The complexity of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning

A case study of the Social Cities Programme

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'Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted.'
- Albert Einstein

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Abstract:

The International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) is in the lead of a newly developed planning tool, called the Social Cities Programme (SCP), which is being tested in five Danish municipalities: Frederiksberg, Gladsaxe, Middelfart, Skive and Aalborg. The SCP aims at simplifying the complexity of social sustainability through a quantitative index – a methodology pertaining to a particular conception, which is sought diffused to the five Danish municipalities. To address this problem, the following research question has been posed: *How is the IFHP's Social Cities Programme (SCP) functioning as a governance tool to shape Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability?* The research finds that the SCP is launched in the wake of an internal crisis in the IFHP, for which reason there is a bias in the visible agenda of enhancing the social sustainability of cities. Due to the SCP's appealing format is has functioned as a governance tool in two municipalities, where ongoing projects were ready to implement the SCP's methodology. It is moreover found, that two other municipalities already have a conception and practice of social sustainability aligned with the SCP, as it is politically prioritised. It is therefore argued, that the SCP potentially can function as a governance tool in other municipalities as well, depending on factors such as timing, political landscape, interdisciplinary collaboration and existing planning practice. Finally, it is argued that the complex nature of social sustainability, to a certain extent, can be handled through the use of indices, however with the risk of depoliticising social sustainability and potentially urban planning, for which reason indices must be informative rather than guiding.

Dansk resumé

Bæredygtighed er et begreb, der optræder alle vegne; bæredygtigt design, bæredygtig mobilitet, bæredygtigt landbrug og bæredygtig livsstil, for blot at nævne et udsnit. Fælles er, at bæredygtighed ofte forstås ud fra Brundtland Rapportens tredeling; miljømæssig, økonomisk og social bæredygtighed. Dette projekt dykker ned i bæredygtighedsdebatten fra en byplanlægningsvinkel, hvor bæredygtighed også har vundet indtog. I planlægning tales der om, at bæredygtighed er blevet det altoverskyggende mål, et såkaldt planlægningsideal. Dette skal ses i sammenhæng med den store uklarhed begrebet dækker over, idet denne uklarhed netop er dét, der gør at begrebet altid relateres til noget positivt samt at begrebet kan dække over alle ting eller ingen ting på samme tid. I forsøg på at gøre bæredygtighed mere håndterbart er forskellige værktøjer gennem tiden blevet udviklet. Det gælder især værktøjer til at håndtere de miljømæssige og økonomiske aspekter, da disse har fået størst fokus siden Brundtland Rapporten i 1987. Imidlertid har det sociale aspekt stået i skyggen og er ofte blevet overset. Dette skal forstås i relation til, hvordan det sociale aspekt, sammenlignet med de to andre, i langt højere grad er svært at sætte på formel. Der ses dog en stigende tendens til, at også det sociale aspekt vinder frem i bæredygtighedsdiskussionen. Som ved bæredygtighed, forsøges kompleksiteten i social bæredygtighed håndteret gennem værktøjer – især brugen af indexes er en stigende tendens i arbejdet med social bæredygtighed. Med udgangspunkt i et for nyligt udviklet planlægningsværktøj, kaldet Social Cities Programmet (SCP), undersøger dette speciale den stigende tendens i brugen af indexes i arbejdet med social bæredygtighed. SCP er udviklet af den internationale medlemsorganisation International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) og er i efteråret 2018 og foråret 2019 forsøgt testet i samarbejde med fem danske kommuner; Frederiksberg, Gladsaxe, Middelfart, Skive og Aalborg.

Med udgangspunkt i ovenstående undersøger specialet, hvordan SCP påvirker danske kommuners arbejde med social bæredygtighed. Dette gøres ud fra nedenstående problemformulering samt underspørgsmål:

> *Hvordan fungerer IFHPs Social Cities Program som et styringsværktøj til at forme danske kommuners forståelse og praksis med social bæredygtighed?*

1. Hvorfor udvikler IFHP Social Cities Programmet som et værktøj for danske kommuners arbejde med social bæredygtighed i byplanlægning?
2. Hvordan har Social Cities Programmet formet forståelse og praksis med social bæredygtighed i den politiske arena og i planlægningsarenaen i de fem danske kommuner?
3. Hvilken betydning har det for planlægning, at praksis med social bæredygtighed indexifiseres?

Disse spørgsmål besvares ud fra både en teoretisk og analytisk ramme. Den teoretiske ramme omhandler vores teoretiske begreb 'styringsværktøj' og er opbygget ud fra fire koncepter: bæredygtig-

hed, social bæredygtighed, governance og bæredygtighedsindikatorer. Vi argumenterer for, at kompleksiteterne i både (social) bæredygtighed og governance kan håndteres gennem indikatorer, da de simplificerer disse kompleksiteter og dermed fremstiller virkeligheden på en bestemt måde. På baggrund heraf argumenterer vi for, at indikatorer fungerer som et styringsværktøj, der forsøger at forme forståelse og praksis med (social) bæredygtighed hos de aktører, der bruger værktøjet. Et sådant styringsværktøj forsøger at forme forståelse og praksis i to arenaer; planlægningsarenaen, hvor den faktiske planlægningspraksis finder sted, og den politiske arena, hvor beslutninger, der påvirker planlægning, finder sted. Idet planlægning i høj grad finder sted i netværk, vil brugen af et styringsværktøj endvidere kunne medføre, at den (social) bæredygtighedsforståelse og metodik, der er i styringsværktøjet, også former andre aktørers forståelse og praksis. Det er vigtigt at understrege vekselvirkningsforholdet mellem de to arenaer, samt at aktører i de to arenaer også kan påvirke indholdet af styringsværktøjet. Konkret i dette speciale anskuer vi altså SCP som et styringsværktøj, der skal påvirke danske kommuners arbejde med social bæredygtighed.

Den analytiske ramme beskriver, hvordan vi metodisk besvarer vores spørgsmål. Med udgangspunkt i vores social konstruktivistiske forskningstilgang har vi udført et casestudie af SCP, og hvordan det som styringsværktøj påvirker de fem kommuners arbejde med social bæredygtighed. Casestudiet består for det første af dokumentanalyser af både IFHP som organisation og de fem kommuners eksisterende planlægningspraksis med både bæredygtighed og social bæredygtighed. For at skabe en yderligere forståelse af påvirkningen af SCP er planlæggere fra de fem kommuner samt ansatte i IFHP interviewet. Med udgangspunkt i den analytiske ramme er analysen inddelt i tre dele, hvor første del svarer på første underspørgsmål mens anden og tredje del svarer på det andet underspørgsmål.

I den første del af analysen præsenteres IFHP og deres SCP, som består af både et index, idéværksted og en platform, hvor erfaringer med SCP skal deles. Ydermere identificeres de rationaler, der ligger bag udviklingen af SCP. Vi argumenterer i denne analyse for, at der, i tillæg til IFHPs synlige målsætning om at øge den sociale bæredygtighed i byer, er nogle underliggende agendaer. For det første at de igennem deres SCP og dets format forsøger at udbrede et værktøj med en bestemt forståelse og metodik til at arbejde med social bæredygtighed i danske kommuner. Denne forståelse og specielt metodik, argumenterer vi for, er designet til at passe ind i et fremherskende neoliberalt narrativ. Dette kan kodes sammen med, hvordan IFHP især forsøger at få SCP ind i kommunernes politiske arena, hvor et sådant format netop er eftertragtet. På sigt vil IFHP gerne globalisere SCP, hvilket dog betyder, at den analytiske validitet og danske relevans kan diskuteres på nogle punkter. Endvidere er SCP i lige så høj grad udviklet på baggrund af en intern krise i IFHP som på baggrund af en efterspørgsel fra organisationens medlemmer.

I anden del af analysen præsenteres de fem kommuner, og det undersøges, hvordan de hver især arbejder med bæredygtighed og social bæredygtighed. Med undtagelse af Skive Kommune udspringer kommunernes bæredygtighedsforståelse fra Brundtland Rapporten. Til trods for dette argumenterer vi for, at der er nuancer i kommunernes forståelser og dermed udgangspunkt for praksis. I Aalborg og Middelfart Kommune har de tilføjet ekstra aspekter til tredelingen fra Brundtland Rapporten, hvorimod de i Frederiksberg Kommune ikke har ændret eller tilføjet noget til tredelingen. I Skive

Kommune associeres bæredygtighed med bæredygtig energi og klima, og der er ikke en klar forbindelse til tredelingen. Kommunernes arbejde med social bæredygtighed er også forskellig fra hinanden. I Aalborg og Middelfart Kommune er man så småt startet med at fokusere eksplicit på social bæredygtighed – både i planer og projekter. I Frederiksberg og Gladsaxe Kommune er de længere i arbejdet med det sociale aspekt. Fælles for disse er endvidere, at de anvender indikatorer i dette arbejde. Modsat Gladsaxe Kommune, bruger Frederiksberg Kommune dog ikke resultaterne af indikatorerne som retningsgivende, og dermed er der også forskelle her. I Skive Kommune er social bæredygtighed ikke et artikuleret begreb, og der arbejdes ikke med det. Denne forståelse fra kommunerne danner udgangspunkt for tredje del af analysen, hvor vi undersøger, hvordan SCP som et styringsværktøj forsøger at forme forståelse og praksis med social bæredygtighed i den politiske arena og planlægningsarenaen.

