather the aim should be to try and counteract oppression, to secure representation of minority groups and to celebrate the diversity of different cultures and communities within society^{70,71}. The different groups of ethnic minorities which could find themselves excluded from citizenship require politics that treats difference as variation rather than opposition.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Fraser, Honneth, og Golb, *Redistribution or Recognition?*.

⁷⁰ Merrifield og Swyngedouw, *The Urbanization of Injustice*.

⁷¹ Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*.

The idea behind a politic of difference is to recognize the uniqueness of communities or individuals on the basis of a differentiated treatment⁷². The idea behind 'politics of difference' is to acknowledge the importance of respecting differences and to asserts that individuals and groups also has their rightful place in the public and in society.

3.3.4 The right to the city

Lefebvre's notion of "right to the city" is situated in liberal democratic notions of freedom of choice and the pursuit of one's definition of "good". Stating that the 'city' is a "superior form of rights" where there is a right to freedom, to individualization, to habitat and to inhabit and to participate⁷³. Also stating that inherent in the right to the city is the right to refuse the removal of oneself from the "urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organization"⁷⁴. Lefebvre argues that all citizens have the right to inhabit the public sphere and to be present in public space and to participate in civic life and that all individuals all possess a "right to the city".

3.4 Trying to define multiculturalism

The politics of difference has several way of encompassing multiculturalism. Sandercock portrays a difference between the multicultural policy and multiculturalism as public philosophy⁷⁵. Defining multicultural policy as the "decision to embrace and accommodate difference" and declaring that multiculturalism as a public philosophy is the "acknowledgement of racial and cultural differences in a society which seeks to encourage their sustenance"⁷⁶. Multiculturalism is a movement to ensure the appreciation and acknowledgement of a diversified cultural society. It also a philosophy, which is fuelled by civic movements, bound together by distinctions of race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientations. Mohammad Qadeer follows suit arguing that a multicultural philosophy "envisages society as a mosaic of beliefs, practices and customs, not as a melting pot assimilating different

⁷² Taylor and Gutmann, *Multiculturalism*.

⁷³ Lefebvre, Kofman, og Lebas, *Writings on Cities*.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Sandercock, «Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning».

⁷⁶ Ibid.

racial and cultural groups⁷⁷". Also stating that he sees multiculturalism as more than simply tolerating people with different beliefs and behaviour rather that it is a vision of a state and society where a diversified groups and communities can co-exist. That all are entitled to their specific way of life in their private sphere but that they are nonetheless connected together by common institutions in the public sphere and that it is these institutions which should be altered in order to incorporate the values and ideals of all society at any given time.

But it is near impossible to offer any firm and finite definition of multiculturalism although it is possible to identify thought that are consistent among scholars who write on the subject^{78,79,80}:

- Multiculturalism seeks equality, respect and recognition of difference
- It is an active and deliberate support of the expression of difference
- That difference represents diversity, in language, culture, religion, nationality and gender

What seems to be repeated by most scholars is that multiculturalism and the politics of difference is the recognition, embracing, accommodation and expression of differences. So to embrace multiculturalism would mean to encourage differences, sustaining difference and allowing people to express their differences in not only the private space but also the public. That it is the search for a peaceful coexistence in a multi-ethnic society, embracing and sustaining language and religious differences whilst always working toward equality amongst all groups.

Then where does planning fit into this? It is when serving the public that a planner has a role to play. He has to identify both the similarities and differences within the different group interests and it is planners that have to balance their interests whilst showing respect to each individual and group⁸¹. Qadeer give a series of suggestion as to how the planning body can help instate multiculturalism (see annex 7) an example is to secure representation of ethnic groups on decision-making entities, which in his opinion would be a step toward "pluralistic practices of planning"⁸². His argument being

⁷⁷ Qadeer, «PLURALISTIC PLANNING FOR MULTICULTURAL CITIES».

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sandercock, «Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning».

⁸⁰ Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*.

⁸¹ Qadeer, «PLURALISTIC PLANNING FOR MULTICULTURAL CITIES».

⁸² Ibid.

that if we are maintain fairness within our democratic processes we have to ensure representation of all group interests⁸³.

3.5 Race and ethnicity

Communities in Denmark are becoming more diverse and multicultural with race and ethnicity becoming a factor in how life in the urban setting is experienced. Even though planners try to acknowledge the diversity within the area they are planning in, they might still have trouble with how this knowledge can or should be translated into the planning processes. The idea of incorporating a concept such as multiculturalism in the planning milieu is to raise the awareness of difference so that these planners can utilize race and culture as tools for analysing and assessing public needs and social conditions⁸⁴. In order for a planners to adapt to a multicultural reality they must first understand and accept difference then they have to identify specific needs of a minority or marginalized group and lastly demonstrate understanding and willingness to incorporate different views^{85,86}. To incorporate multicultural planning would mean to challenge the existing beliefs, focusing on people centred results and to try and balance between the needs of the old existing residents and the newly arrived to ensure all are treated on equal terms in the planning process⁸⁷.

3.6 Planning with a multicultural perspective

Urban planners today face the constant dilemma of having to balance the interests of citizens, the public with those of the corporations while still having to make traditional technical plans for the future development. Urban planners have to weigh the plans against opposing suggestions identifying the possible benefits or drawbacks⁸⁸. These plans often demand that the planner analyses and integrates social, economic and political components into the plan. The multicultural planning can be said to be a response to urban planners' inability to include all groups into to process, calling for a more pluralistic approach to planning. The fact that it is tacit critique of the way we plan today

⁸³ {Citation}

⁸⁴ Qadeer, «PLURALISTIC PLANNING FOR MULTICULTURAL CITIES».

⁸⁵ Sandercock og Lyssiotis, *Cosmopolis II*.

⁸⁶ Qadeer, «PLURALISTIC PLANNING FOR MULTICULTURAL CITIES».

⁸⁷ {Citation}

⁸⁸ Davidoff, «ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING».

is not anything new. Planning in itself is and has never been a fixed entity rather it has always dependent the context. That being said it precisely the fact that planning is the sum of a whole lot of different factors such as planning ideology, educational background, institutional setup, groups ability to organise and represent themselves and so. Which makes it relevant the question how and if planning should adopt a more multicultural perspective. Planning right now faces an wish for economic growth and hereunder how to utilize diversity as a positive factor and how to minimize the negative effects of an increasing number of immigrants. Ever since the 1960th planning has faced calls for more social and political equity calling for a more inclusive pluralistic planning approach. A more participatory orientated approach, where the planners role shifts from the technical expert to being a representative for organisations, individuals (groups) and public interests⁸⁹.

There are many ideas on how to integrate multiculturalism in planning, offering several inputs on how to change planning and the city planner's role in government and the community. Although one general problem with most of these ideas is that they are not operationalized in regard to how planners should undertake to achieve the suggested these changes. Leaving us with the question who should take it upon them to develop and implement the necessary initiatives is it the urban planner or should it be the policy maker or perhaps our educators? And the initiatives have a government mandate so it can be ratified in policy? Or should it evolve from the grassroots organisations where the demands are from local community members? How exactly should urban planners gain the suggested knowledge on people and groups differences – when from their perspective it is a completely foreign and unknown part of society? How can planners achieve understanding of cultures different from their own?

I all the texts I have read there are very few who actually takes upon them to come with actual suggestion to what the planning profession should do. One indirect exception is Sandercock who in his "Sustaining Canada's multicultural cities"⁹⁰ lead me to seven policy recommendations:

- 1) *Multiculturalism depends first and foremost on increased spending over a wide range of locally-based multicultural programs*

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Sandercock, «Sustaining Canada's Multicultural Cities».



- 2) *multiculturalism requires multitiered political and policy support systems, from federal through provincial and municipal levels*
- 3) *anti-racism and diversity training for municipal workers*
- 4) *multiculturalism requires reform and innovation in the realm of social policy*
- 5) *better understanding of how urban policies can and should address cultural difference. Space also needs to be made available for the different worshipping practices of immigrant cultures: the building of mosques and temples, for example, has become a source of conflict in many cities. When cultural conflicts arise over different uses of land and buildings, of private as well as public spaces, planners must find more communicative, less adversarial ways of resolving these conflicts, through participatory mechanisms that give a voice to stakeholders*
- 6) *elaboration of new notions of citizenship that are more responsive to newcomers' claims on rights to the city and more encouraging of their political participation at the local level*
- 7) *an understanding of, and preparedness to work with, the emotions that drive these conflicts over integration*

To sum up what I have concluded from the literature is that the multicultural nature of larger urbanized areas today requires more of urban planners in regards of understanding how race and ethnicity affect the experiences the citizens have of their city. An urban planner now has to first understand the nature of communities, then he analyse and understand the political preferences, cultural norm and ethnic composition and lastly they also have to learn how to identify barriers which might prevent citizens from participating. I have some times asked myself where is it that the planning profession fits into what I originally perceived a mostly being a social problem but through this paper I have again remembered that it is us who is charged a responsibility of making cohesive plan for the urban environments which ensures a sense of community. The fact that there might be a huge challenge in the fact that there might be a significant portion of the citizens who do not feel a sense of belonging and community is a whole other matter.

4 Understanding planning

4.1 Planning in the 21st century

In relation to this investigation, it is important to keep in mind that working with multiculturalism is based on the existing city where a number of existing structures related to the physical, social and economic apply. These structures influence future development projects and they form the context in which urban planning and neighbourhood renewal are based in. In the following planning is presented as a concept and how planning and its practices have evolved. This functions as a starting point for understanding the current planning practice and what planning tools such that inclusion ethnic groups are characterized by and what significance it has for the working towards achieving multicultural objectives.

4.2 The challenge of investigating an urban planner

If the world is fairly stable and predictable, one can say that one knows the future and then the good old ways to plan are excellent. But almost all new social science theories describes communities' enormous pace of change as a condition for the people, politicians and businesses.

Nothing is fixed and everything is changing is what the message seems to be. And therefore we can no longer use the old ways of planning since what we plan for today might have changed tomorrow. It can be in such diverse areas as: food preferences, research methods, media consumption, communications, traffic flows, travel patterns, student flows, workforce and social unrest.

Traditional planning tools have been developed for what the philosopher Edgar Morin calls the paradigm of simplification⁹¹. It is characterized by 'order of things'; Predictability and rational dynamics. Within this paradigm, we know for example the concepts of: Strategies, success criteria, assessments, action plans, objectives, mapping, risk analysis, segmentation and implementation. Concepts which has validity and value within a world where there is a certain amount of orderly and predictable relationships. This philosophy is strongly challenged both theoretically and in practice.

⁹¹ Qadeer, «PLURALISTIC PLANNING FOR MULTICULTURAL CITIES».

This has resulted in more and more criticism of the paradigm and more and more evidence showing that we must expect rapid change and high degree of unpredictability. One response to this is to try to reduce the complexity and rein in the unpredictable through even tighter level tools and even tougher performance management.

In research there are also often initiatives that have the intention to manage change and unpredictability in radically different ways. This can be summarized by Morin's concept: 'complexity paradigm'⁹². In this mind-set, you take for granted that things are progressing in leaps that rupture the known order and where the cause and effect are often opaque. It is a great challenge to cultivate methods that make it possible to work with these possibilities. Many methods are mentioned outgrown simplification paradigm and in Western culture we are trained to analyse problems in this light. Find and understand the dynamics and cause, from this critical analysis you then find the appropriate answers to solve the problem.

These are essentially two problems: First, to still be in the same track. Second, you overlook other possible clues. For example, when trying to solve the climate problem by turning it down a little, you solve no problems. One is in the same track and you do not see other options. When you want to solve students' poor reading skills by giving them more Danish lessons the presumption is that the old method is good, but just be harnessed properly. You stay in the well-known track and do not look for other ways of teaching. In short it can be expressed that we are used to thinking in an 'away from' perspective to the problems we are seeking to solve, rather than a 'go to' perspective: What is exactly we want to achieve? By having a 'go to' perspective you do not really dwell so long on today's problems. You concentrate on what gives value forward. Another problem to the 'simplification paradigm' logic is that there is a tendency to have a set of firmly set goals and methods from the start. It does not claim the ability to learn along the way as the processes of course comes about when you put something in motion and with the world around us of course change. It is also the main reason why strategic planning often remains a ritual act rather than a value-adding activity. There is a need to inculcate the importance of what Otto Scharmer⁹³ describes as 'emergent complexity' namely this that things are moving along in ways that we could not possibly anticipate from the start.

⁹² Morin, «From the Concept of System to the Paradigm of Complexity».

⁹³ Scharmer, *Theory U*.