I tredje del af analysen argumenterer vi for, at SCP forsøger at forme forståelse og praksis i begge arenaer ved for det første at have et format, der både kan give både planlæggere og politikere overblik og samtidig taler ind i et økonomisk mindset. For det andet ved at have et inddragelsesperspektiv (idéværksted), der passer ind i planlæggernes eksisterende praksis og samtidig vækker politisk interesse, da inddragelse er lovpligtigt. Hvordan dette er lykkedes for SCP er dog forskelligt i de forskellige kommuner. SCP har påvirket planlægningsarenaen i både Aalborg og Middelfart Kommune, idet de to kommuner, som de eneste af de fem, aktivt tester SCP og har lavet spørgeskemaundersøgelser inspireret fra indexet i SCP. I Aalborg Kommune har SCP desuden fungeret som et styringsværktøj i den politiske arena, da det fornævnte spørgeskema er integreret i kommunens kommende planstrategi. Selvom spørgeskemaerne i begge kommuner er tilpasset de konkrete kontekster, følger begge spørgeskemaer stadig index-metoden fra SCP. Dette betyder, at deres forståelse og praksis med social bæredygtighed påvirkes af den forståelse og metodik, der er i SCP. Dog skal det påpeges, at spørgeskemaet og dermed SCP blot er ét af flere elementer, der indgår i deres arbejde med social bæredygtighed. I Frederiksberg og Gladsaxe Kommune arbejder de som nævnt allerede med deres egne typer af indexes, hvilket har betydet, at tiden ikke har været passende til at disse kommuner har implementeret SCP. Dermed har SCP ikke fungeret som et styringsværktøj i disse kommuner. Det skal dog fremhæves, at deres tilgang minder meget om den, IFHP forsøger at udbrede. I Skive Kommune indgår social bæredygtighed hverken i den politiske arena eller i planlægningsarenaen, hvilket man skulle tro ville betyde, at SCP ville forme forståelse og praksis med social bæredygtighed i begge arenaer. Dette er dog ikke tilfældet, og SCP fungerer ikke som et styringsværktøj i Skive Kommune. Overordnet set argumenterer vi derfor, at SCP fungerer som et styringsværktøj i to af de fem kommuner. Vi argumenterer dog for, at SCP har potentiale til at fungere som et styringsværktøj i andre kommuner også – det vil afhænge af faktorer såsom timing, politisk landskab, tværfagligt samarbejde og eksisterende planlægningspraksis.

På baggrund af analyserne indleder vi en diskussion om, hvilken betydning det har for planlægning, at social bæredygtighed tilgås med en index-baseret metode. Vi kan se, at fire af kommunerne arbejder sig hen imod en index-baseret tilgang – to af disse pga. SCP. Dette skal relateres til uklarheden i social bæredygtighed, og at der er behov for at konkretisere betydningen og arbejdet herfor. Vi påpeger dog, at der ved brug af kvantitative indexes i arbejdet med kvalitative spørgsmål, som social

bæredygtighed, er en risiko for at simplificere og underminere essensen af konceptet. Dermed er der en risiko for at gentage nogle af de fejl, som den tidligere teknisk-rationelle planlægningstilgang medførte – nemlig manglende blik for offentligheden og afpolitisering af både det sociale og planlægning. Maksimering af en række indikatorer vil ikke føre til mere socialt bæredygtige byer, men indikatorer kan dog fortsat være en del af planlæggernes værktøjskasse og politikernes prioriteringer, så længe de anvendes informativt og ikke retningsgivende.

Specialet konkluderer, at IFHPs SCP fungerer som et styringsværktøj i to af de fem kommuner, men at det har potentiale til at gøre det i andre kommuner også. Dog er det ultimative argument, at indexes skal anvendes informativt og ikke retningsgivende. På denne baggrund bidrager specialet med både praktisk viden fra kommunerne og om brugen af indexes i arbejdet med social bæredygtighed, samtidig med at det bidrager til videnskabelige diskussioner om indexificering af social bæredygtighed og betydningen heraf for planlægning. I forlængelse heraf påpeger vi, at planlæggere skal have en refleksiv tilgang til arbejdet med indexes, således sociale hensyn fortsat udgør grundstenene for planlægning. Hermed opmuntrer vi planlægningspraksis til at anerkende det faktum, at kvantitative indexes med umiddelbart objektive tal i virkeligheden er et udtryk for magt, ikke kun i måden de anvendes på til at legitimere handling eller mangel herpå, men også i kraft af deres indhold og metodik. Dette er endvidere væsentligt i forhold til risikoen for at afpolitisere social bæredygtighed og planlægning gennem en forstærkning af den tekniske rationalitet.

Preface

In spring 2019, from 1st of February to 7th of June, this Master's thesis has been conducted by two master students at the programme 'Urban Planning and Management' at Aalborg University.

The aim of the Master's thesis is to research how indices are used to concretise the complex nature of social sustainability in urban planning. This is done by researching the Social Cities Programme which i.a. contains an index, and how this programme is being utilised in the five Danish Municipalities: Frederiksberg, Gladsaxe, Middelfart, Skive and Aalborg.

We would like to give a special thanks to our supervisor, Kristian Olesen, for always giving us constructive and supportive feedback, for good discussions as well as for encouraging us throughout the project period.

Further, we would like to thank the following people for participating in our research: Ulla Eikard and Morten Nielsen from IFHP, Hanne Müller from Frederiksberg Municipality, Maj Green form Gladsaxe Municipality, Louise Secher from Middelfart Municipality, Bjarke Danvig from Skive Municipality, Louise Ladefoged and Rie Malling from Aalborg Municipality as well as Marie Stender from the Danish Building Research Institute.

Reading guide

In this thesis the style of text citations follows the Harvard method. This means that if the author's name is not in the text, we refer like this; (Surname, year). If the author's name is in the text, we refer like this; Surname (year). All references used are presented alphabetically in the bibliography in the end of the thesis.

Tables and figures are numbered according to the chapter they are included in. An example could be; the first figure in Chapter 2 would then be referred to as Figure 2.1.

Table of contents

1 Introduction

Sustainability is everywhere. Sustainable fashion, sustainable mobility, sustainable food production, sustainable energy, sustainable pedagogy, sustainable design even sustainable living is a concept to of which many devote themselves. It seems that sustainability is penetrating everything in society, from the products we consume to the way we spend our spare time. Everyone and everything can be sustainable, so what does sustainability really mean? Businesses and organisations declare themselves sustainable regardless of their focus being production of building materials or running an organic restaurant. Despite, or rather due to, its fuzziness, sustainability within an urban planning context has now reached the status of planning ideal (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). It is within this context that the research of this Master's thesis is taking place. Since the global spreading of the word with the Brundtland Report in 1987 (WCED, 1987), the word has mostly been affiliated with protection of the world's natural resources. Sustainable economy has however likewise occupied the agenda, indeed in private businesses but has also been used as a political key issue, particularly in the shape of sustainable growth. The tripartition of sustainability known from the Brundtland Report has failed to ensure an equal distribution of attention, both within research and practice, resulting in neglect of the social aspect (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). However, social sustainability is slowly entering the spotlight, and the well-being of people is a strong societal concern across geography, age and economic capacity. The link between people's thriving and sustainability has strengthened with the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2015 (United Nations, 2015), which in relation to social concerns covers anything from living standards and human rights to inclusion in public debate through co-creation. Social sustainability is thus both a matter of substantial living conditions and procedural settings for the unfolding of life. This statement unfolds the broadness and fuzziness of the concept of social sustainability. Many attempts have been made to operationalise sustainability, and while this has been generally seen successful for the economic and environmental aspects, in the sense that methods and approaches hereto have institutionalised, the same has not been the case for the social aspect. However, there is an increasing tendency of trying to operationalise social sustainability in urban planning through indices, thus reducing the concept's complexity (Holman, 2009). In Denmark the 2030-network focusing on the SDGs has recently, together with prominent Danish urban actors, published a report for the work related to goal number 11 'Sustainable Cities and Communities' (Dansk Arkitektur Center and Rambøll Management Consulting, 2019). In here, indices are seen as a means to accommodate the need to move from idea to action in the work with social sustainability. The report therefore supports the increasing tendency of concretising social sustainability through indices, just as it underlines how the social aspect of sustainability is becoming a greater focus within the sustainability discourse as well as within a housing and planning context.

In this Master's thesis we look deeper into this increasing tendency of indices by researching a newly developed tool for working index-based with social sustainability within a housing and planning context. The tool, called the Social Cities Programme (SCP), is developed by the organisation International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) in collaboration with prominent urban actors and Danish municipalities. The tool naturally pertains to the SDG number 11 of which the IFHP is an

avowed implementation agent (IFHP, n.d.). The IFHP aims to develop 'a method to measure, design and implement socially sustainable solutions in collaboration with citizens, politicians and corporation' (IFHP, n.d.), thus making up an interesting promise for more socially sustainable cities. The SCP is currently being tested in five Danish Municipalities: Frederiksberg, Gladsaxe, Middelfart, Skive and Aalborg, thus making this research topical. The fact that the SCP is launched by an interest organisation is likewise of interest, because the aim of implementing a specific tool with a particular planning approach carries with it an intention of setting the agenda for Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability. In that manner, it can be argued that the IFHP seeks to govern municipal conception and practice of social sustainability through their SCP. However, indices frame issues in a particular way, in this Master's thesis we therefore both look into if and how the IFHP manages to set the agenda, and what the implications are of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning. We do this by researching the following research question and appertaining sub-questions:

How is the IFHP's Social Cities Programme (SCP) functioning as a governance tool to shape Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability?

1. Why is the IFHP developing the SCP as a tool for municipalities to work with social sustainability in urban planning?
2. How has the SCP shaped conception and practice of social sustainability in the political arena and the planning arena in the five Danish municipalities?
3. What are the implications of indexifying social sustainability for urban planning?

The concept 'governance tool' needs to be further clarified before moving on to the following parts of the research. A governance tool is a theoretically constructed concept in this research and should be considered the lenses of the research. In short, a governance tool is developed by an actor who through the tool seeks to govern other actors' behaviour at a distance. Therefore, a governance tool seeks to shape conception and practice of a specific issue. In our case we consider the SCP, developed by the IFHP, as a governance tool that seeks to shape conception and practice of social sustainability in municipalities. Further, we argue that this impact can be studied in two arenas; the planning arena, where the actual planning practice takes place, and the political arena, where policy-making affecting planning practice takes place. As the name indicates, the implementation of such a tool takes place in networks, hence disseminating the conception and methodology of the tool in networks. The theoretical framework of the research, presented in Section 3.3, contains a more thorough explanation as well as an illustration of the concept.

Moreover, the term 'indexifying' should shortly be clarified. Indexification refers to processes where indies are used as planning approach when working with social sustainability. In that manner, the practice of social sustainability becomes indexified or in other words based on indices.

This research is topical in mainly two ways. Firstly, because it looks into the increasing tendency of using indices in the work with social sustainability. Secondly, because the index studied in this research is being developed and tested at the time of writing. The research therefore contributes to a

topical debate of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning, by studying the SCP as a specific case. It does so by arguing that the complex nature of social sustainability, to a certain extent, can be handled through the use of indices, however with the risk of depoliticising social sustainability and potentially urban planning, for which reason indices must be informative rather than guiding. More detailed, the research firstly contributes with practical knowledge of the work with social sustainability in the five municipalities involved in the SCP as well as what it takes for a governance tool to get implemented, thus being able to shape conception and practice. Secondly, the research contributes with knowledge on the risk of depoliticising both social sustainability and urban planning, thus raising the question of where urban planning as profession is headed and whether indices can increase social sustainability in cities.

1.1 Structure of the Master's thesis

Here in Chapter 1, the concepts of sustainability and social sustainability are shortly introduced as well as the increasing tendency of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning is articulated. Furthermore, the research question and appertaining sub-questions are presented. In that manner, the scope and importance of the research are clarified. In Chapter 2 and 3 the theoretical foundation of the research is established. The concepts of sustainability and social sustainability are explored more thoroughly. Likewise, the concepts of governance and indicators are explored. The main argument in these chapters is that the complexity of (social) sustainability and governance are seen to be handled by the utilisation of indicators as working method and as part of decision-making. This forms the basis for our theoretically constructed concept of a governance tool, which indicators can be regarded as. Included in Chapter 2 is also the ontological positioning of this Master's thesis in relation to sustainability. The scientific approach of the Master's thesis is further elaborated in Chapter 4, as well as the methodology of the research is included in this chapter. Chapter 5 comprises the first part of the analysis as it answers the first sub-question, which revolves around the IFHP and the SCP. Chapter 6 presents the five municipalities in terms of background information as well as conception and practice of (social) sustainability. Chapter 5 and 6 thus form the basis for Chapter 7, which answers the second sub-question, where the relation between the SCP and the municipalities' conception and practice is analysed. The aim of the chapter is to argue the functioning of the SCP as a governance tool. In Chapter 8, the broader implications of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning are discussed, which answers the third sub-question. The overall conclusions on the research are clarified in Chapter 9, supported by encouragement to do further research within the field of indexifying social sustainability in urban planning.

2 Ontologies of sustainability

This chapter introduces sustainability and some of the current understandings of the concept. We argue that sustainability is a socially constructed concept, which makes its meaning dynamic, changing and dependent on the context. It is thus necessary to establish sustainability as a concept without one precise definition, and consequently illuminate the various ontologies that influence the interpretations and applications of sustainability. Our conception of sustainability is inspired by the formulation by Gunder and Hillier (2009: 16) of sustainability as an empty master signifier, which means that the word 'sustainability' is without explicit meaning in itself but is 'comprised of a complex aggregate of ordered words constituting diverse narratives of contestable sets of knowledges and beliefs'. Master signifiers like sustainability both unify and divide people, because they mean nothing and everything at the same time. Proclaiming empty words as foundation of society could be argued to be manipulation, however, 'social reality is composed of sets of shared ideological beliefs that are anchored, or sutured, in and between us and others, via master signifiers' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 186). The master signifiers are thus vital as anchoring points for both individuals and wider society. Following the notion of sustainability as an empty master signifier, it is argued that sustainability encompasses ideological power in an urban planning context, which clarifies the great role sustainability has for the profession.

The ontological discussion of sustainability is relevant because the ontological positioning frames the actions and methods deployed by an actor. The chapter for instance elucidates the tripartition of sustainability, but explore the social aspect in depth as this is the context of the Master's thesis. Each of the three aspects of sustainability - economic, environmental and social - have given rise to diverse interpretations, but there is a general consensus in both academia and practice that social sustainability is the most ambiguous of the three. As elaborated in this chapter, we consider the tripartition to be a social construct which has been helpful to maintain existing economic growth-oriented structures, but also allowed for a theoretical contemplation of the nature of sustainability. No precise definition of social sustainability exists and despite how helpful one would be, we argue that social sustainability is context dependent per se, which indicates the necessity of perceiving the concept as a process rather than an end-state.

In summary, this chapter both includes topical reflections on sustainability and social sustainability as well as the positioning of this Master's thesis within these discussions. As later elaborated, this theoretical insight is essential for understanding the work with social sustainability in practice.

2.1 Sustainability

Sustainability is a word that originates from the German word 'nachhaltigkeit' which in another translation could be 'durability' corresponding to the French 'durabilité' (Arler, 2015). The word thus has an inherent notion of sustaining something for an undefinable time span, potentially eternity. What should be sustained has over time changed, as the hegemonic association of the concept in Western society today is 'sustainable development', commonly known from the Brundtland Commission's report 'Our Common Future' (WCED, 1987). However, the idea of sustainability was originally applied in the context of sustained utilisation of natural resources, which became a concern many years

ago, for example in 17th century France (Arler, 2015). The importance of preserving and conserving in the name of survival of both humans and societies goes as far back as early human settlements. As such, even though sustainability is considered to be a relatively new concept, it is to a greater extent today's interpretation that is novel. It can be argued, that the meaning of the word has narrowed down, in the sense that it largely is interlinked with an economic growth thinking – a tendency ascribed to the Brundtland Report's widespread influence (Arler, 2015; Gunder and Hillier, 2009; Haughton, 1999; Vallance, 2011). On the other hand, the word has been associated with anything from technology to management styles, demonstrating the generalised positive conception of sustainability (Gunder and Hillier, 2009).

Sustainable development

One of the concepts which sustainability is being associated with is, as mentioned above, 'development'. The notion that sustainable development 'seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future' as stated in the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987: 40) is by far the most widespread conception. The attention towards future generations illustrates the ethical considerations regarding social equity and justice, but ecological considerations are also embedded, as the satisfying of lives for people in both distant space and time requires that every human being must take on a way of life that can be acted out by everyone without compromising the environmental conditions (Arler, 2015). However, the Brundtland Report also embeds a stance that continued economic growth as a result of efficiency innovations in technology is possible, and that substitution is possible, entailing no need for reduction in consumption or any behavioural changes. Arler (2015) argues that the vaguely specified relation between socio-economic and environmental issues has turned out in favour of economic growth. Vallance et al. (2011) likewise express how the Brundtland definition has placed economic development at the centre in reconciling human needs and environmental goals making the term 'sustainable development' extremely appealing. Consequently, some ecologists 'reject the concept of sustainable development as it prioritizes the needs of humans […] over the rest of life and largely views the environment from a human standpoint' (Giddings et al., 2002: 188). Gunder and Hillier (2009) argue that the composition of 'sustainable' and 'development' in fact gives us the illusion that both continued economic growth and environmental protection is possible. The two words are more contradictory than concordant making the narrative confusing, as it is 'creating language without possibility' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 151). Despite this ambiguity, sustainable development has gained primacy of the wider sustainability narrative.

Sustainability as a planning ideal

Since the 1990s sustainability has become the predominant goal of urban planning (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013) and today the concept is commonly used in urban planning practice and urban policy-making (Davidson, 2009; McKenzie, 2004; Rydin, 2007). Sustainability pertains to policies, strategies and processes on all levels from the local to the global and can thus be found in conjunction with other words than development. As Davidson (2008: 614) puts it:

One is, therefore, left with the impression that sustainability is something that is simply there to be applied to existing areas of urban and social policy, and indeed that sustainability is a concept that can be applied across divergent areas of state.