The need to be able to experiment and manage the processes that occurs is critical to achieving results. This is therefore one of the most difficult exercises in regard of this investigation, which has been to achieve an understanding of how urban planning is realised in regards of accommodating diversity and multiculturalism. To investigate this it is first necessary to understand the complexity of the different processes of change that characterize urban development and transport planning. This complexity makes the urban planner extremely hard to investigate. One way of addressing this problem is to fix the planner in time and space in a very specific context. The problem is that this would restrict any wider understanding of the field in which an urban planner works (see figure 8). This goal with this thesis has been to uncover, which role an urban planner can and should plan in regards of how to accommodate diversity and multiculturalism in society.

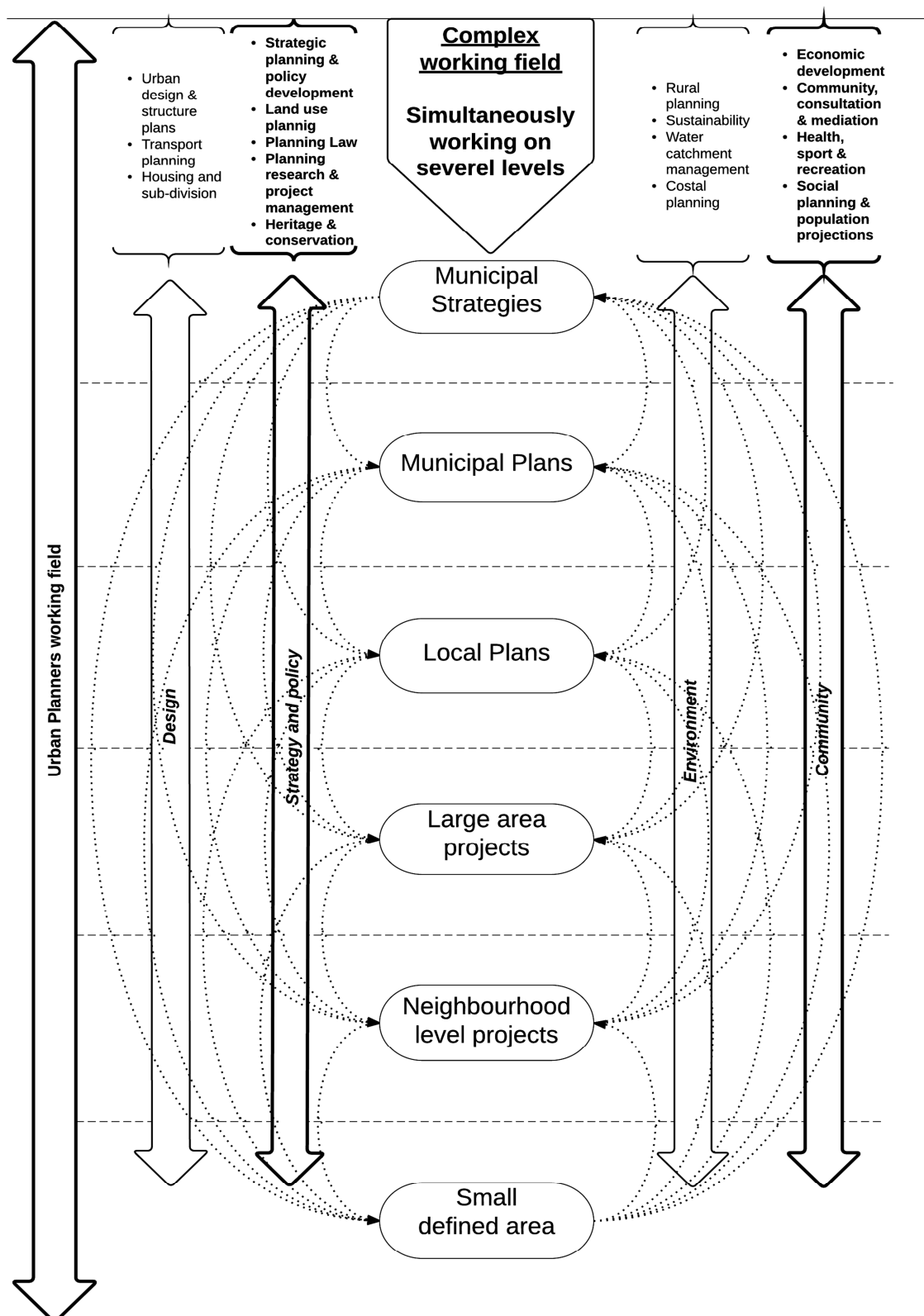


Figure 8. Urban planning - Working in a complex field

4.2.1 The planning process

The planning task is all about influencing the results of the decision-making-process in various areas of society. Such justifications are often called ‘product/goal oriented’ reason but public planning also includes ‘process oriented’ reasons⁹⁴. Besides the direct effects on e.g. the physical environment that planning has it can also have an important function through the experiences gained by participants in the planning process. These effects depend of how the planning process is organized.

The process-oriented planning process emphasises on planning as a learning process and as a means to promote democratic and fair public decisions. The participants learn more about planning going on in their community and thereby achieve a greater understanding of the tasks and problems that the community face. Participation has the potential of getting people involved in their respective community development and helps contribute to a more vibrant democracy. Participation also ensures that problems become more illuminated so that it is not only expert knowledge but also local knowledge that forms the basis for the solutions. Participation can also help create a better foundation for a fair balance between various group interests. In order to weigh the different wishes you've got to know that the different groups want. It could be claimed that spatial planning is particularly good at improving local democratic processes since physical planning often result in very specific changes that are visible in the daily lives of nearby citizens. The idea that planning should fulfil several purposes other than efficiency and goal setting is gradually incorporated into the planning legislation both in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries.

4.2.2 Planning?

I will now look into the question of how different directions within the planning community think planning should be conducted. There are three main groups of models that will be discussed; namely ‘goal rational’, ‘incremental’ and ‘participatory planning’. The goal rational models emphasize on finding the most effective means to achieve a certain objectives. The ‘incremental’ models are more interested in choosing solutions that are easy to implement and ones that important stakeholders can agree on. The participatory planning models are more interested in pulling all stakeholders actively into the planning process and works to insure that the planning process functions as a ‘school in democracy’.

⁹⁴ Allmendinger, *Planning Theory*.

First, I will start with a model that is not always included in the list of possible planning approaches but one that is probably followed a lot in practice, namely the doctrine model.

4.2.3 Doctrine model

Through their training, study and reading of journals planners form conclusions of what are considered good and bad solutions. Certain solutions and principles can sometimes achieve a status as role models, and thereby form the basis of doctrines.

In Denmark in the 1970s and 1980s there were planned and developed a large number of single family residential areas after roughly the same concept⁹⁵. Detached areas were established on virgin areas outside existing cities. The internal plan was based on an extensive traffic differentiation of primary, secondary and tertiary routes, organized into a system of blind alleys, in order to shields the residents from expressway amounts of traffic. Along this road system the area were divided into almost square chunks with each house located away from neighbouring borders. There was also arranged some common facilities, playgrounds and green areas under specific standards. When the architects and engineers planned they took little account of what the interested groups wanted. They planned as they had learned keeping with the current planning doctrine.

The model- and doctrine based planning approach is expert dominated, but are not necessarily goal rational. It uses some standard solutions and adapts them to local situations. In the 1950s, a model was developed in the United States, which claimed to be much more rational, claiming it could ensure better compliance with achieving the political objectives. The approach is known as the rationalist planning model or as synoptic planning.

4.2.4 Synoptic planning model

The synoptic or comprehensive rational planning model is the base model from which most other theoretical planning models on planning practices is developed in response to. Synoptic derives from 'synopsis', which means 'brief summary'. According to this model the planning process should always start with a problem analysis. The results form the basis for formulating the goals for the

⁹⁵ Kjærdsdam og Aalborg Universitet, *Byplanlægningens historie*.

development you want in the area. The next step is the search out for different solution and alternatives that can best help to achieve the fixed objectives. In principle all possible means to achieve the objectives should be identified, not just one or a few but every single one. After this you try to predict the consequences on whether or not each of the identified alternatives might be successful, both in terms of meeting the objectives but also in relation to other relevant values and concerns. In principle all possible consequences should be illuminated. On the basis of this impact assessment you then made a systematic and thorough comparison of the alternatives. It then becomes the responsibility of decision-makers to make a choice between the alternatives and put them into effect. Ideally there should according to model be an evaluation when the plan has been implemented so as to check whether the plan has had the expected impact. The purpose is to learn from the experience so that it is possible to make more precise impact assessments with the next plan.

The synoptic planning model is described in an article by Banfield⁹⁶ "Ends and means in planning". He's article focusses on the relationship between means and ends which are central in this model. Banfield describes how planning must be done if we are to achieve the best possible performance of the set goals. While Banfield is aware that planning rarely never follows this approach in full he chooses to set it up anyway as an ideal instead.

Benfield's attempt to make planning more rational has been met with much criticism. Firstly, this kind of planning requires an enormous intellectual capacity. One must identify all possible action alternatives and for each of these alternatives you have to predict all possible consequences. Not only does it require an enormous amount of thought force - it is also necessary to have vast amounts of information. To obtain information, identify alternatives and analyse the consequences would require a large number of experts putting in considerable effort over longer period of time. The model neglects the fact that time and money is scarce resources.

The synoptic model also assumes that it is possible to identify clear and unambiguous goals that can form the basis for planning. But politicians will often be unwilling to formulate clear goals because they want to watch their backs and avoid committing to specifics. The synoptic model also ignores the fact that the political ideological differences is not only about what goals you want to achieve,

⁹⁶ Banfield, «Ends and Means in Planning».

but also about what means are acceptable to use. In synoptic planning the last step is a technical one not a political issue. Finally the synoptic model creates a high degree of technocracy. This type of planning will often require extensive use of sophisticated analytical methods. Those who master the methods i.e. the expert; will have great power - they have a monopoly on knowledge. There is only a little space for the layman assessments.

4.2.5 Incremental planning

In the late 1950's the political scientist Lindblom⁹⁷ introduced an alternative, which differed radically from the synoptic model. Instead of a thorough and long-term plan Lindblom proposed his model, which was to plan small, in the form of small steps that were not necessarily coordinated to a coherent whole. Lindblom called this model "disjointed incrementalism". "Increment" means 'small increase'. In this model there is not an aim at formulating explicit goals. Selection of means and ends is done simultaneously. Measure, planning alternatives and political action are aligned one another. Instead working towards long-term goals you try to work away from unsatisfactory situations.

To avoid wasting time and resources to investigate alternatives that are not political feasible, only a few action alternatives are investigated, preferably the alternatives which differ only slightly from the status quo. Consequences are investigated to a degree where only the aspects which the most influential interest groups are concerned about are illuminated. If these consequences are acceptable the considered plan is perceived as a good one. If the strongest interest groups support the proposal it should indeed be feasible. Taking only small steps also allows a rapid feedback. It thus becomes possible to make frequent realignments and you are not so dependent on theoretical analyses. Charles Lindblom has characterized incremental planning as "the science of muddling through" - the art making it through haphazardly.

Banfield and Lindblom have very similar descriptions of how the planning actually took place in the public plan bodies they studied in 1950s in USA. But while Banfield believes that planners should strive towards greater rationality in the planning, Lindblom believes that it sound reasoning to plan incremental and disjointed. Lindblom sees direct line between 'is' and 'should be'. A positive feature of incremental planning is that it is not utopian and unrealistic. One can learn errors and adjust the

⁹⁷ Lindblom, «The Science of 'Muddling Through'».

course for the better. There has nonetheless been a lot of criticism against the incremental model. Since the planning alternatives only differ slightly from today's practice it indirectly promotes the planning status quo and acts politically conservative. A related criticism made is that it neglects underprivileged groups. Those who shout loudest get their cause on the agenda, while not taking account of those who shouts less. Incremental planning also has a tendency to neglect long-term consequences as it puts little emphasis on impact assessment and theories that can tell about likely long-term effects. For the same reason it is also poorly suited to manage global immigration issues. It is also due to the fact that large key stakeholders are not included in the negotiation between local interest groups. An incremental strategy is also problematic in relation to assessing the effect of all these many small steps. Where does the sum of all these small individual decisions lead us?

4.2.6 Mixed-scan

Etzioni⁹⁸ introduced in the late 1960s a model which was an attempt to find a compromise between the synoptic and incremental planning model. He called this model "mixed-scanning". In the same way you might need an overall map in order to see what geographical context an area included in and a map on a smaller scale to see the detailed structure within the area itself Etzioni suggested combining a "broad angle camera and an in-debt close up".

Etzioni acknowledges much of the criticism of synoptic planning but believes Lindbloms fragmented incremental strategy is the wrong response to the criticism. While the synoptic model proposes that all options for action and consequences at should be known in depth and the incremental planning neither goes broad or in depth. Etzioni therefore proposed that a wide but not very deep analysis combined with more detailed analysis of selected aspects should be conducted. Etzioni uses an example with a weather monitoring satellite, which "scans" across the continent with pictures in large scale. On places where a storm is building up for example tropical cyclones, it zooms in a takes pictures in much greater detail. In a similar way mixed-scan planning zooms in and scans the problems that are perceived as the most urgent or threatening, whilst also trying to cover the other aspects of the development within the theme and the geographical area.

⁹⁸ Etzioni, «Mixed-Scanning».

The motto of mixed-scanning may be expressed as follows: "Be flexible, but keep the direction." This type of planning can be compared to running cross-country: In order to get from post 1 to post you need to know where you are going next but that does not mean that you follow the compass stringently heading off precipices or into lakes.

4.2.7 Participation oriented planning models

Neither the synoptic or incremental planning model puts a lot emphasis on involving ordinary people in planning. Nor does mixed-scan treat this particular theme in any detail. But it is clear that plans and decisions often have major consequences for ordinary people. In the synoptic model it is the political majority who decides. Politicians determine the objectives which are to be achieved and planners find the solutions. In incremental planning various interest groups battle about who should get their preferred solution implemented. The politicians function through haggling and compromises. The planners manage the process and act as mediators focussing on insuring momentum. However in these models ordinary people do not play any important role. Especially groups without power and status – these groups are viewed as being completely irrelevant in the planning process. In response to this we have developed a number of planning models that we can gather under the heading ‘participatory planning’.

Within spatial planning it has long been policy that a proposed plan must put out into public hearing before being passed. Thus, those who believe they are affected by the plan can write to the public authority and air their opinion. But the participatory planning models aims at a much greater involvement than this.

There are different levels of involvement, each providing different degrees of influence⁹⁹. At the lowest level you only have the public sphere. Displaying plan proposals belong on this level. The next step on the ladder is information. Here we have the active information aimed at the population, for example in the form of letters, brochures, newspaper articles and information. The information does not have to go from the municipality to individuals but can also go the opposite way, to the municipality, by the mapping of various information's, obtaining information about what people prefer and what they do not desire. Another step up the ladder is where we have discussions. It is

⁹⁹ Arnstein, «A Ladder Of Citizen Participation».

only first on this step that you get a real dialogue about the themes that planning is all about. Open public meetings as well as meetings with representatives of stakeholder interests belong here. Planners can also try to create a debate and to invite interested people to participate in advisory groups. It is still municipality officials who decide, but decisions will be made with much greater insight into "what is going on among the people." Another step up the ladder and we find delegation of power. The measures are to a great extent the same as for information but here representatives of stakeholders take part with formal influence - for example by voting in a planning committee. The highest step is citizen control. Here the public organ responsible for planning leaves the decision entirely to those affected. As an example it could be that tenants were responsible for planning and deciding - within their residential area – how the traffic is regulated with speed limits, speed bumps and roadblocks.

The participatory planning model necessitates the involvement of one of the highest levels of the ladder. But it's not always easy to get people to participate actively. The higher the level of participation the more effort is required of the participants. Many elements of today's society are set up in a way that makes it harder for people to engage in planning at a municipal level. It has become more and more common to work overtime and in many professions it is an unwritten rule that people work far more hours per week than what is formally dictated. If afternoons and weekends are used at going through work that was not finished during normal working hours it may be impossible to expect people to use the small amount of free time in participating in discussion or meetings in connection with a municipal plan. Experience shows that people first and primarily get involved when the scheduled plan affects their local interests. This model therefore requires ingenuity and imagination by planners if you want a wide section of the affected citizens to participate actively with a municipal plan.

4.2.7.1 *Communicative planning*

Includes several elements inspired by participatory planning thinking. In general these models put more emphasis on participants learning from each other through dialogue, rather than on finding effective means to achieve a certain goals.

Communicative planning is strongly influenced by Jürgen Habermas' ideas of an ideal speech situation¹⁰⁰ i.e. the ideal conversation situation where only the good argument count and not the status or the power of conversation parties. It is concerned with how the planning process affects people's self-esteem, values and their opportunities for personal growth. Does planning contributes to making people more helpless and apathetic or does it trigger engagement? You can divide the communicative planning models into two branches: one that essentially see society with a harmony perspective which strives towards decisions that all participants in the planning process can agree on. The other direction is more concerned with how planners can negate the more powerful interest groups who manipulates in order to obtain benefits at the expense of weaker groups.

Communicative planning theory is engaged with building decentralized planning boards that can give people a greater say in their own life situation. An example of this might be a group with representatives from all stakeholders in a ghetto. But how does the decentralized planning agency reach an agreement? The premise is that it has to happen through dialogue and debate within its own coordinating boards. However it is not clear what authority these higher boards should have. The wish to put weight on local influence should mean that the desire is that it should be up to each local community to follow the recommendations of the elected board. The problem with this strong decentralizing ideology is that it is really not possible to ensure any co-ordination at an overall level.

4.2.7.2 *Advocacy planning*

Another form of participatory planning is advocacy planning. This model was launched by Paul Davidoff¹⁰¹. This model developed in order to accommodate a situation of increasing social contradictions in large cities, including the discrimination against people of colour and a strong dissatisfaction with the authorities' heavy-handed urban renewal policy. A policy, which basically aimed at demolishing a whole neighbourhood and start anew from the ground up. Davidoff advocacy planning entailed that planners take a value standpoint and advocate for different groups with the aim of helping to create a situation with different and competing plan proposals.

¹⁰⁰ Mills, Durepos, og Wiebe, *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research. Volume 2 Volume 2*.

¹⁰¹ Davidoff, «ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING».

Ideally all groups in society according to Davidoff have their own advocacy planner but the need is significantly greater amongst underprivileged groups. A typical task for an advocacy planner would be to defend a neighbourhood against external threats by designing alternative proposals that would ensure the local people's interests. This is planning model that sees society from a conflict perspective, in contrast with the participation and consensus-seeking approach which characterizes the communicative planning approach.

One problem with advocacy planning is the question of who should pay for the planners work. There is a not unsubstantial risk that it is only the resourceful neighbourhoods which have the resources to have an advocacy planner, opposite what were David Offs intentions. Today the situation is just that, there is a lot of advocacy planning on behalf of the strong, as for example the preparation of private local plan proposals for affluent clients with a subsequent lobbying and negotiation with local authority planners.

4.2.7.3 Radical planning

The last one I want to mention is the radical planning where we find a range of "rebellious" and critical ways of looking at planning in today's society. Within planning literature a distinction is made between two traditional main directions of radical planning: A culture radical or anarchist direction and Marxist-oriented. The cultural radical direction focuses on experiments with alternative way of organising society, while the Marxist focuses on how the economic system affects the possibilities within planning.

In addition to these two directions a third direction has become clear. The third is what we can call a power and rationality oriented direction. Within this perspective the focus is in particular on the detailed processes in which power is used to define the planning agenda and power to determine what knowledge is to be counted as valid.

The cultural radical branch of radical planning includes various subgroups, including feminist planning and ecological planning, especially the thinking behind the creation of eco-villages. The latter strategy involves creating organic self-sufficient and more or less egalitarian enclaves but without challenging the economic system of the larger community. When it comes to planning procedures the cultural radicals planning ideal come close to the ideals of the communicative models. The Marxist oriented direction has focused most of forces within societal development and

in developing criticism of the interests that today's planning serve. It has been less concrete on how planning actually should take place.

The power and rationality oriented direction is inspired by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Prominent speakers include Phil Almendinger and Tim Richardson, Oren Yiftachel and Bent Flyvbjerg. Here it is essential to make a critical analysis of what kind of knowledge has been used and what kind knowledge that has been excluded or ignored in the planning (Flyvbjerg, 2002). With the discourse analysis as central method to identify how various groups within society, with different approaches to power and resources, struggle to ensure the survival of their values, their knowledge and their practices.

4.3 Different planning roles

What kind of knowledge and skills does a planner need the most? The answer to this all depend on which role you think the planner should have in the planning process. Each different planning theory has a different view on this.

Within synoptic planning the planner is primarily considered a technical expert. He or she must have a handle on what solutions would be effective in meeting the different objectives and also know what unintended effects that might occur. The planner must be well trained technically and master a variety of analytical methods.

Within incremental planning the planner's knowledge of the correlation between goals and methods are not as important. Instead she or he has to be a capable administrator being able to organize and manage a process was different groups haggle and help to insure the necessary compromises.

In communicative planning it is the planner's role to consult the different groups during the planning. To stimulate creative problem solving processes that helps the participants in articulating their perceptions and to ensure that everyone understands each other, mediate and propose compromising solutions. As well as trying to discourage the more resourceful participants dominating the discussion at the expense of the weaker. It is also this planner's role to expose and criticize any attempts at manipulation.

Within advocacy planning it is the planner's role to be the champion of his "client group". To be a loyal spokesman who regularly consults his "hinterland". Without making any compromises which he is not sure that the client group can accept. The advocacy planner needs technical knowledge to formulate proposals that really serves he's client group interests and to criticize proposals that might affect he's client but loyalty and responsiveness to the population planner represents is as important.

The radical planning planner's role is to be a critic, a rebel and an activist perhaps also an experimenter and visionary utopian.

Planner roles can also be divided according to what typically characterizes situations with different types of uncertainty. The planning theorist Karen Christensen (1985) uses a division into four different planning situations depending on whether there is consensus or not. Once there is agreement on the objectives and the means are known the typical role of the planner according to Christensen is to standardize, optimise and act as a rule-checker. When the means are known but there is disagreement about the objectives, the role rather is to be a spokesman, negotiator and expert in aiding and providing the necessary answers. When there on the contrary is consensus on the objectives but uncertainty about which means can realize them it is the planner's role being an experimenter, innovator or pragmatist. In the chaotic situation in which the tools are unknown and there is disagreement about the goals, Christensen believes that the planner's main role is to be charismatic leader or problem finder.

Planning roles, however, cannot be isolated from the role that plans play in a society: Which overall aims do the plans seek to achieve? Planning the one and same content can in one situation be preserving the system and act conformist and in another situation be rebellious and oppositional. It depends on which rationale the planning the country and epoch is dominated by.

4.4 Sehesteds four planner types

Karina Sehested, Senior researcher at KU – Copenhagen University, has studied and outlined four types of planner roles. There are different roles in planning, even within the same project. Below I will present the four planner roles.

4.4.1 The planner as a professional development consultant

This planning role attaches great importance to functionalism in the physical city, for example infrastructure. At the same time the focus is very much on aesthetics, which can contribute to this type of planner being mostly focused on how he/she can ensure 'the good city'¹⁰². The professional development consultant will usually not describe himself as a civil servant, but rather see themselves as a professional within the architectural field and with a greater interest directed towards e.g. architectural policy. A professional development consultant tries weighting the professional and the political aspect equally and there is a high degree of respect for democracy and diversity in urban development. Network management in the professional as a development consultant is done through elitist closed groups of different experts e.g. architects, engineers and politicians. These networks have great importance because it is through these that the architects and their design studios create actual drawings take through which the policies are translated into actual policy objectives.

4.4.2 The planner as a manager

This type of plan does not put equal emphasis on the professional aspect of the work as the consultant does but instead focusses on a more politically orientated angle. This planning role fits more with what we would perceive as a traditional civil servant character. There is an increased focus on e.g. the municipal policy making. The manager aim is to a lesser extent directed towards the physical planning aspect and more in providing a basis for the politicians to make decisions¹⁰³. This planning role has a higher tendency to remain neutral and loyal to the political sphere. The manager acts as a kind of sparring partner, advising contractors, builder and politicians. Network management as a manager is done by operating in closed elite circles and involves both public and private actors¹⁰⁴.

4.4.3 The marked planner

This planning role focuses heavily on the private economic aspects of planning. It is real and potential projects that are paramount. The marked planner is driven by a more liberal mind-set that wants to limit the impact from municipal/public administration and political spheres. A holistic

¹⁰² Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

approach from this kind of planner is expressed through the desire to increase the city's economic value. The marked planner selects mostly investors to participate in the planning process, where they jointly build an overall interest in the project. Marked planners have to possess a great economic insight since they have to include investor's economic interests into those of the city in order to increase the positive effect across the overall project. His networks are closed, small and elitist, as this planner type mainly negotiates with private development actors¹⁰⁵.

4.4.4 The process planner

This planning role is distinct from the three above; here the focus is on engaging residents in the planning process. Process planner's main role is to act as a facilitator for the various implicated actors. A process planner work mainly with ensuring participation, creating a framework and a set of guidelines for the participation in the planning process. This planner is not seen as a civil servant, but rather as a consultant or advisor, focusing on social development more than physical in order to facilitate a smooth urban planning process. Network control here consists as an open planning process because good planning depends on involving as many stakeholders as possible¹⁰⁶. For process planners, it is not only the result and profits that are in focus, but rather how the process has proceeded. It is not the architectural expression, political correctness or the most economically viable result that is paramount. For the process planner it is the process and democratic consensus in the final results that are in focus.