Once again, sustainability has an inherently positive value which it passes on to other concepts it is juxtaposed with, thus legitimising any action taken in relation to something sustainable. This point is especially interesting in relation to the vital part sustainability has played as a fundamental purpose of urban planning in the past two decades. Gunder and Hillier (2009) show how the loss of faith in the rational, expert-driven planning due to its negative social consequences gave rise to a new ideal for urban planning. Planning originated in the wake of the social problems generated by the fast and heavy industrialisation from the mid-19th century and the human focus in planning has followed through the 20th century with the emergence of the welfare state. However, the instrumental rationality of early planning has received immense critique as a maker of societal deterioration rather than a remedy for the public challenges it was brought into the world to handle (Allmendinger, 2017). The common good has lasted as a purpose of urban planning through various planning theories and methodologies, but since the 1970s there has been a move towards a more political conception of planning and the technocratic premise has been discredited over and over again (Campbell, 2012). The value-based character of planning is being increasingly emphasised making the need for a guiding principle or ideal even greater. Gunder and Hillier (2009) argue that today's planning ideal is sustainability, and that it came to be so due to an accumulation of various factors, but timing has indeed played a vital role. The seemingly holistic notion inherent in sustainability has caused planning to attain renewed justification as a professional activity, but meanwhile also placed the traditional concern for social justice in the shadow (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). The strong environmental focus and appertaining methods within sustainability permeate the planning context, and as a consequence the natural sciences' approaches are adopted, for example environmental impact assessments (EIA), to strengthen the instrumental rationality of planning yet again. Ultimately, sustainability has provided a boost to urban planning, and so the next subsection explores the power inherent in the concept of sustainability.

The ideological power of sustainability
The fact that sustainability has gained such a widespread recognition as today's societal ideal, and indeed as planning ideal, is by Gunder and Hillier (2009) assigned its ideological power. Sustainability has merely a positive association which it passes on to other concepts, like development as stated above. Sustainability has proven its worth as the ultimate goal of planning despite the 'difficulty with defining and operationalising the concept concisely and comprehensively' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 140). In fact, the fuzziness of sustainability can be ascribed to the justification of its ideological power:

> It is this lack of clarity that allows the concept to be a 'real' or 'good Thing' for all those who embrace it, regardless of the particularity of their individual understandings, dreams and desires about this sublime object – which make it profoundly ideological in its very nature. (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 141)

In that manner, the unclarity of the meaning of sustainability can be considered to be its greatest attribute, because this fuzziness allows the conflicting ontological positions to co-exist. Social reality is constructed by fuzzy ideological illusions and it must be, in order for the political processes of society to function:

> Looseness and ambiguity allow us to accommodate incompatible beliefs and political positions [just as] the conflation of conflicting concepts is often how new ideas emerge, or gain primacy over others. (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 143)

The transcendental feature of sustainability is thus the premise for its role as (planning) ideal. However, this feature is also what has enabled sustainability to be fitted into the existing institutions in the guise of market-oriented sustainable development (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). In that manner, the power of sustainability has provided the existing institutions with resistance towards change and indeed amplified the economic narrative. This narrative, imposed by the Brundtland Report, is highly desirable, however:

> [...] It is directly constrained, if not indeed constructed, by institutional and market imperatives of competition, growth and globalisation [which makes it] particularly attractive for our existing institutions of state and governance because it continues to engage and even privilege the capital imperative of growth, or at least to give the economic equal value to that of the social and the environmental. (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 147)

Yet, the neoliberal growth paradigm has succeeded in institutionalising sustainable development as a legitimate rationale in urban decision-making arenas, owing to Brundtland's politically palatable definition (Haughton, 1999). Consequently, 'policies that are not necessarily either environmentally sustainable, or socially just' are being justified by their aim of sustainable development (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 136).

Christen and Schmidt (2012) acknowledge the leading role that sustainability has in society but point out that the action-guiding power that sustainability supposedly embeds, since it functions as justification in many policies at international, national and local levels, is lost due to lack of clarity in both science and practice. Paradoxically, then, one of the few acknowledged features of sustainability as action-guiding is thus invalid, because 'as long as a concept is used to validate whichever action, it does not serve to justify any action at all' (Christen and Schmidt, 2012: 401). Consequently, if sustainability is to preserve or perhaps reclaim its actual power, not only as a theoretical ideal but as normative guidance for the future, both what it is that should be sustained as well as how this should be achieved must be clarified. The next subsection therefore looks into different conceptions of sustainability.

Different conceptions of sustainability
Despite the recognition that the Brundtland definition has gained, it has also received criticism for being too broad and unclear, resulting in its application to diverse conflicting concepts (Gunder and

Hillier, 2009) as well as opposing actions of either actual transformation or maintaining the status quo (Keirstead and Leach, 2008). These contradictive narratives and outcomes all pertaining to sustainability indicate the ambiguity of the concept. The Brundtland conception is hegemonic but has not erased confusion regarding sustainability, and so it remains that there is no clear consensus on the definition of the concept (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013). Rather, several definitions of sustainability and overall principles aiming at creating a sustainable (planning) practice exist, which can be linked to the value-based character of not only planning but also of sustainability in its role as ideal for urban planning. Because there is no common philosophy of sustainability neither sustainable development as Giddings et al. (2002: 188) argue, it is 'the existing worldviews of people and organizations [that] flow into their conception'. Sustainability can thus be understood as a socially constructed concept (Bagheri and Hjort, 2007; Davidson, 2009; Holman, 2009).

Roughly speaking, two opposite conceptions of sustainability as well as nuances hereof exist (Haughton, 1999). Ultimately, what is a source of disagreement is different epistemologies of nature and the various claims for sustainability are thus linked to certain ontological positions (Davidson, 2009). At one end of the spectrum there is a largely anthropocentric worldview which is assigned to carry a 'weak interpretation' of sustainability. Here, nature is perceived as external to the social world (Davidson, 2009). From this point of view, there is a belief that technological innovation can solve the environmental problems and that natural capital can be substituted by any other form of capital, e.g. human or built capital (Arler, 2015; Haughton, 1999). This is a perspective that is widespread in Western societies and policies. Danish investment in technology is massive and especially the skills within green energy is a cause of pride, but sustainable products and design are in general highly valued (Udenrigsministeriet, 2018). On the other hand, there is not a lot of policy aiming at reducing consumption levels, which is a strategy emphasised by proponents of a 'strong interpretation' of sustainability (Haughton, 1999). This interpretation is positioned at the other end of the spectrum, and reflects a nature-centred worldview that rejects substitution of natural capital and problematises the capitalistic growth system's commodification of the environment. Here, nature is perceived as constitutive of the social (Davidson, 2009). From this perspective:

> […] Sustainable development, then, is about recognizing and accepting our responsibilities not just for where we live, but more widely for the environment at a global scale [and this] requires not just altering behavior patterns in relation to the environment, but […] changing the broader systems that shape human behavior. (Haughton, 1999: 235)

This point of view moves beyond technological solutions and calls for a need to change the institutional structures of society. In that manner, the nature-centric worldview has more transformative approaches 'that challenge fundamental ways in which the environment is socially constructed' as opposed to the anthropocentric worldview which fosters 'non-transformative methods [that] are conventional, fairly limited in scope, and aspire only to small, incremental changes' (Vallance, 2011: 344). However, certain interpretations within the nature-centric position are criticised for being too radical as they entail a quantitative and qualitative constant level of available resources, which means that no tree must be cut down and no deer shot (Arler, 2015). Furthermore, the stand that no trade-

offs can be made is especially problematic in relation to social issues, as very strict regulations regarding environmental protection tend to affect disadvantaged groups (Boström, 2012).

In addition to, or perhaps in line with the two opposing worldviews, adverse conceptions of sustainability as either a process or an end-state reinforce the intangible trait of sustainability. Bagheri and Hjort (2007) argue that because sustainability is an ideal, it is a 'moving target' as our understanding of the world and our ethics are constantly changing. This means that sustainability should not be perceived as a static goal or end-state from which certain criteria can be derived, rather 'it is an ongoing process and successful societies must be able to adapt to changing circumstances' (Keirstead and Leach, 2008: 331). Hence, it is pointless to define a concrete situation of sustainability, which makes the work with sustainability in practice rather complex and uncertain.

The opposite ontological positions have resulted in various definitions and models of sustainability, which we will turn to later. Firstly, the next subsection explores the power inherent in the concept of sustainability.

Models of sustainability

When actors are working with sustainability in practice, they are rarely conscious about what ontological position they take on in their work, but as Davidson (2009: 614) emphasises, it is 'necessary to critically evaluate what normatives are embedded within current policies' due to the already established fuzziness of sustainability.
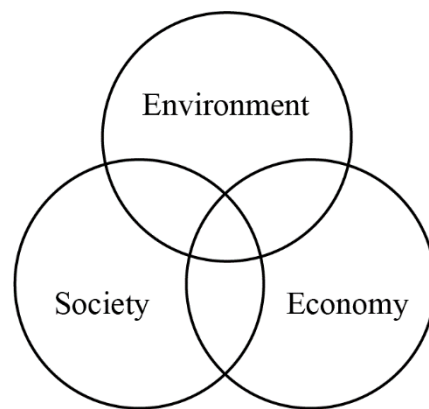
Figure 2.1: The three partly overlapping aspects of sustainability (Giddings, 2002).