4.4.5 Short summary

The planning tasks are what these different types of planner have in common, what binds the various planners together. That being said no planner would be able to only have the characteristics of only one of the above types. Most would have traits from two or more. But if the starting point is that the unifying and integrating factor in the city's Meta management is not developed as it is the case by the first three planning types, then what controls planners relation to immigrants, multiculturalism and diversity?

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

4.5 Rationales in planning

When it comes to tangible urban planning results there are three main rationales in prosperous democracies. The dominant rationale is based on the objective of economic growth. Planning needs pave the way for physical development that enables growth. Planning must also pave the way for expansion, which aims to create growth or if it is considered necessary for maintaining existing growth. Through modern society's history the urban planner profession has been closely linked to the growth rationale. The planner's technical skills have been developed with the intention to develop solutions for growth within the housing sector and infrastructure. Without growth the demand for such professionals would be much less. This may be an explanation for the fact that planners, who in some contexts can be quite critical of society, often end up forming an alliance with client interests on the issue of growth.

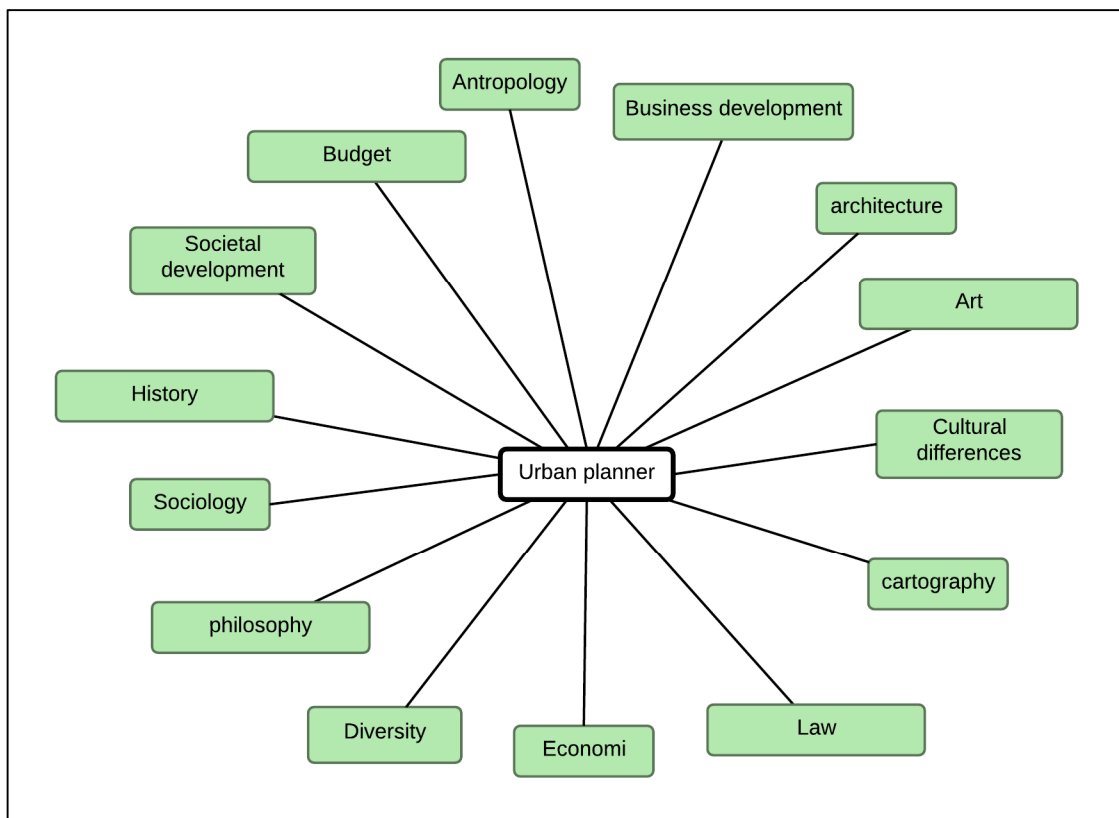


Figure 9. The planners knowledge disciplines¹⁰⁷

Another important rationale which is partly competitive with the growth rationale is the rationale of social justice. Goals based on this rationale are an important part of the history that helped form the

¹⁰⁷ Jørgensen, «Planlæggerroller og -opgaver i danske kommuner».

ideas that the reform planners Ebenezer Howard and Lewis Mumford advocated against. In Scandinavia this rationale had its strongest influence in the period of where the welfare state built huge amounts of public houses. Public housing programs, initiatives to counteract social segregation and initiatives to ensure equal accessibility to services and amenities were important elements in this rationale. Also the aforementioned focus on citizen participation in planning processes can be linked to the rationale of social justice.

Finally we begin to a rationale for ecological sustainability as a part of the justification for planning. Construction of buildings, development of infrastructure and land use in general may affect ecosystems and natural environment in number of different ways. Today physical urban development in most European cities is far from meeting the demands of what is considered sustainable development. Changing these environmentally unfortunate trends sets planning which based on a sustainability rationale on the agenda.

The balance between these three rationales will depend on the political, social and cultural conditions within society. For example the increased adherence to market liberalism around the 1980th resulted in planning being more firmly embedded into the growth rationale at the expense the rationale of social justice. Similarly the increased environmental awareness around the 1990th increase planning options based on a sustainability rationale. In recent years there has been another turn has toward greater focus on economic growth and liberalization. Besides these overall society trends there is also the specific community circumstances which obviously also play an important part of the conditions planning has.

But with all this being said the individual planner's own values and ideals still means something. It is therefore important that practicing planners reflect on the ethical issues in planning and planning rationales. What is the main rationale for planning and which rationale applies for the company where you work? Planners who are aware of this won't easily risk their proposals or ideas being dismissed as unrealistic or bad solutions. Reflecting over these subjects makes planner better equipped at defending their professional values and what they stand for.

4.6 Power, democracy and network planning

The difference between rationalistic planning and network planning is very much about the difference in the degree and timing of involving other stakeholders in the planning process. If it is

the planner that set the criteria for good planning, it is he who has the power to determine the criteria whereby power is distributed to the various stakeholders. Every time there is a change or a new local plan is decided it can be said to be an expression of the exercise of power.

The balance of power depends on the form of government. Rational planning is related to the hierarchical bureaucratic form of government with a parliamentary democracy where there is a clear split between the state, market and civil society. Each of these actors has thus well-defined roles see illustration on figure 10.

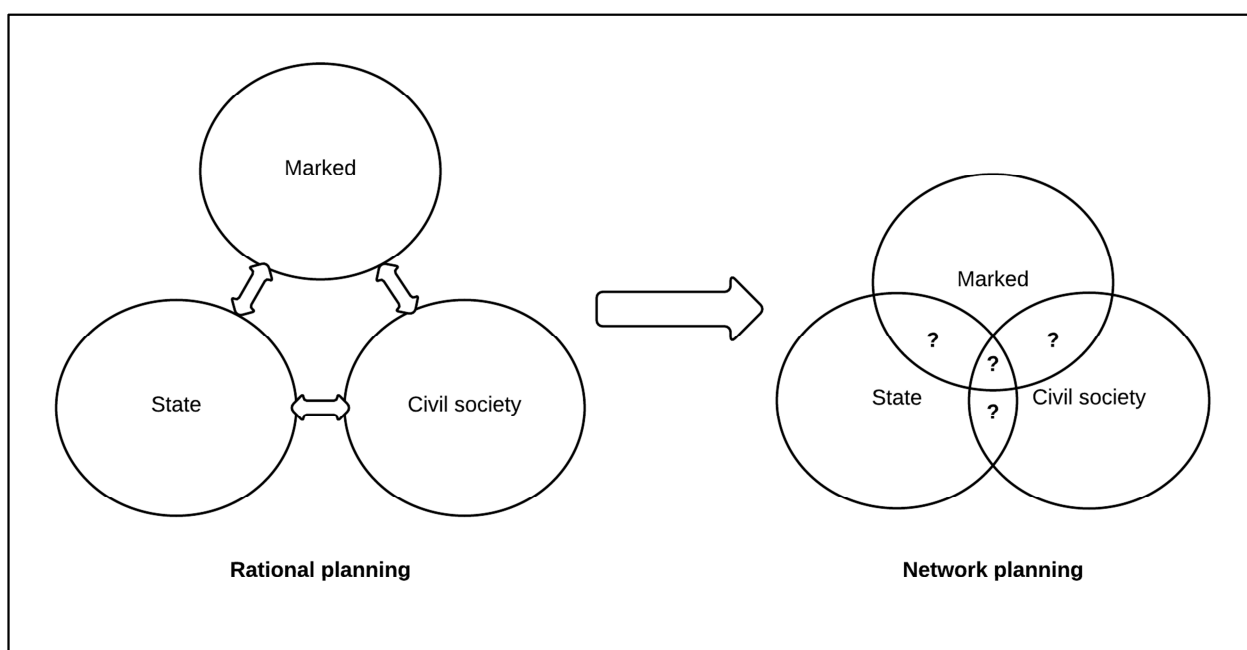


Figure 10. Actors clearly defined in rational planning but not in Network planning

Network Planning in contrast is more aligned towards a network-oriented government form which transcends the traditional management levels as ex state. "Decisions are taken in a complex interplay of various (international, national, regional and local) decision levels"^{108,109} Thereby state, marked and civil society no has clear boundaries as both initiative, plan development and monitoring is conducted jointly between different actors see figure 10. When boundaries and roles of the actors within society are not clear there is a much greater array of things that gives rise to discussion. It is discussable what role and power of decision affected citizens should have in relation to the elected politicians. Politicians can be held accountable for decisions and we do not need to vote for them for

¹⁰⁸ "Beslutninger træffes således i et komplekst sammenspil på en række forskellige (internationale, nationale, regionale og lokale) beslutningsniveauer."

¹⁰⁹ Agger et al., *Borgerne på banen*.

the next election. That is the case with active citizens¹¹⁰ so it is relevant to discuss how where balance should be and such a discussion is directly related to the discussion of democracy.

Denmark is a representative democracy where citizens elect others to represent their views¹¹¹. The Planning Act (§ 22a) states, however, that citizens must have opportunities to express their opinions in the statutory hearing period at least 8 weeks when making new plans including local plans. The Planning Act (§ 23s paragraph 5) say that in addition to the local council do not have to change plans compared to the possible objections that comes from citizens. So in essence the politicians can create the framework of content of local plans as long as there has been a hearing period. If they put a fixed framework on the basis of a preliminary round, one could say that politicians follow public interest and thus it is democratic but if they only follow their own interests because the for example knows a friend who can benefit from the project, it would no longer be perceived as planning for the common good.

In this thesis the focus has been the planners roles in a further investigation might be appropriate to also examine the role of politicians, as their roles in high degree also is changed as planners when more including network-oriented approach is used when planning. The politicians roles changes like the planners roles from being a sovereign politicians to a meta-governor.

When politicians decide that a planning project should be conducted within a very specific framework it is an exercise of power and might possibly result in a local plan which is not ideal for the area. Flyvbjerg has researched rationality and power in the planning process and he arrived to the conclusion that there is a big difference in how planning is carried out reality and how it should be ideally. So it may well be that it is ideal to have network planning instead of having the politicians make decisions on the local level. In the ideal planning idea rationality is a central concept but according to Flyvbjerg there is in fact often power instead. The ideal planning should be based on truth, encourage participation and help to promote sustainability and social justice. In contrast to this ideal Flyvbjerg (2008) states that planning often expresses the opposite: that there is a manipulation

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Held, *Models of Democracy*.

of facts. Actors are excluded from the process and the planning that takes place might create or maintain social injustice even if it has not been the intention.

4.7 Problems with network planning

Network Planning has its strengths and weaknesses and the art is according to Sørensen¹¹² (2006) that develop and promote the potential benefits and minimize problems. It is unclear questions about network planning can make a positive contribution to the solution of public management tasks such as handling increasing diversity and multiculturalism. One of the problems is that it can be difficult to mobilize and activate all the relevant public, associations and companies. The consequence it may be that it is the active citizens who have a significant impact, while the less active not gain influence. Network management is fragile because they are not held together by other than participants' willingness to participate. This means that it can be difficult to deal with conflict, and that it can be difficult to take long haul, requiring a high degree of persistence¹¹³. Sehested also believe that it is only in some cases, network planning is rewarding¹¹⁴.

¹¹² Jæger og Sørensen, *Roller der rykker*.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Sehested, «Urban Planners as Network Managers and Metagovernors».

5 Analysis

Figure 11 illustrates the analytical approach and as illustrated in the figure the analysis is concentrated on the local planning process and the role of the urban planner: An analysis of the local planning process and an analysis of urban planners' role.

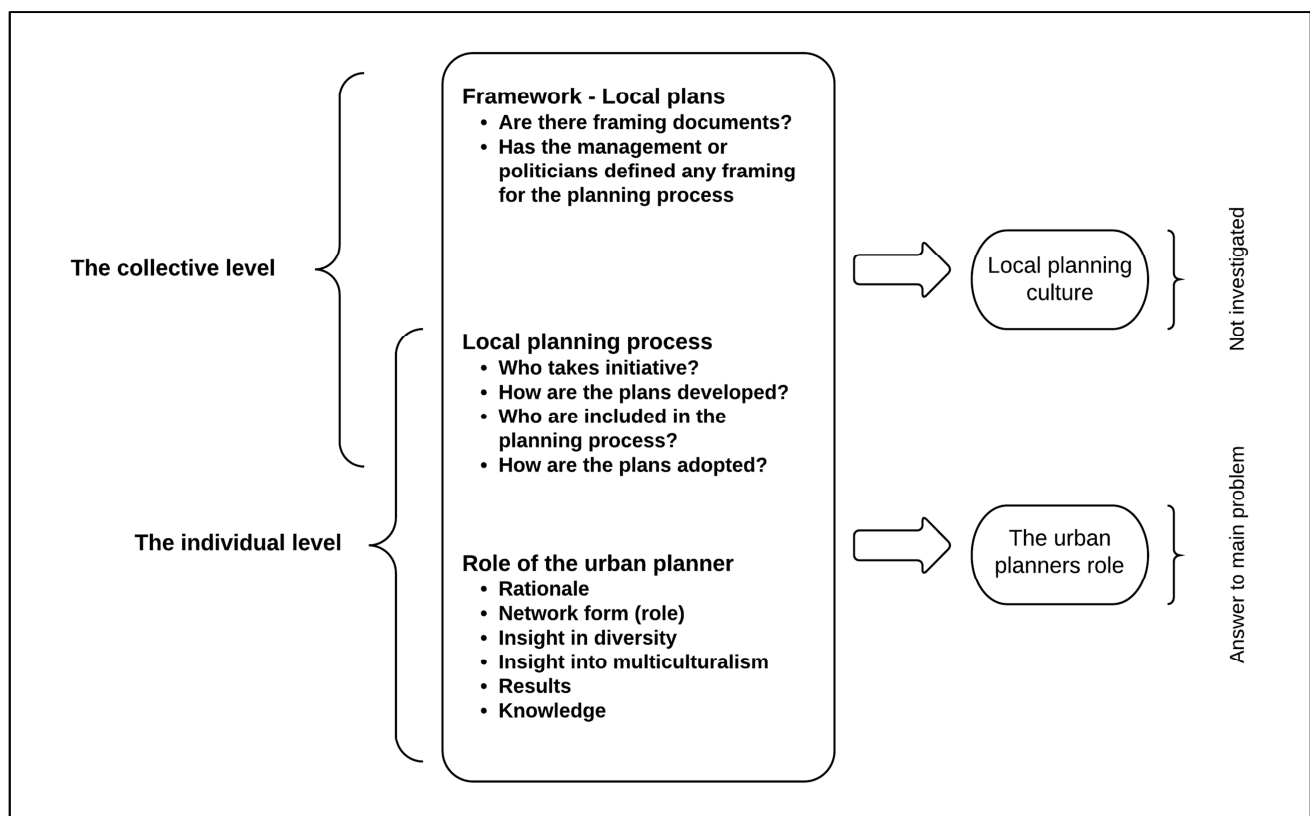


Figure 11. Analytical approach

The urban planners role are analysed because roles can also help to elucidate how and if multiculturalism play a part in the planning process at the local level. The analysis of the individual level is bounded to exclusively deal with urban planners, although there are also leaders, politicians, and others individuals from within the municipalities, as well as external actors, stakeholders, clients and others which are involved in local planning.

The urban planner role is analysed from the perspective on how the individual planner approaches diversity and multiculturalism when planning. Analysing whether there are variation in the approach to work to identify whether the urban planners have different roles and which - if any - elements of

multicultural planning they take into account. The analysis is divided into four sub-analyses can be seen in Figure 11. The results of the analysis are compared with the role types Sehested has defined and it is examined whether there is a connection between literature and theory. Thereby creating a perspective on whether the empirical identified roles have any correlations with the theoretically defined roles. Also investigating whether or not and which of these roles includes elements of multicultural planning in work and whether the theory compared to the empiricism do not match the roles in theory. If the analysis shows that local planners have completely different roles that cannot be compared with any of role types Sehested has defined then the analysis can be used to study the role planners' play in incorporating the needs from a diverse and multicultural society. It can tell on how involved various actors are in local planning and hence understand the planning form. If it turns out that the roles does not match Sehested theory it can also provide the context for developing her theory, but it will only become apparent when the analysis is made.

The analysis of the local planners' roles used to find out which relationships there are if any between local planning and multiculturalism and diversity. Subsequently I will discuss the potentials and obstacles for including multiculturalism and diversity planning at the local level but the discussion topic will be first materialized after the analysis in the next chapter as the results are decisive for the choice of discussion topics.

5.1 The planning process

The local planning process is an analysis of both the collective and individual level see the analytical approach in figure 11. It based on an analysis of the individual level, as the five local planners' different approaches to local planning are included separately in the analysis and it is a collective analysis. The goal of this analysis is to give more holistic view of how the planning process generally takes place. The analysis is divided into four different analysis topics (initiative, development, inclusion and adoption) which together will help to describe the planning process. At the end of each section I will try to conclude whether there is presence of network planning and whether or not elements of a multicultural perspective/planning are present in each of the four parts of the planning process. I should add that planning process also consists of the time after the plan is adopted, where actual projects are implemented based on the plan. But this thesis focusses on the planning process rather than the final product.

Municipalities have two main tools - in the form of municipal and local plans - available in the physical planning, in efforts to establish a framework for building, construction and land use, together referred the physical environment.

The municipal plan includes a period of 12 years and the plan must be revised every four. The municipal plan defines the overall objectives for how the municipality should develop and use its land. This is achieved through the establishment of a main framework, partly by normalizing the framework for local planning. The municipal plan is about how residential, commercial and service areas should be placed in relation to each other e.g. the service, service supply, recreational areas and the like and it also ensures the link between the overall and local levels. As a prelude to the municipal plan there also has to be prepared a planning strategy indicating how the municipality is going to evaluate the strategy, development. The local plan is the detailed plan for a particular area in a municipality. It determines how an area will be used and the extent and location of buildings, roads, open spaces, etc. The local plan is binding for the individual landowner and has no time limit. It can only be changed by a new local plan however the municipality can grant exemptions from a local plan if there are no derogation contradictions to the principles of the plan. As indicated in the introduction, the tasks solved by the municipal planning departments is far from limited to spatial planning or scheduling tasks in general. Planners also fix many other tasks in the municipal organization. The majority of their performance may be placed into eight planning related fields:

- Municipality Planning
- Local planning,
- Theme Planning,
- Sector Planning,
- Building applications
- Urban renewal
- Project design and
- Map Manager

Spatial planning at the municipal level can be said to be ideas about the future as dealing with and is based on the present, but there are also required to planners must perform a synthesis of many professions both for planning to "function" properly and to be credible, and to convince politicians with an often different conception of the world and the priorities at the micro level.

The scope of the knowledge world that a planner comes into contact with has a range from anthropology to law and the tasks of planning range equivalent from mobility and settlement of property. Thus, many of the fields of knowledge, which are included in the planning are often better known in other fields of expertise than planning or do simply belong in other professions.

5.1.1 Initiating the planning process

All three local planners agree that the initiative of local plans usually come from developers, who want to realize a building project. When developers want to start a project the proceedings normally start in the local planning department, where there is dialogue between the developer and caseworkers on project. Or it might start with the developer having a dialogue with the municipal architect or the politicians. The fact that local plans often start by the developers take the initiative can be seen as a sign of network planning. In network planning the initiative come from various forums while in e.g. rationalist planning it is exclusively the municipality themselves who take the initiative for planning. When it is only the developers who comes with initiatives, it cannot be said that it is different forums (though it may be different developers) then the initiatives should also have come from stakeholders, citizens, etc. thus seen initiative from builders only as one aspect of network planning.

An urban planner, "Planner A", explains that local plans often are started up in cooperation between the municipality and stakeholders. The municipality might make an overall master plan for an area on the basis of a discussion with various stakeholders, which describes the features they have found to be relevant in the area. When a developer wants to start project which contains some of the features that fits within the master plans framework, then the actual local plan process starts. Thus with it can be said that the first initiative occurs in a partnership where both municipality, the stakeholders in the area and the developers wishes are merged. "Planner A" said: *"(in relation to local plans) ...so we can say that it is a private developer who come to us and come and say we want to build it here ... there we have as a dialogue with them and make much out of it there 'advance dialogue' which we are starting to make more of than we did before ... and it's a private developer, it is not us who go in and build but we have a dialogue with them (the developer)"*¹¹⁵. The fact that the municipality jointly with developers and stakeholders in the area take the initiative to local plans,

¹¹⁵ Annex 1: Planner A, 1.

shows that the planning form have a lot of elements from network planning. In network planning the aim is cooperation between the municipality and the relevant stakeholders about the initiative. In network planning it also always about what can be done in practice and since the local plans are first made when developers come with a specific project, they want to build it is also consistent with the network-oriented planning form. Which Planner E further substantiates; “...*we are not sitting and looking for assignments*”¹¹⁶. He clearly does not see it as their responsibility to initiate any planning suggestions as he also states by saying; “...*it is people's needs that create the societal development...*”¹¹⁷. So in his opinion it is the responsibility of local stakeholders – be it citizens or developers – to ensure the future development their area.

5.1.2 How are the plans developed

Planner D: “(in relation to local plans) ... *It's very initiated by developers, project developer who asks realtors what there is demand for...*”¹¹⁸. All of the urban planners explained that they start up investigating whether the local plan is in accordance with the overall municipal plan as planner E states; “...*the local plan must not be contrary to the municipal plan and the local plan must help to support the overall strategy of the municipal plan*”¹¹⁹, assessing whether it fits into municipal concerning ex wastewater, historical interests and so forth. And if it does not match the municipal plan there is the option to make an appendix to the municipal plan. In parallel with this assessment they also assess the project's actual content. When preparing for local plans it is also required to assess whether there might be an environmental impact. In addition to the district planning process it there might be several other plans that have to be made in parallel with the local plan, but by other departments of the municipality and not the municipality's local planners as planner A said; “*there is happening a lot in relation to thinking solutions across ... something is happening ... it's not perfect ... it is difficult and many times it will not be thought together...*”¹²⁰. Although it did not seem that when talking about cooperation that they made any plans together it was more a question that the different departments made their own plan for their work field.

¹¹⁶ Annex 4: Planner D & E.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Annex 1: Planner A.

Planner A states that when she starts up with making local plans she starts to have a dialogue with the developer; “...we sit as a collaboration with architects and landscape architects that the developer hires having a dialogue with them about what kind of an area might be good to make...”¹²¹. Often the developer wants to have as many square meters built as possible. Most of the planners state that they try and think of the big picture, trying to be reasonable both in terms of density, architecture and how the area interacts with the rest of the city. They negotiate with the developer and when they reach a point where they agree they present the project for politicians. Typically they also develop alternatives that the committee can discuss. Once there is a green light to make the local plan they start making the local planning document

All of the urban planners collaborate with other departments within their administration especially when it is about a local plan the cooperation is often exclusively with actors inside the house, planner B; “...all cases we run is with others (professionals)”¹²². They most often only involve citizens in the eight-week hearing period. Apart from the involvement of other actors in the local plan process can be seen that there are variations between the different planners. When working with the local planning document there always seem to be collaborations between local planners with other disciplines internally in the municipality. It can be seen as one aspect of network planning, since cooperation means that planners are arranged so they all have subject-related knowledge, as they see it necessary collaborate in their planning preparation rather than sit alone with work. There is only one local planner who also collaborates externally and that was only when working on specific area renewal projects. Within network planning all relevant stakeholders should be included in the process to ensure as broad a knowledge base as possible and in order to make the best decisions jointly. About the urban planners who only involve internal actors, it is debatable whether they have made sure to involve all relevant actors.