Brundtland's widespread conception of sustainability originates from a position of sustainability that can be illustrated as three overlapping circles, see Figure 2.1. In this illustration, sustainability is divided into three aspects: society, environment and economy. The tripartition has allowed the detailed study of sustainability in various fields resulting in diverse information and data about the world. This division, like the notion of sustainable development, stems from the Brundtland Report's belief in the combination of economic growth and the consideration for future generations (Arler, 2015). 'For both substantive and normative reasons, the relationships among these dimensions are generally assumed to be compatible and mutually supportive' (Boström, 2012: 3), and 'often sustainable development is presented as aiming to bring the three together in a balanced way, reconciling

conflicts', however the political reality is that the economy is being prioritised over the environment and the society (Giddings et al., 2002: 189). This sectoral separation Giddings et al. (2002) align with the weak interpretation of sustainability and the belief in trade-offs between the three aspects. The reliance on trade-offs is especially present in corporative contexts, where the triple bottom line is a widespread concept (Boström, 2012). However, this 'atomistic view masks and misrepresents the complex relations among the three' aspects (Boström, 2012: 7). Giddings et al. (2002: 190) further argue that:

> […] Whilst central government and business have embraced sustainable development, the separation into the three sectors can be used to justify a concentration on a part, rather that the whole. In most cases, governments' main concern is economic growth.

Consequently, the seemingly holistic conception of sustainability is not predominant in practice, as the narrative of sustainable development has gained the most attention, which has pushed the discourse on sustainability towards an economic growth rationality. Moreover, Davidson (2009) finds connection between the ontological position behind sustainable development and the depoliticisation of the concept. Giddings et al. (2002) argue that the material reality is that the three aspects of sustainability cannot be separated and indeed not substitute each other, and that this distortion is what follows from the sectoral separation. Overall, they argue for a 'nested' or concentric model of sustainability, see Figure 2.2, in which 'the boundary between the environment and human activity is itself not neat or sharp; rather it is fuzzy' (Giddings et al., 2002: 193).
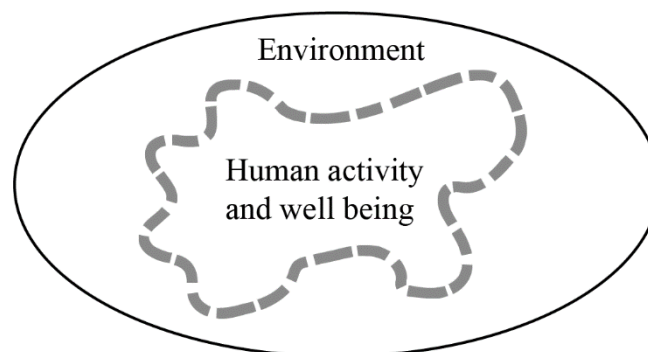
Figure 2.2: Nested/concentric conception of sustainability (Giddings, 2002).

'Human activity' covers both society and the economy, as the latter is a subset of the first. Hence, it does not make sense to talk about the economy and the society as two separate areas of activity. Psarikidou and Szerszynski (2012) likewise criticise the conception of the social as a separate aspect, as they consider both the environment and the economy as always entangled in the social. They argue for a 'sociomaterial turn' in the way sustainability is conceived:

> Such a turn would be *social* in the sense of attending to social relations, practices, cultural meanings, and normative judgements, but also *material* in terms of recognizing that social life is conducted by embodied beings in constant exchange with their physical environment. (Psarikidou and Szerszynski, 2012: 33 – emphasis in original)

This integrated perspective resists an ontological separation of sustainability and is argued to fulfil the aim of holistic approaches better than the sectoral division, as it focuses on benefitting the environment and satisfying human needs and wellbeing, not only with economic means (Giddings et al., 2002). However, this conception is criticised for being too broad to work with in practice as it does not bring about 'clear ethical values or guidelines' to support the prioritisation or decision-making (Giddings et al., 2002: 194). Furthermore, the hegemonic primacy of the economic imperative within sustainability, Gunder and Hillier (2009: 154-155) argue, maintains 'business as usual' which urges them to ask the following question:

> How do we rearticulate sustainability's core concern, not as a mechanism for justification for more pro-market behaviours, but as a means to displace the economic imperative from its throne of supremacy over that of social equity, cultural appreciation and the environment?

Haughton (1999) is one of many who emphasises the necessity of going beyond the sectoral division. He stresses the ethical values within the sustainable development debate, which by default is linked to the ontological position of the conception in question. Hence, rather than formulating a definition of the contested sustainability, he proposes five interconnected principles on which discussions and policy-making about sustainable development ought to be based. The principles are all founded on the criteria of equity – equity for all people now and in the future, here as well as other places, and the way in which policies are made, but also equity for other species as humans have obligations to care for nature because of our ability to do so (Haughton, 1999). Indeed, he argues that addressing the five equity conditions is the premise of sustainable development. The principles should function as guidelines for making political priorities, however, 'it is the process of moving toward them, of changing human practices in their spirit, which is important, not some elusive readily quantifiable end-goal' (Haughton, 1999: 235). In that manner, he aligns his principles with the evolutionary efforts emphasised by Bagheri and Hjort (2007: 84), 'which have to be oriented towards processes and structural change'. This is contrary to the notion of sustainability as connoting balance and stability, which is assigned as overall purpose to the model with three overlapping circles (Giddings et al., 2002).

We understand sustainability as a socially constructed ideal that individuals and organisations should strive for. 'Ideals come from ethics and values, and they are, indeed, non-quantifiable' (Bagheri and Hjort, 2007: 84). As ethics and values, both on the individual level and in society, are changing through time so will the ideal for urban planning, in the sense that the profession 'reflects wider society's conceptualisation of what is important' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 143). Sustainability will not be the overarching ideal of society nor urban planning to eternity, although its current fuzziness will enable a continued prestige. Perhaps this potential continuation of sustainability's influence is what makes it even more imperative to shed light on the prevailing conception's implications and the alternative interpretations that may exist. This is especially true considering Christen and Schmidt's (2012) argument on the loss of action guiding belief in sustainability due to various conceptions.

The preliminary elaboration of sustainability derived from present section shapes an understanding of the complexity of the concept. This is important as point of departure for the following theoretical elaborations on social sustainability and governance, as the approaches and tools chosen in planning processes mirror the fundamental ontological position of the governing actors.

2.2 Social sustainability

From the discussions in the previous section it can be argued that a distinction between the economy, the society and the environment is a social construct that distorts reality and consequently results in policies and practices which are based on illusions. However, the concentric model receives criticism for putting the societal and economic aspects of sustainability in the shadow of the environment, giving superiority to the latter (Davidson, 2009), which thus is set to be avoided with the conception of the three equally big overlapping circles (McKenzie, 2004). However, in this conceptualisation, the social aspect is appointed as the least attention receiving of the three (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013). Paradoxically, following 'the anthropocentric focus of the definition of sustainability, surprisingly little attention has been given to the definition of social sustainability in built environment disciplines' (Dempsey et al., 2009: 289), and the social aspect can thus be assigned the big looser in Brundtland's tripartition (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). Regardless of conception, it seems that social considerations have been absent or at least neglected in the sustainability discussion. This can to some extent be seen as a result of Brundtland's tripartition, which has caused separation and prioritisation between the three aspects, regardless of the original aim of balance and stability between them. In fact, it can be argued that the conceptualisation of the social as a separate aspect is an accomplice to the hardship in conceptualising and implementing social sustainability (Psarikidou and Szerszynski, 2012).

We recognise the tripartition as a social construct that has adapted to and boosted the neoliberal economic growth paradigm, which influences all fields of science and practice including urban planning. This social construct has seemingly made it easier to comprehend sustainability, however it neglects the material reality in which 'the economy is dependent on society and the environment' (Giddings et al., 2002: 191), making a separation of the three meaningless in practice. When we despite our position choose to expound the social aspect of sustainability, it is attributable to two reasons. Firstly, the case we study takes point of departure in social sustainability and we must thus understand the conceptual foundation of the matter. Secondly, our argument is not that digging into the social aspect in itself is problematic, rather it is the way in which the social can be seen as independent and separable from the economic and environmental aspect in practice that is a cause for concern. Hence, sustainability must be understood as a holistic concept in both theory and practice, and to strengthen this conceptualisation it is helpful to shed light on the meaning of the social in sustainability.