5.1.3 Who are included in the planning process

Seemingly as the planning processes most often is initiated by developers it is also between the hired experts by the developer and the planners representing the politicians and the already adopted plans. Planner E says; “one cannot differentiate between 170,000 views...(refers to whether they

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Annex 2: Planner B.

differentiate between citizens)¹²³”. I his view a planner cannot do anything more than see citizens as a homogeneous group. At least not until they form groups with enough people to actually influence the process. Stating that; “*But we are of course at eye level with them, they are resourceful citizens.*”¹²⁴”. So in this case he only relates to the people who come and try to affect the planning process. He does not seem to take into account that there might be groups who do not attend and who are not represented. Another planner seems to at least think about the people who do not necessarily show up at hearing, Planner A; “I think a lot about (refer to citizens is very different) ... but it is also due. My education ...”¹²⁵”. But still there does not seem to be any attempt to include citizens at an earlier stage than the hearing period or to ensure that a wide sections of residents participate in the hearing.

5.1.4 How are the plans adapted

The planning process does not seem to be a static size. It varies when and who are involved in the planning process. Most often it seem to be closed process between the municipality and developer until the 8 week hearing period. Sometimes there is a dialog with a more wide section of stakeholders before the hearing period. Sometimes they have one citizen meeting sometimes more. But it seem to be more focussed on going through and informing about the plan with only the possibility to revise minor detail for the citizens. Planner D states that; “*we hold public meetings as a technical review.*”¹²⁶” Telling that it is held so that they as planners can explain what is going to happen, although planner E also states: “*we take the criticism that comes and assesses them ... it is a kind of democratic process*”¹²⁷”. So if they asses it as being reasonable they might go back and go through the plans a second time.

When it is always the city council, which ultimately must adopt the plans, it is only the politicians, who have the final say in the adoption of the plans. In network planning, initiative, preparation and adoption happen together. If the politicians refuse a plan other actors in the community would like to

¹²³ Annex 4: Planner D & E.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Annex 1: Planner A.

¹²⁶ Annex 4: Planner D & E.

¹²⁷ Ibid.



have, it is not a sign of network planning. The decisions in network planning is made on the basis of a broad knowledge base and wide network.

5.1.5 Part conclusion

This section is a subset outlining the results of analysis of the planning culture. The analysis of the planning culture has shown that there are partial aspects of network planning in several contexts in the planning processes. The analysis also revealed a number of other contexts in which there is network planning and how planning shape more reminiscent of the rationalist planning form.

Apparently there are no documents that set a framework for local planning especially not concerning diversity or multiculturalism – as a fact there was not a single planner who had worked with anything they would call multicultural or focussed on diversity. The Planning Act is the only framing document in within the planning process, therefore framing of the preparation and process is to a great degree up to the individual planner. The structure of the organization does not seem to act as framework for the planning process and therefore there is nothing preventing the degree of involvement of others in the local planning process and thus network planning can easily occur. The approach to local planning process and the level of involvement is decided entirely by the planners. Therefore the framing of the planning process seems to quite open towards network planning. The only framework condition that may hinder network planning is if the politicians should put solid framework for local planning solely out of self-interest.

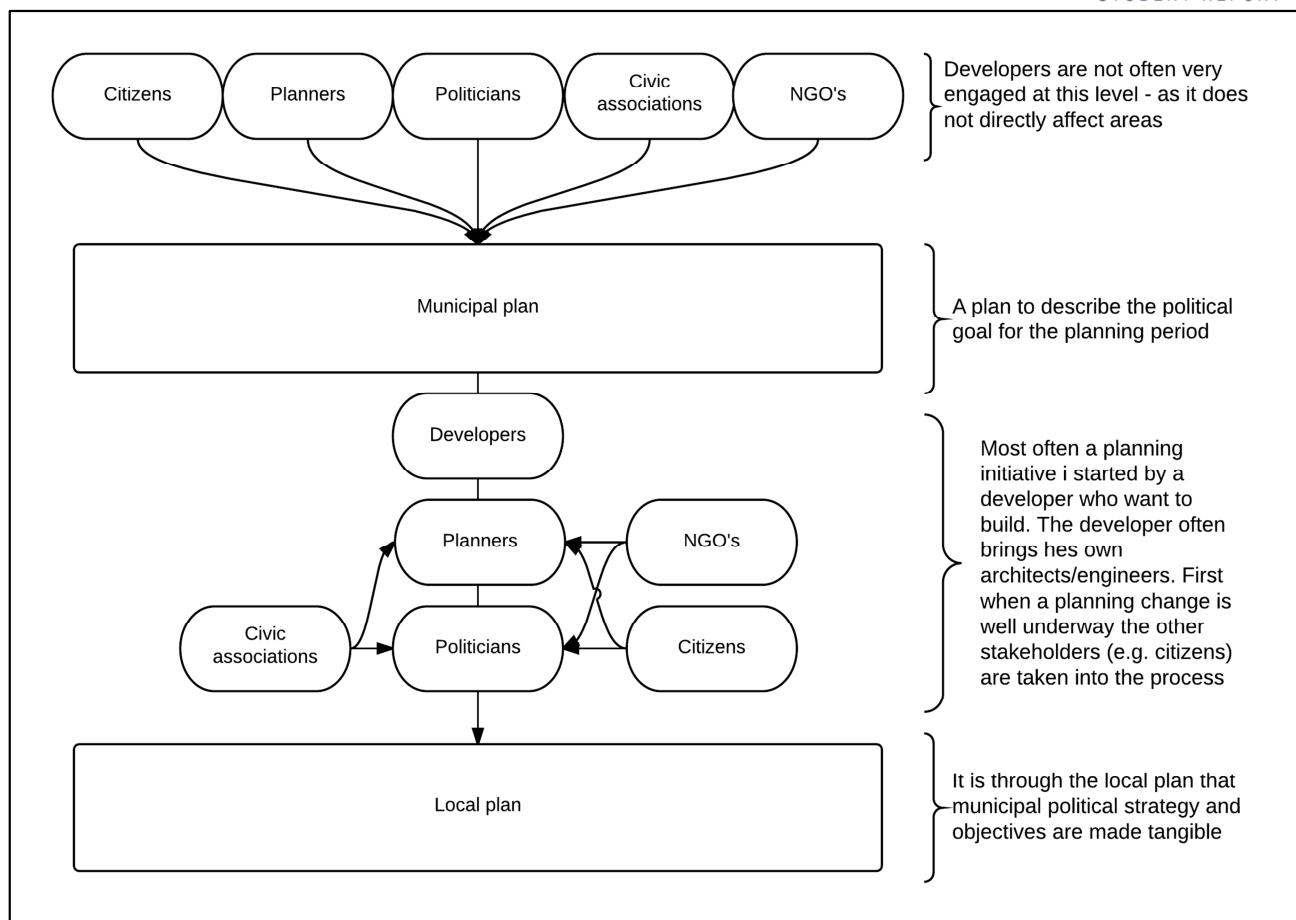


Figure 12. Who affect the planning processes

In the analysis of the local plan process, it appears that there are also signs of network planning in several parts of the local plan process. When the initiative is often taken by builders who make suggestions it can be seen as a form of network planning (see figure 12), since the local plans is first made when there is demand for a specific project. In addition, the municipal authority do and sometimes initiative a joint cooperation with developers and stakeholders around a local plan, which is also a signs of network planning, since in this planning form it is always sought to create as much cooperation between municipality and stakeholders around the initiative.

Since the framework conditions are quite open it is up to the individual planning how make local plans, it is not surprising that the various planners have different approaches to local planning. What was surprising was how little the social dimension seemed to be included in the things they worked with. Here I am not even talking about diversity or multiculturalism, simply the fact that they themselves estimated that it was only the resourceful who came to hearings or citizens meetings and that it was not considered even the least problematic. The analysis did show that there was great variation in planning approach the degree of involvement of other actors in planning process. Four of

the planners often work exclusively with other experts internally from the municipality, while only one planner had tried cooperating both internally and externally.

Now it is analysed how network planning can be traced in the planning culture within the Municipalities. Since it has been found that it is largely up to the local planners if there is network planning, if the politicians do not have solid framework for local planning, it is relevant to analyse local planners' roles further separately, in order to gain more knowledge about the variation of the planners' approach to local planning.

5.2 The urban planners role

The interviews with local planners from Gentofte, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen and (Brøndby) have given insight into their planning processes - that there are different approaches to develop local plans but that it is most often initiated by developers. In regards to if there are any policies or frames which might mean that planners would or would not incorporate elements of diversity inclusion or multiculturalism there did not seem to be any at all.

In the following section I analyse the different approaches to planning to further provide knowledge about variation in local planners' approaches to local planning as to planners' different roles. The analysis of each planner has the same structure and is each divided into five sub-analyses: the urban planners' rationale, cooperation, insight into diversity and multiculturalism and knowledge.

5.2.1 Planner A – Process planner

5.2.1.1 Rationale

Planner A's rationale is to involve as many stakeholders in the process as possible to obtain an understanding of the interests that are in an area. She stated that the following is most important to her when she worked with area renewal: *"...in area renewal we were further ahead in regards of thinking citizen involvement ... thinking that people are different both socially and culturally and therefore some methods which are very good ... and that is also something we could use more of in*

*traditional planning*¹²⁸". Her rationale is to involve as many players as possible to ensure wholes, which is consistent with the rationale for the role type that Sehested called "Process Planning"

5.2.1.2 Cooperation

When planner A makes local plans she collaborates with both internal and external actors in both the conceptual phase, preparation phase and the implementation phase. It is different to what extent Planner A involves and cooperating with the various actors as ex. citizens, associations, etc. She said; *"In connection with a local plan so you can say that people have the knowledge about the local area that you do not just see when you take a look at the area ... but they have the knowledge of where the really good places are and what it is should be preserved or what are the qualities and what are these stories related to just this area. Who uses the area and how is it that it is being used ... they have the knowledge that you think you can get something good out of."*¹²⁹ She threats each plan on the individual level and tries to find out who she should involve and who might have interests in the project. She involves e.g. stakeholders to discuss, which features the area should have but she does not discuss ex design since it is a matter of taste, which there may be many different opinions on. Saying; *"Sometimes one hears that it does not matter (to participate in hearing) which it certainly is... I think that it is our job as planners to get it lined up right. It is discussed whether there will be a building, the building comes because if people will write, we would like a park .. Then they say we asked what they wanted ... they want a park... but it's just, it's not an option we have, we also think it could be fine with a park but there is a private developer who does not want a park and right now we have the plot ... it's our job to make sure to communicate what up for discussion and it will of course often be the smaller things."*¹³⁰. When planner A makes local plans for ex new urban cooperate she always tries to involve all the stakeholders, which fits well with the role of "Process Planner". This role type is characterized by working in open plural network throughout the planning process.

¹²⁸ Annex 1: Planner A.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

5.2.1.3 *Insight into diversity and multiculturalism*

Planner A is clearly the one who has worked most with the people on the street but that was mainly when she worked with area renewal projects. But she seems to have taken a lot of her experiences with her when working with local planning. Stating; *“I think a lot about (refer to citizens being very different) ... but it is also due to my education ... we have a complex office, where we have different educations ... there are architects, engineers, more and more have a more socially oriented education like geographers... I think it give a great dynamic... there is someone who thinks more about it than others do ... some have more core competences in some other things.”¹³¹*. She clearly sees people internally having different roles and strengths in regard to what they find important in the planning process. But in relation the a specific subject such as diversity and multiculturalism she has not worked with the subject although she did think that is was risky to use culture as a binding link between people *“(in relation to multiculturalism) ...the danger may be that ... it is important that you have something to share ... so you can have ... culture may be fine ... but you must have something other in common”¹³²*. Showing that she herself have formed an idea of what should be considered a binding factor within group dynamics.

5.2.1.4 *Knowledge*

The knowledge that planner A views as most important is a knowledge to manage processes, although she also puts emphasis on having the right technical expertise. She solves this by her belief that she herself should not have all the knowledge that the planning process requires, but in instead she cooperates with the people who know something different. She said: *“I have contact with both the good social workers ... so that (in the project and for the people it covers) others also knows and get some social connections”*. She regularly involves other actors with different knowledge. Just as the role of process planning, it is not the professional knowledge that is most important for her, but instead it's important that she can figure out how to involve the stakeholders with relevant knowledge. Thus suit "Planning C "s role again consistent with what characterizes the process Planner.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

5.2.2 Planner B - Manager

5.2.2.1 Rationale

Planner B strives to make the product, the politicians want. Although it from a purely planning perspective is not always the best solution he resigned himself with the fact that planning is politics and he said; *"we do listen to people. But it is clear that you have a civil servant service that gets paid to do what they do and who know a lot"*¹³³. He thinks that's ok, that local planning going on so, so long he has highlighted both positive and negative consequences of the alternatives. He is thus clarified that planning is on the basis of what the politicians outline and decide. His rationale can be put into perspective as the rationale from the role of "manager" in Sehested planning roles. His rationale is, like the manager type to strive for what politicians want. He wants a political and effective implementation where he does not waste time and work on something that has no political support.