Focusing attention on the social of sustainability

As aforementioned, the social aspect of sustainability has been neglected in aid of the environmental and economic aspects, as 'the main focus appears to be the needs of the market, which generally trumps those of the environment, with social equity being, at best, a distant third' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 148). However, in contemporary planning practice the social aspect has gained increased

awareness (McKenzie, 2004; Vallance et al., 2011). Woodcraft (2015: 133) assesses that this increased awareness is a result of 'a combination of financial austerity, public sector budget cuts, rising housing need, and public and political concern about the social outcomes of regeneration' thus giving attention to 'the relationship between urban development, quality of life and opportunities'. Likewise, Mak and Peacock (2011: 1) recognise that 'recently social sustainability has gained an increased awareness as a fundamental component of sustainable development to encompass human rights, labour rights, and corporate governance'. Woodcraft (2015) furthermore argues that social sustainability, after many years in the shadow of the two other aspects, has become a new discourse on sustainable development. However, Davidson (2009) accentuates that the reappearance of the social on the political agenda is within a neo-liberal context. In that manner, like sustainable development, the narrative of social sustainability has also been produced by and embedded within existing institutions.

Defining social sustainability?

The renewed focus on the social aspect has on the one side led some scholars trying to formulate multiple definitions (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013; Woodcraft, 2012), while others '[problematise] the task of arriving at a single useful definition and instead [suggest] that a range of approaches should be adopted' (McKenzie, 2004: 12). In particular, the argument about context dependency of social sustainability is widely acknowledged (Dempsey et al., 2009), which makes an all-encompassing definition an illusion. This point is also raised by Stender and Walter (2019: 599) as they argue that 'one such key challenge is to quantify a concept that is essentially qualitative, normative and changeable over time and place'. Vallance et al. (2011: 346) applaud the increased attention that social sustainability has been given, but problematise the 'rather messy conceptual field in which there is a good deal of uncertainty about the term's many meanings and applications'. They argue that a single definition is not desirable because this will simplify the complexity of the concept. This should instead be embraced and appreciated despite the ambiguity this will cause. As they stress, this must not be an advantage for the advocates of neoliberalism but trigger a strong social focus. To Davidson (2009), a strong social focus entails a politically conscious reflection upon how our social existence should be. Independent of the two sides, it is argued that there is a need for a more practical understanding of social sustainability, if the social aspect should receive equal attention as the two other (Woodcraft, 2012), and thereby create a foundation for a coherent and holistic sustainability concept.

Various scholarly views on the subject have identified several key themes, showing that especially 'equity' and 'basic needs' are fundamental when defining social sustainability (Mak and Peacock, 2011; Stender and Walter, 2019). Other themes identified as frequently used in defining social sustainability are 'social justice', 'participation', 'liveability', 'social interaction', 'social cohesion' and 'empowerment' (e.g. Basiago, 1999; Dempsey et al., 2011; McKenzie, 2004; Stender and Walter, 2019). Nevertheless, there has been a shift in which key themes scholars use when defining social sustainability:

> The chronological analysis of social sustainability themes also indicates how these traditional themes, such as equity, poverty reduction and livelihood, are increasingly been

complemented or replaced by more intangible and less measurable concepts such as identity, sense of place and the benefits of social networks. In the past few years the concept of social sustainability has shifted toward being seen as depending on social networks, community contribution, a sense of place, and community stability and security. (Mak and Peacock, 2011: 4)

The shift from the more immediate focus on poverty to social capacity and participation has caused the practical work with social sustainability to be even more complicated, at least from an instrumental rationality. Indeed, 'the concern for the third criterion of social equity is inherently political and marginalised outside the techno-rational scientific approach central to market efficiency and environmental protection' (Gunder and Hillier, 2009: 149), with social equity being equal to social sustainability. However, the development is in line with calls for greater attention towards social scientifically studies of peoples' interpretations and less power to so-called objective data (Vallance et al., 2011). In line with this call for a wider scientific approach, studies 'identify a range of matters affecting the cities' social sustainability status: the localised effects of national policies, health and education, infrastructure and housing, local urban management and historical factors' (Davidson, 2009: 614). What makes these latest and other themes of social sustainability intangible is their nature as 'more subjective, soft, less scientific, more ideological, and local in contrast to global' (Boström, 2012: 7), but that does not reduce their analytical validity as meaningful representations of urban reality (Keirstead and Leach, 2008). Since the softer features such as 'quality of life' and 'social networks' cannot be maximised, as this is both theoretically and practically impossible (Boström, 2012), the social holds a disadvantageous position compared with the economic and environmental aspect in the capitalistic growth paradigm, as these can more easily be quantified. This brings about a critical view on the conjunction of the social and sustainability, which the following subsection elaborates.

Social vs. sustainability

Davidson (2009) explains how interpretations of social sustainability can be influenced by how environmental problems are framed or not. Within urban studies debates, scholars have aimed at constructing social sustainability as independent of ecological challenges, making sustainability something that 'should be applied beyond the natural environment' (Davidson, 2009: 609). Consequently, the question is no longer what social structures and behaviours should be established to ensure that the needs and aspirations of present as well as future generations can be met, but rather 'what society do we want to sustain?' (Davidson, 2009: 609). Despite our stand that framing social sustainability as independent of the environment causes nothing but reinforcing the sectoral alienation, the last question gives rise to a range of normative, ethical and governing questions which are relevant in any connection. These have, for some cities like Vancouver, resulted in a set of guiding principles that have influenced public debate. However, in places of economic recession or neo-liberal influence, such principles are neglected (Davidson, 2009). More often policies lead to the social only being implicitly integrated in the sustainability strategies. Drawing on Massey and Zizek, Davidson (2009: 612) formulates two challenges within urban social politics:

This widespread absence of a social dialogue is concerned with two wider challenges facing any type of progressive urban politics. The first relates to a lack of engagement with the geographical imaginary of place-based politics and the second with questions of social consciousness in the contemporary.

Davidson (2019) thus calls for attention towards both the extension of urban political issues and the political consciousness of urban polity. The first challenge must be addressed through politics of place, in which 'relations and responsibilities beyond city boundaries [...] become just as significant as those within it' (Davidson, 2009: 613). The notion of responsibility is as aforementioned likewise found in Haughton's five equity principles and is to both Davidson and Haughton related to a broad, transfrontier responsibility both geographically and humanly. The second challenge pertains to the cynical subjectivity within social policy, as urban leaders consciously sustain structures of i.e. unjust relations. Consequently, political institutions and practices must be changed in order to even initiate a dialogue on the social. Urban actors and policy-makers must place matters of social ethics at the forefront of debate (Davidson, 2009).

As stated earlier, society is not separable from nature in practice and the two are thus never unrelated (Giddings et al., 2002). However, the relationship between them can be approached from different ontologies, and Davidson (2009: 616) thus show the 'potential problematic posed by putting sustainability into the social'. Following the ambiguity within the multiple conceptions of social sustainability, policy-makers might turn to 'social constructions of nature framed in debate about ecological sustainability' in pursuit of clarity (Davidson, 2009: 615). Consequently, social policy might risk hinging on ecological principles which not necessarily embed equitable or just concerns in a social relation. The principles by which sustainability in the original and mostly environmental comprehension rests on, are those of balance and stability, and while notions of social sustainability as the maintaining of the existing structures are held by some, Davidson (2009: 616) argues that 'a sustainable society [can be viewed] as one where social movements, forms of democracy and the foundations of political action are constantly reworked'. It is thus the openness and demand to have ethical debates which can generate actual social politics and not the application of sustainability to existing policy institutions. Boström (2012: 12-13) likewise expresses his caution towards the unified concept:

I do not think social sustainability is the best concept for studying all of the complexities in the social-environment relationship, but it certainly has potential as a frame to assist and improve local and transnational sustainability projects. [...] In its very broadest sense, the "social" has to do with the entire relationship between society and nature, which thereby includes economic, cultural, political, and institutional structures and processes.

Consequently, the notion of social sustainability can indeed function as a platform of communication, but if working with social sustainability isolates abstractions of the social from the relation between nature and society, the framing must be renewed. Similarly, if plans or policies perceives sustainability as merely linked to ecological problems, the understanding of the relation between nature and society becomes flawed as well (Boström, 2012).

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have argued that sustainability as well as social sustainability are socially constructed, complex concepts that do not carry with them one unambiguous definition, rather they both embed different, and also contradicting meanings. Discrepancies in terms of the meanings of both concepts result from different worldviews and different conceptions of the relation between nature and society. Both the conception of sustainability and social sustainability are dynamic in relation to geography and time, and the concepts should be seen as processes rather than end-states. Sustainability encompasses ideological power in an urban planning context, because of its fuzziness, for which reason other words also functions as strong narratives when put in conjunction with sustainability. As planning ideal, sustainability has gained primacy over the social equity ideal, which furthermore is overlooked following the hegemonic conception of sustainable development. The strong economic growth narrative herein, on top of ambiguity within the social aspect of sustainability, has caused a neglect of the latter. Lately, social sustainability is however gaining more attention in the sustainable development discourse and scholars relate the concept to 'soft' values such as 'social cohesion', 'community stability' and 'liveability' among others. The increased attention has however not caused in clarity or consensus on the essence of social sustainability, and so the intention of creating more sustainable cities remains challenging.