5.2.2.2 Cooperation

Planner B cooperates with actors internally from the municipality who have insight into doing local plans. He works only with external actors, if there are special interests at stake. The involvement of citizens is only done in the public hearing period. He more sees it as a cooperation between the politician and the planners; *"we affect them fairly much (politicians) we present analyses them and takes around and presents them to the political groupings and education, what it means and why it is such ... and they use it for their policies the other way"*¹³⁴. He does not view as his role go into dialogue with citizens, if they want to affect the planning process they have to option of organizing themselves and affect the politicians; *"it is more the politicians who speak the different groups cases"*¹³⁵, and *"It is a separate political dimension that influences politicians... it happens often one sees examples of a particular groupings becoming large enough to be able to influence the political process..."*¹³⁶, And *"If people are numerous enough, it will have some influence policy ... as management, we listen to argument and not so much the number or whether it is politically"*

¹³³ Annex 2: Planner B.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

*legitimate ... we listen to the professional arguments*¹³⁷”. Thus, he clarified that decisions cannot be taken jointly but that it is the politicians who always decides unless there is some technical aspect that has to be taken into account. Planner B works mostly with internal municipality actors, while ex citizens only become involved in the hearing period. If he cooperates with external actors e.g. citizens and developers, he tries to represent the politicians' attitudes.

Planner B role fits into the type manager, he works like the role type only in closed elitist network and usually only with politicians, developers and internal actors from the municipality.

5.2.2.3 *Insight into diversity and multiculturalism*

Planner B does not seem to very interested in the dynamics of diversity or whether or not society is multicultural. He sees citizens as being one single mass of people who should be treated in the same manor; “*we will not listen... then we would also oppose the principle of equal treatment (on the subject whether religious arguments could count)*¹³⁸” and “*...we are more or less indifferent to people's values, one does not get a different treatment than others ...*¹³⁹.” In his opinion it is not possible to treat individual differently on the grounds of culture or religion; “*...you have to treat people equally...*¹⁴⁰”. Clearly he does not differentiate between who might contact him everyone is met on the same terms with the same demands. It has to be a simply technical matter otherwise they should try and affect the politicians instead.

5.2.2.4 *Knowledge*

Planner B believes that the professional knowledge is not essential. It is important, but not essential. He believes everything is ultimately political decisions so his professional knowledge is only a tool to explain the implications of the various alternatives to the politicians. He has the approach that the specialist planning knowledge is important but in the end it is the politicians' knowledge or attitudes that are the essential to the planning process.

All statements that planner B expresses fittingly match with the planning role of "Manager".

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

5.2.3 Planner C - Manager

5.2.3.1 Rationale

Planner C is a clear manager type which he show by his statement; “...my employers are obviously the politicians so if I get some message then it’s that. That’s just the way it is...”¹⁴¹. He seems to be the most obvious manager of the five (six) planners. Where all the other planners deny giving any credence in their work to how unpopular the plan is he admits that it’s a factor in his work; “...it is done by assessing how many people it is unhappy”¹⁴² and “...the more who complain; the more important it is...”¹⁴³. Clearly he wants to ensure the plan gets the least amount of resistance so that the planning cases can work as positive statements for the local politicians.

5.2.3.2 Cooperation

In regards to cooperation he works with internal actors in his own centre stating that “it is very project-oriented, so I try to put together a project group that can solve the task”¹⁴⁴. So the treat a coming change to the local plan as a project where they put together a project group with the right expertise’s in relation to area they are planning for. He does not see it as being necessary to include citizens in the planning process before the hearing period.

5.2.3.3 Insight into diversity and multiculturalism

Although his focus is clearly on servicing the politicians he is also the planner who had done the most reflections on how hearing function; “(in relation to public meetings) it is certain people who gets involved, it is not young people or drug addicts or immigrants for that matter, it is hardly families with children ... therefore it will be certain people who come to represent the area”¹⁴⁵. Recognising that it is a certain type of people that appear to public meetings. He had also attended meeting where they “... used interpreters for urban renewal projects... in public meetings... where there was simultaneous translation ... it’s hugely resource intensive and has little effect”¹⁴⁶. He more

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Annex 3: Planner C.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

or less sees it as being an act of pure symbolism; “...it was a kind gesture that we had them and showing that we want to stretch ourselves to meet you. But it had no practical significance¹⁴⁷. Also admitting that the way he saw that a planner could help immigrants was to disperse them throughout society so that they could have role models in how you should behave in Danish society.

5.2.3.4 Knowledge

In regards to knowledge he seemed to have a very practical orientation. The fact that a lot of people complained would have as much weight as if someone came with a factual and technical argument to why the plan should be changed. In most his decisions he seemed to mostly orientated in serving his employers.

Planner C is more a less a textbook example of the manager planner. He sees himself a civil servant whose role is to do the politicians bidding and to protect them from possible bad cases.

5.2.4 Planner D - Manager

5.2.4.1 Rationale

For planner D is it important that the end product – the local plan – becomes good, he does not seem to care that much about the process where he sees it as being; “...difficult to make everyone happy¹⁴⁸”. Showing that he does not see it as his role to ensure a compromise where everyone feels they got their say. Rather he sees his role as mediator; “I think many times that we have a mediator role in relation to informing citizens about what they can and also how the political process is.¹⁴⁹” So in his mind when the plan is submitted for the 8 week hearing period it is already as good as approved. Seeing the citizens meeting as more of an occasion where the planners and politician can explain what is going to happen with a focus on the technical aspects. It is very typical for this planner role to see the process as, one going on mainly between the politicians – which he represents – and the developers who want to build. Thinking of the process of including citizens and other stakeholders into the planning process as a part that just has to be done.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Annex 4: Planner D & E.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

5.2.4.2 Cooperation

As many of the projects he works on is initiated by developers he works close with the developers own consultants, while also drawing on the municipalities own in-house technical-experts if there are questions in fields which he feels he cannot answer. This aligns with the manager character that mainly surrounds himself with other experts – both from the municipality and the developer - in the planning process. Citizens are only involved when the plans are sent into the hearing period.

5.2.4.3 Insight into diversity and multiculturalism

When asked about the inclusion of others into the planning process he did not seem to view it as his job. Those who came to citizen meeting have a right to be heard but he did not seem to view it as his job to think about those who did not come. They had tried some initiatives to include people more into the planning process; “... *in relation to a specific project we held a workshop where people could write things down on 'post-its' that we gathered together. What was it that citizens wanted. Out from the citizens wishes, the developer and we tried to knit something together in the local plan. That way, I think we work from the premise that people, they are different people*¹⁵⁰”. So as most of the other planners they all sometimes try other approaches in order to reach citizens. The trouble is that they are very bound in their own planning world. He sees his job as one where he only job is to deliver a plan as a product. The focus is on the casework and the physical planning aspects. When asked how he would treat an application based on religious arguments her answered; “*I would only look at the physical and technical aspect in relation to the Planning Act otherwise I would hand it over to the politicians.*¹⁵¹”. So in regards to seeing planning as something that is not only casework and physical plans, he has no interest in the possible social dimension his work could have. He states that “...*It is very engaged citizens we have and they are very resourceful*¹⁵²”. This being a clear example that he does not really think of citizens who might not have the resources to show up.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

5.2.4.4 Knowledge

To him the technical knowledge is important, but not essential. He believes everything is a political decision so his professional knowledge is only a tool to explain the implications of the various alternatives to the politicians and to act as intermediary at hearing.

Everything that planner D aim in the direction that he is a manager, he focusses on the political process and sees himself as serving the politicians goals.

5.2.5 Planner E – Professional development Planner

5.2.5.1 Rationale

Planner E has a somewhat different rationale when planning when compared to planner D, for example he stated that; “...special needs must be met by those who need it¹⁵³”. He relies a lot more on the forces within society to serve itself. If he or politicians see a need, it is not necessarily their job to do anything about it. Also stating that he sees development as being driven by the need and wants from a community; “...it is people's needs that create community development¹⁵⁴”. So if people want a change then it will happen. Not only referring to people with economic capital but also social. So if people can organise themselves they will be able to change thing. But he sees it as being their own responsibility if they want change. Saying; “...one cannot differentiate between 170,000 views (refers to whether they differentiate between citizens). But we are of course at eye level with them, they are resourceful citizens. From that angle we try to services to them. They get an equal, as good as possible service¹⁵⁵”. Seeing citizens as equals in the planning process as long as they have the means to understand and argue using technical terms. Also talking about using the citizens as more of a resource where they can maintain areas which was previously done by the municipality; “...you have a desire to use the resources we have in the population, because the old view of the public and private it changes little because previously there had been a relationship that ran on that one would go to the municipality and to demand facilities and services. But the philosophy now that one will try to integrate citizens into practical contexts¹⁵⁶”. He is very pragmatic and orientated

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

towards marked value where it regulates itself and where the focus is on supply and demand. Although not a true marked planner as he also focusses on other elements than the economic growth, but he has more in common with this planner type than the others.

5.2.5.2 *Cooperation*

When talking to this planner it became obvious that he mainly depends on his own knowledge base. He had firm idea of what was wrong and right. When a developer approaches him he sees it more as them gives him a suggestion, which he can look over and approve. Although when it is necessary he would use other experts such as himself either internally or externally from the developer. He would not consider including citizens in the beginning of the planning process, they can have their say in the hearing period.

5.2.5.3 *Insight into diversity and multiculturalism*

When asked he had no real knowledge on diversity or multiculturalism or what it meant or why he should work with it as a planner. When asked if they sent out any official document I other languages than Danish he said; “...we use *Danish as the main language in the area*¹⁵⁷”. But although it seemed like he was not interested in anything that had to do with diversity he also had the opinion that “...there must be room for people's differentiation of needs¹⁵⁸”. The problem in relation to diversity and multiculturalism is that he again views it as people own responsibility to ensure that they are heard and that they get what they want. He is only interested in the technical facts of a case. Whether the might not have equal means did not seem to concern him.

5.2.5.4 *Knowledge*

Planner E focusses more on factual, measurable things; “We have all data on demographics, income, origin, education etc.¹⁵⁹” and “...we deal with spatial planning, how many children are born and the such...¹⁶⁰”. His focus is on what he can measure and therefor plan for, he gives lower priority to the social aspect of planning. He sees himself and his colleagues as a technical experts.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

When assigning planner E a role according to Sehested description I had a hard time since he shift between the marked planner role and the development consultant. There is no doubt that he values his technical expertise and has professional pride in what he does. But he also sees the marked as the thing that should control development. But in the end I placed him as a development consultant since he did not see it as his role to help economic growth.

5.2.6 Part conclusion

The results from the analysis at the individual level has shown that it makes sense to put into the empirical data into perspective in regards to the theoretical role types Sehested have defined see section 4.4. The analysis has shown that there is great variation in how urban planners approach their work.

The analysis has shown that the approach that planner E has for local planning is consistent with what characterizes the role ‘professional development consultant’, whereas planner B, C and D’s approach to planning is in line with what characterizes the role of ‘Managers’. Both the role of the ‘professional development consultant’ and the ‘Manager’ are both traditional roles, which are characterized especially by the fact that they co-operate in closed elite network¹⁶¹. There are therefore in these four planners no strong indications pointing towards any form of inclusive network or multicultural orientated planning form. In contrast planner A’s approach to urban planning fits with what characterizes the role of ‘process planner’ and this role type is very network oriented¹⁶². For her it was important to involve other stakeholders, so that the planning process was not only based not only on her own professional knowledge. Although she does not have any direct knowledge in regards to multiculturalism or diversity theories she is the one most likely to include minority groups in the planning process. The problem as it stands seems more to be the framing of her work and her present knowledge scope on incorporation the concepts of diversity and multiculturalism.

¹⁶¹ Sehested, *Bypolitik mellem hierarki og netværk*.

¹⁶² Ibid.

The results of this analysis show a very clear role type for each of the planners but that may be due to the fact that most of the planners mainly work with one particular kind of job, which affects the basis on which they have been interviewed. It may be the reason why their roles are so consistent and fit so completely into the specific role types. In the analysis, there were not any of the approaches that did not fit into the already defined role types in Sehested theory although there were some traits that crossed the role types. In regards of analysing the existing planner roles there has not been anything that has given evidence to the need to either supplement or discuss Sehested role theory. Although since the aim of this investigation is partly understand the present roles of the planners in Copenhagen it is also to investigate whether any of these planners had any indications of incorporating multicultural or diversity thinking into their work. Therefore I will in the next section have a discussion on whether or not there should be a fifth fictitious planner role.

5.3 Discussion

In this discussion I will try uncover whether not there should be a fifth planner role in regards of a fictitious scenario where we have to incorporate the thinking of a pluralistic multicultural planning rationale.

5.3.1 Sehesteds four planners in a multicultural context

5.3.1.1 The institutional framework

As I concluded in section 5.1.5 the institutional frames that the planners worked under was relatively wide. The only thing setting any limitation to how they could handle their work was the Planning Act. That meant that it was possible for planner to either be rational planners or network planners. Most of them had an approach to the planning process that meant it was fairly closed to anyone other than experts. That being said, the feeling I got when speaking to all planners was that they all saw their process as being an inclusive one where everyone had the opportunity to affect the process. But as I heard it four out of the five planners had more or less closed planning processes, where mainly experts affected the process. If a citizens or citizen group wanted to affect the plan it should be done by making factual and technical arguments against the planners' proposal. The open frame also meant that it should be possible for the planners to work towards including a multiculturalism approach to their work. They have the option of investigating whether or not e.g. immigrants feel that they have any possibility to affect a planning process. So the fact that the framing of the

planning work is so open mean that it up to the individual planner to assess what he or she find important in the process. This means that if the planners wanted they could work towards multicultural planning. The question is why then don't they? I will try and answer this question in section 5.3.2

5.3.1.2 *The planning roles*

Based on the analysis in 5.2 I have summarized the planners' amount of insight and interest into the subjects of diversity and multiculturalism:

- Planner A- The process planner
 - Has a slight interest in diversity and multiculturalism but is more focused on a general inclusion of people in the planning process. Has no insight into the concepts or how to handle them
- Planner B – The manager:
 - Has no interest in diversity or multiculturalism. Has no insight into the concepts or how to handle them
- Planner C – The manager:
 - Has no interest in diversity or multiculturalism. Has no insight into the concepts or how to handle them
- Planner D – The manager:
 - Has no interest in diversity or multiculturalism. Has no insight into the concepts or how to handle them
- Planner E – The professional development manager:
 - Has no interest in diversity or multiculturalism. Has no insight into the concepts or how to handle them

As this show there is a general consensus that diversity and multiculturalism is not something they work with or deem it as something they should. Most of them do not see diversity, ethnicity, culture etc. as anything more than numbers in statistics. When speaking with the planners I had a distinct impression that one of the main reasons that they did take more notice of multiculturalism or diversity was that they thought it was not something that belonged in their work sphere. It was something that belonged down at the social workers, social housing consultants and to a small degree those who worked directly with area renewal projects. So simply said they did not see it as a subject that belonged on their level of planning which were municipal and local plans.

5.3.2 The need for a fifth planner type

In regards to handling a diversified and increasingly multicultural society I will discuss whether or not Sehesteds four planner roles can incorporate the philosophy behind multiculturalism. Sehested herself created the four planning roles on the background of an analysis of planners working with municipal plans. I can also confirm that the roles characterizations seem to fit on planners working on local plans too in my cases. So as a tool to understand the planning roles in planning today I would say that I cannot find any faults in the theory. My problem begins when I try to fit concepts such a multiculturalism and diversity into the mix. Can Sehested four planners contain the initiatives that e.g. multicultural planning suggests? Both the concept of diversity and multiculturalism centre on notion 'difference' that people should be able to express their differences without risking exclusion from society. All elements from the theories want to position 'difference' as positive factor if handled properly. The problem in Denmark is that diversity and especially multiculturalism are not concepts which have been incorporated in the institutional setup in planning. This means that if any steps has to be taken towards more multicultural planning is has to come from within planners own ranks or we wait until the minorities band together and create a powerful enough statement that the public bodies have to take serious. One planner said it as; "...*special needs must be met by those who need it*"¹⁶³. The problem is that if we wait for minority groups to rise up as e.g. because they do not feel included in society we might have reached a point where it will be a lot harder to incorporate them in society compared to if we already begin to do now before we face massive problems.

Then are we missing a fifth role a sort of 'bridge builder'? The question to that is a yes and no, in my opinion the existing four planner types that Sehested describes could contain a lot of the suggestions from multicultural planning especially the process planner role has the potential to include the elements from multicultural planning. But as I see it the problem does not only lie with the roles that planner takes upon them. It is also the framework under which they work, the general discourse in society and official open acceptance than we have become a multicultural society and therefore should plan I accordance to this knowledge.

¹⁶³ Annex 4: Planner D & E.

6 Recommendations

Based on interview with urban planners in the Copenhagen area it becomes clear that there are a multitude lessons we could benefit from in the future planning work. To enable urban planners to build a trust with the community and get support from colleagues in the municipality it is a necessity to implement a political vision in which urban planning recognizes contributions of local communities as well as social diversity in the very same area. The growing multiculturalism and social diversity in communities creates specific challenges in their work.

There is a widespread need:

1. for a better knowledge of the different languages and cultures in the area
2. to be more open and conversation willing in the planning process
3. to have more time to build trusting relations to ethnic minorities as well as
4. to communicate with the local community in multiple languages and through ethnic media.

Based on this study and interviews conducted with planners in Gentofte, Frederiksberg and Copenhagen I have developed the following recommendations towards including a more multicultural planning approach in the various municipalities in the metropolitan area. These recommendations are only intended as suggestions on how planning can be organized so that both multiculturalism and social diversity is recognized and accommodated in urban planning.

6.1.1 Policy

First and foremost the politicians must develop policy guidelines for planners working in urban areas with concentrations of multicultural and social diverse groups. These guidelines may include:

1. diversity in the composition of employees' ethnic backgrounds
2. establishment of advisory boards and committees in the area
3. The creation of positions in the municipality dedicated to understand and promote communication with ethnic minority groups

The politicians must also introduce policies relating to

1. funding and subsidies for the administration
2. development of several projects dealing with social diversity and integration of ethnic minorities – with a particular focus on making the different departments work closer together

3. clarifying the parameters concerning how the city can financially support these groups or create the right conditions elsewhere in the city

In this context it is crucial that the political debate and the shaping of the policy proposals is made in a clear and explicit language. This is to avoid broad and ambiguous terms which may cause confusions at the time the suggestions and measures will be implemented.

By initiating such policies at the municipal level enables a space where it is possible quickly to pick up, meet and act on the respective needs of a the citizens in the local area. This allows planners and other professionals in the field to be proactive in working with the community and create a planning process in which it is legitimate to include the needs, requests and wishes of citizens.

At the same time such guidelines demonstrates an awareness, an engagement and a participating approach to the planning process which will take into account the expressed needs of the citizens. This is the first and crucial step in terms of building trust with the citizens in the neighbourhood.

6.1.2 Management support

To succeed as planners and other professionals who work with urban planning, it is necessary to have the support from the management and politicians. Such support will serve legitimizing the work performed both internally as well as externally.

The public and political support to ensure social diversity will set an example to others the importance of recognizing and accommodating diverse communities in the urban spaces. This support and commitment can be shown for example

1. by articulating social diversity as a political mission
2. by recognizing, organizing and participating in public multicultural events
3. by setting a precedent through taking active part in cultural awareness

6.1.3 Insight into cultural differences

Diversity awareness would not only help to improve individual planners in acknowledging their cultural assumptions and biases and help them forming new collaboration, but it could insure the necessary competence within the planning institutions so they can make strategic development plans on how to integrate recognition and respect of differences in their plans and planning processes. It

creates insight into the dynamics of how race, ethnicity, culture, language, religion, socioeconomic status, and other factors impact on the individual level and how it affects group norms, beliefs and behaviour. When planning with and for diverse groups and communicating across cultural differences that insight could go a long way.

6.1.4 Official documents

The different municipalities should create guidelines concerning when and if translation and interpretation should take place. Whether print materials should be available in other languages and whether live interpretation should be done at e.g. public hearing in area with a wide demographic profile. These guidelines should tell which kind materials should be translated and clearly tell under which situations translators should be present. By providing a clear set of guidelines the municipalities can guarantee its staff the appropriate resources for the occasions.

6.1.5 Reflecting over planning

One way to meet some of the challenges of a diversified and multicultural community is to diversify subjects in the education of a planner, and they should keep on with the education once they are practicing as planners in the field too. In addition, it should be mentioned that the municipal planners many roles as a street-level bureaucrat can be remedied by interdisciplinary and political support for diversity and equity in the urban space.

Some of the challenges planners will face in their work will be solved by being open, take the time and be patient. It is important to be aware that a planner's personal belief and behaviour may have important implications for the work done, and not least the way they interact with individuals with a different belief than themselves.

One way to succeed as a planner in a diverse neighbourhood costs time and patience. It requires flexibility and an openness to learn about how things might be done differently in the given local area, and respect the norms and system in the further planning work. Such a process-oriented and participative approach to planning will create a trust between the planner and the citizens as well as within the citizens, which will be crucial for a successful planning.



As a planner we should also be aware of the changing demographics in cities. While it is important not to forget the society and the culture refugees and immigrants come from and that has characterized their reality, perception and expectation, planners also should have an understanding of the challenges faced by ethnic minorities in a host country. Just as any other profession it is important that planners also exhibit humility for their misconduct. Once bitten twice shy, as they say. It is therefore instructive to continuously reflect on the mechanisms that exist in a given interaction of different kinds. This is a way to ensure that the planners monitors developments and adapt planning as a profession in line with society.

7 Conclusion

The writings on multiculturalism as a theory show that it is an embodiment of differences. It is an attempt to respond to peoples wishes for a more fair representation and the right to be different and to express those differences. Globalization, international migration and disasters – both man-made and natural – create a setting where social, political and economic conditions change for a lot of people around the world. Societal movements demanding change, which multicultural theory tries to address through the acceptance of equal right for representation and the right to express differences. The politic of difference is an embracing of a multicultural society and the accommodation of difference in both private and public spaces.

Multiculturalism has its home in the urban environment and it is the planning professions that have the best possibilities of addressing the needs of an increasingly diversified Danish society. The planning profession must at some point in the near future acknowledge and accommodate these differences within the city, which means we have to look at the way we define democratic participation, the sense of belonging and citizenship. We will have to adapt our way of working so that we can ensure that future community developments are respectful for the differences that are present amongst individual and to understand how our present mono-culture perception has to change. A higher degree of joint efforts between different departments within the municipalities is necessary and more shared learning between communities and planning professionals in order to achieve insight into the diverse communities.

I should state that one of my premises I had in this investigation was that planners experienced a more diversified and multicultural society, which turned out to be completely wrong. They did not express any worries in acting in a more multicultural context. Although according to the theories they should be faced with a several barriers in order to engaging citizens in the planning processes and collaboratively working towards building better communities. There was an acknowledgement that urban planners tasks are multiple and ever shifting. According to the multicultural planning theories it would mean that planners have to continually examine their personal assumptions on communities and planning in general. That planners should approach planning with an openness and flexibility, being open towards abandoning the existing frameworks and protocols if necessary. The trouble I ran into with the planners I interviewed was that they did not include citizens that much.



Four out of the five planners acknowledged that only resourceful citizens seemed to participate in their planning processes. Only planner A was orientated towards network planning creating a planning process where everyone should have a say. The lack of acknowledgement of the problem with having only the resourceful citizens being represented was a clear indicator that these planners needed to incorporate new ways of thinking and perceiving, so that they might help with the development of more inclusive and collaborative approaches to planning.

7.1 Is the future of planning?

The cultural diversity in Copenhagen should be more openly acknowledged. The inability - of the municipalities and the planning profession as whole - to address the changing social landscape of Copenhagen has the potential according to the theories to lead to an increased social stratification, ethnic conflict and the isolation of marginalized people. Copenhagen as a multicultural city is a reality and it will continue to become even more diverse and multicultural regardless of how the planning profession handles this fact. The point however is that, this formation and growth has the potential to be a constructive force within society and it can help strengthen the justice and equality within civil society and our governing institutions. Sadly I cannot remember where I read it but I do remember the sentence; “as cities require urban planners, multicultural cities require multicultural urban planners.” My conclusion is on short that it is not a necessity to have multicultural planning as such, rather my point is that planners should have a multicultural perspective. It would go a long way if planners could incorporate an inclusive, open and accommodating approach to the planning profession. There should be a higher degree of emphasis on the policies and practices that are used in order to engage communities in a collaborative planning process.

8 Postscript

As I am writing this section I cannot help to feel that I have left more questions unanswered than answered. This thesis was an attempt to grasp the impact that a more multicultural and diversified population would have on the role of a planner. In some respects the thesis provides only a broad overview of a subject which deserves a much more in-depth analysis. It is only a small portion of a much larger picture – multiculturalism in Copenhagen and Denmark is a fluid size and will continue to evolve. The aspect of the communities is more or less completely lacking in this thesis. I have only interviewed urban planners with the intention to ascertain how multiculturalism and diversity affected their work. It never occurred to me that the planner was not at all affected by an increasingly diversified and multicultural society, the fact that it did not come as a complete surprise to me.

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