Overall, since the Brundtland Report in 1987, the concept and understanding of sustainability has changed in relation to society's development. As underlined by Davidson (2009: 607) 'sustainability has gone from being a global-scale environmental debate to urban policy normative', indicating both how the concept of sustainability has broadened and how the sustainability agenda has become a political question playing out at several levels. Crucial elements for viewing social sustainability equal to the two other aspects are the discourse concerning social sustainability and the priorities of those in power. Just like the environmental and economic aspects, 'social sustainability is not an a-political discourse or neutral practice' (Woodcraft, 2012: 32), however it risks of becoming depoliticised in the name of tangibility. To maintain the political nature of planning, social sustainability should be seen as an emergent planning practice influenced by multiple actors, structures and discourses. It is thus important to pay attention to involved actors and their priorities (Woodcraft, 2012). In that connection, there seems to be an understanding that it is the public sector's responsibility to promote social sustainability in urban development, but as argued by Woodcraft (2012) it should be understood in a governance perspective, meaning that other actors such as citizens, politicians, lobby groups, NGOs, developers and landowners also have responsibility in promoting social sustainability. The complexity of governing sustainability and the relations between actors is elaborated in the following chapter and will accompany the already established complexity of social sustainability.

3 Governing sustainability

The fuzziness and context dependency of sustainability highlighted in the former chapter makes the concept a moving target that is being redesigned to fit specific situations (Bagheri and Hjort, 2007). Consequently, the redesigning of sustainability entails a need to restructure governance systems as well. Since the promotion of sustainability is not only the public sector's responsibility, but other actors have and should take responsibility too, there is a need to involve non-governmental actors more proactively and create new constellations of actors and power flows (Gross, 2010). According to the European Foundation (1998) and Woodcraft (2012), this expansion of responsible actors is necessary in order to work with sustainability, but also because more actors and opinions will add a critical dimension to the 'unquestioning acceptance that sustainability is a good thing' (Woodcraft, 2012: 33) as well as the illusion that it will 'generate desirable outcomes for all, all of the time' (Vallance et al., 2011: 343). Moreover, the expansion of actors is related to the realisation 'that no actor has the capacity to govern alone and neither states, markets, nor civil society can amass the needed power or resources to administer unilaterally' (Gross, 2010: 325). In that manner, we argue that the promotion of and work with sustainability, just like other complexities in the urban arena in general, should be viewed using an urban governance perspective. This argument is developed in the first part of this chapter, where we delve into the concept of network governance as well as power of interest organisations in urban planning.

Various scholars have related the shift towards a governance approach with the use of tools and instruments in urban planning (Le Galès, 2011), for example sustainability indicators (SIs) (Holman, 2009). Le Galès (2011: 144) argues that there is a need for 'new policy instruments for new modes of governance'. This illustrates that complexities derived by new modes of governance can be handled through the use of tools such as SIs. The increasing use of SIs should not only be understood in relation to the complexities of new governance modes, but also in relation to the former discussions about sustainability and social sustainability. The fuzziness and complexity of these two concepts are also attempted to be handled through SIs, as SIs can constitute a common point of departure when working with and discussing sustainability as well as social sustainability. In that manner, SIs are seen as a means to handle both the complexity of governance as well as of sustainability and social sustainability. Therefore, the second part of this chapter looks into the nature of SIs and its inherent power.

In summary, this chapter both delves into the complexity of governing sustainability through networks of various actors and how this complexity, together with the complexity of sustainability as well as social sustainability, is attempted to be handled through the use of SIs. Finally, by joining the knowledge attained in this as well as the former chapter, we construct a theoretical framework arguing that SIs can function as a governance tool to shape conception and practice.

3.1 From urban government to urban governance
The shift from urban government to urban governance has been touched upon multiple times in the planning literature (e.g. Gross, 2010; Kjær, 2004; Sehested, 2009), and has occurred as a consequence of new public management reforms in many Western countries during the 1980s and 1990s (Kjær,

2004; Sehested, 2009). As Le Galès (2011: 143) points out, the current focus is 'not just who governs but how governments and various actors involved in governance processes operate'. Consequently, urban planning is exercised in governance systems comprised by various governmental and non-governmental actors (Sehested, 2009).

Just like the concept of sustainability, 'the usage of the concept of governance […] is applied in many different contexts and with as many different meanings' (Kjær, 2004: 2), which makes governance a concept filled with conceptual complexity. Nevertheless, there are some principal elements such as 'governance is a term referring to the nexus among states, civil society, and market actors who collaborate to achieve public purposes' (Gross, 2010: 324), and that it 'refers to something broader than government, and is about steering and the rules of the game' (Kjær, 2004: 7). This means that institutions and structures of government affect governance processes and additionally that the shift from urban government to urban governance itself can be considered as an institutional change. Torfing et al. (2012) articulate that governance is defined as processes instead of institutions, nevertheless these processes will be more resistant if they are institutionalised through norms, rules and procedures. However, it is crucial that these processes are not being too institutionalised, as this undermines the flexibility inherent in governance processes that makes it possible for networks to adjust to changing environments and objectives. In that manner, it can be questioned whether governance still can be defined as processes and not institutions if these processes become too institutionalised. Consequently, Torfing et al. (2012) argue, that there must be a balance between the institutionalisation and de-institutionalisation.

When looking beyond the principal elements, the conceptual complexity appears – governance is not just simply governance, but goes by many names: network governance, interactive governance, the partnership paradigm, collaborative governance, etc. (Blanco, 2015). In this Master's thesis we refer to governance as network governance, as the IFHP aims to create a network around their SCP in which actors get united by the common goal to increase the focus as well as practical action on social sustainability in urban planning. The following subsection focuses on network governance and how this particular type of governance has not only affected which actors are involved in urban planning, but indeed also who has the planning powers, and which approaches planning is based on.

Network governance
Overall, network governance represents a process of governing with and through networks of governmental and non-governmental actors (Rhodes, 2007), or in other words how public decision-making takes place in networks consisting of various actors, rather than the central or local government making decisions on their own. In that manner, 'the informal authority of networks supplements and supplants the formal authority of the government' (Rhodes, 2007: 1247). Levesque et al. (2017: 322) underline how 'embedding sustainability into practice involves actions at all scales of government, from international treaties to local regulations'. This, it is argued, is why network governance and thus its inherent flexibility and collaborative working is necessary. Besides flexibility and collaboration, other principal elements can be said to be interdependence, negotiation and trust (Sehested, 2009). Nonetheless, Rhodes (1997) states that there still are different forms of governance networks. At the one end of the scale, governance networks can be characterised as integrating and open with a

plurality of actors, while they at the other end of the scale can be characterised as elitist and closed with a few actors (Rhodes, 1997; Sehested, 2009). Additionally, it should be mentioned that networks are context dependent, and therefore no networks are identical (Denters, 2011).

Independent of which form of network that is established, this way of governing entails changes in the structure of power due to the enlarged number of actors, but indeed also due to the actors' changed roles (Blanco, 2015). Consequently, networks use 'different types of power than those either states or markets' (Gross, 2010: 325). Blanco (2015) criticises the fundamentally optimistic understanding of how this form of governing implies a fragmentation of political power, as governance networks not necessarily are democratic per se. An example here could be how closed and elitist networks consist of few actors, meaning that decisions are made in a closed arena in which external actors have no voice. However, it can also be argued that open and integrating networks with a plurality of actors not necessarily are democratic, as the network may be highly skewed towards priorities of powerful actors. Kjær (2004) therefore argues that governance processes cannot only rely on networks but should also draw upon hierarchic structures. Torfing et al. (2012) state that hierarchic structures should not be understood in a traditional governmental way with control and order, but rather should be understood as a more indirect form of government that focuses on designing and framing processes as well as network arenas. In this manner, it can be argued that both forms of governance on Rhodes's (1997) scale somehow can be undemocratic but in different ways. It is thus important to pay attention to relational power within a network. The increase in actors and blurring of hierarchical structures entail a complexity in which the power is to a greater extent found in the relations between the actors. This means that the power lies in the social processes in networks where actor's conceptions of reality are dynamically evolving and influencing each other's, a type of power which Christensen and Jensen (2008) refer to as relational power.

There have not only been changes in the roles of the state, civil society and market actors, the approach to urban planning has also changed:

> Planning in western European countries since the 1980s has shifted from hierarchical and rule-based planning systems to new forms of planning […]. Through the 1980s and particularly the 1990s, there has evolved a more flexible form of project planning, based on ad hoc projects. Projects have evolved from below and from outside the planning bureaucracy, involving citizens, interest organizations and private interests. (Sehested, 2009: 246)

Consequently, in a Danish context Sehested (2009) argues that the making and revision of comprehensive plans, such as the municipal plan, have become more of a routine, and that urban development to a greater extent is a result of projects proposed by e.g. developers and investors. This focus on project planning is naturally related to the changed role of the actors, as private interests and the professional part of civil society, such as interest organisations, have obtained a more proactive and influential role in urban development. Sehested (2009: 247) emphasises the influence and special

access that interest organisations have gained and how they, therefore, have become 'directly integrated in the political decision-making system, for which reason Denmark is regarded as a corporative political system'. She underlines how this increased influence, among others, should be understood in relation to how mandatory hearings in urban planning processes have become institutionalised since its introduction in the Danish Planning Act in 1970. Hence, it can be argued that governance processes create a foundation for the professional part of civil society, such as interest organisations, to gain a more influential voice. However, Binderkrantz et al. (2017: 98) argue that 'access does not necessarily imply influence, but it constitutes a necessary step toward influencing the political agenda or decisions'.

How a network operates is thus dependent on the variety and priorities of the involved actors, but indeed also the political systems and institutional settings in which the actors navigate (Avis, 2016; Gross, 2010). One essential point to make here is how institutional settings are 'created, maintained and changed over time by actors', meaning there are no clear boundaries between institutional power and the power of the actors, as these will depend on time and space (Christensen and Jensen, 2008: 20). This is an interesting point to bear in mind as we move on to the following subsection, which addresses interest organisations' roles and power in urban planning. This section will provide us with a conceptual understanding of how interest organisations like the IFHP are seeking to influence urban planning.

Power and types of interest organisations

In urban planning processes, interest organisations compete and participate with one another and which interest organisation that in the end will be influential depends on the specific situation and aim of the organisation (Levesque et al., 2017). There are multiple types of interest organisations, but Fisker (2015) argues that there overall are two types: economic organisations and civil society organisations. She divides these two categories into seven different subcategories. The focus in this Master's thesis is on a civil society organisation, the IFHP, it is thus relevant to only look into the subcategories of the civil society organisations. Fisker (2015) talks about identity organisations such as patient accusations where the members have a selective self-interest in the organisation's aim; leisure organisations where members share the same hobby; and ideal organisations such as environmental associations where the members not have a selective self-interest in the organisation's aim. Binderkrantz et al. (2015) have a similar division of interest organisations but talk about public interest groups instead of Fisker's ideal organisations. They argue that this type of organisation:

> […] Encompasses groups seeking collective goods, the achievement of which would not selectively or materially benefit their members or activists. These […] groups have been argued to face particular harsh obstacles in organizing for political influence and, in effect, to be underrepresented in political arenas. (Binderkrantz et al., 2015: 97)

Further, they argue that public interest groups often prioritise agenda setting, rather than directly affecting policy decisions. Fisker (2015) moreover shows how there has been an increase in the number of Danish interest organisations from 2.127 in 1976 to 2.543 in 2010. In this period, the number of

civil society organisations has increased, and instead of the economic organisations outnumbering the civil society organisations, it is now more balanced. Fisker (2015) further argues that development must be understood in relation to changed values in society. For example, green values such as sustainability and environmental protection have become more widespread, meaning that an increasing number of organisations engage with these values. Moreover, while for example sustainability advocates still are vying for influence in planning processes, their success depends on the institutional settings in which municipal officials are operating (Levesque et al., 2017). This means that the interest organisation that is best able to deal with collective challenges, to have a clear focus and thus clear efforts as well as to deliver political resources will in the end shape the policies in the specific situation (Levesque et al., 2017). Additionally, timing is a crucial factor for the interest organisations' influence (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2016). In that manner, it is not just a matter of persuasive argumentation and the other aforementioned aspects but indeed also a matter of timing. However, even though the timing is good, another challenge is if the ideas or projects are not ready for implementation, again meaning that the ideas or projects are not discussed among policy makers.

Summary

The shift from urban government to urban governance has induced new actors in the planning field as well as new approaches to planning, making governance filled with complexity. Especially the concept of network governance emphasises how planning issues like sustainability to a greater extent is governed with and through networks. However, networks are not just networks, rather there are different forms in which power flows vary. The more flexible way of governing should be seen in relation to the more flexible form of project planning, meaning that projects to a greater extent occur outside of the planning bureaucracy. In relation to this, the increasing influence of interest organisation is relevant to shed light on. Specifically, public interest organisations aiming at putting green values like sustainability on the agenda have gained ground, which reflects changed values in society. Overall, governing urban planning with and through networks entails both more flexibility and more complexity. As the following section looks into, SIs are seen as means to handle this complexity of urban governance.

3.2 Sustainable indicators

As aforementioned, SIs are examples of tools which use have increased in consequence of the shift from urban government to urban governance (Le Galès, 2011). The increasing use should be related to the nature of SIs which implies a means to handle complexities of both new modes of governance and the concept of sustainability (Le Galès, 2011; Holman, 2009). Another characteristic of tools such as SIs is how they due to their nature can be used to control at a distance. Foucault has been engaged in the question of tools and how governments control at a distance through networks and tools – framing it under the term 'governmentality' (Le Galès, 2011; Rydin, 2007). As stated by Le Galès (2011: 147), Foucault highlighted the importance of the 'technical procedures of power – that is, the instrumentation – as a central activity in the art of governing'. Hence, the use of such tools makes it possible to decentralise power and responsibility to local governments, communities and other actors, while still, to some extent, govern the local actions at a distance. To use the expression

of Foucault, the technical procedures of power are also present in the work with sustainability, as SIs are used to operationalise sustainability, thus framing conception and practice in relation to the specific SIs.

Due to this nature, in planning literature, SIs are often referred to as a governmental policy tool that frames and legitimises policy actions. However, in this research we argue that this conception of SIs can be enlarged so that SIs are not only perceived as a policy tool but to a greater extent as a governance tool. We argue this as the increasing importance and influence of non-governmental actors in planning processes entail that SIs are not just developed and operationalised by governments but indeed also by non-governmental actors, such as interest organisations, or in networks with both governmental and non-governmental actors. Like these participating actors, SIs and governance tools in general are not neutral, rather they 'condense some form of political power and technique' (Le Galès, 2011: 157). At first, the beforementioned decentralisation of power and responsibility seems valuable to both the different layers of governments as well as the other participating actors. However, as highlighted in the following, this governing aspect of SIs easily entails implications. Before delving into the implications, we should understand the nature of SIs, how they are conceived and used, as well as the power of them.

Characteristics of sustainable indicators

The use of SIs is not something new in urban planning, rather SIs have been used in more than 30 years (Holman, 2009). In 1998, Mega and Pedersen argued how SIs were a rediscovered issue that could be valuable for cities wishing to initiate a sustainable transformation. Furthermore, 'the significance of indicators extends beyond that which is directly obtained from observations' (Mega and Pedersen, 1998: 5), which makes SIs attractive to use when assessing for example a city's level of sustainability. Even though SIs are not new in urban planning, Holman (2009) stresses that there is a growing popularity and use of SIs. Some scholars describe this growing popularity as 'inescapable' and others refer to an 'indicator industry'. Levesque et al. (2017: 323) state that this is the result of planners trying to translate the concept of sustainability to practical and measurable initiatives which:

> […] Has resulted in a range of sustainability indicators, including comprehensive plans, local implementation of national-level sustainability initiatives, environmental programs, and a "sustainability index" that provides a score for the number of individual policies a government has adopted related to each of the three components of sustainability. While comprehensive plans are a meaningful product of planning processes that indicate the explicit sustainability goals of a community […], for sustainability to be advanced, local governments must transform those goals into specific actions.

Furthermore, this growing number of SIs should be related to the increased political awareness of sustainability and how sustainability has become a predominant goal of urban planning (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013). In relation hereto, internal and external city-comparison make SIs a valuable tool for decision-makers. As Mega and Pedersen (1998: 5) argue, indicators should 'tell us in what fields the city is doing better than in others and according to its specific goals'. Hence, there are several explanations for why SIs have a growing popularity.

Scholarly attention has been given to the role of SIs and thus also the various functions SIs ideally have to fill. In general, the main functions of SIs are that they should be 'clear, scientifically sound, verifiable and reproducible' (Mega and Pedersen, 1998: 5), and thus make a fuzzy and complex concept as sustainability more tangible by simplifying and quantifying it. The role of SIs is however more nuanced:

> The required properties of indicators are that they should be significant, should aid in comparison, evaluation and prediction, and should help to construct and harmonise data banks, and decision-making at various levels to promote local information, empowerment and democracy. They should also contribute to making the city more visible and transparent and have, if possible, a symbolic role. They should embrace all sectors and neighbourhoods contributing to the co-evolutionary process of sustainable development. (Mega and Pedersen, 1998: 6)

SIs can on the one hand be used in policy-making and on the other hand contribute to a participatory and dialogue-based process. Even though Mega and Pedersen's definition of required properties of indicators was developed over 20 years ago, many of the properties are nonetheless identical to how Keirstead and Leach (2008) have later characterised SIs. They put up four overall characteristics: 1) SIs are often *clearly defined* so participating actors know what is meant by the specific indicators, 2) *Data availability* and *measurability* are important components and SIs are often based on official government statistics, 3) SIs are often divided into categories related to policy goals, which is called *compartmentalisation*, 4) The priorities inherent in SIs are often identified within *consensual* and *participatory processes* where various actors debate the indicators and consider alternatives.

Both understandings of the role of SIs indicate that it is essential that there is a policy framework as a foundation, otherwise the use of SIs will be meaningless. The policy framework should, among others, contain a diagnosis of the current situation, specified objectives and directions for change (Mega and Pedersen, 1998). In this manner, SIs can be used for target setting, performance monitoring, early warning, among others (Keirstead and Leach, 2008). Furthermore, both understandings indicate how participatory processes should be emphasised when seeking to define and work with SIs, as the data produced through SIs is not simply descriptive numbers, rather the data has interpretative significance and is relevant to wider debates (Keirstead and Leach, 2008). However, it is of importance to acknowledge that the data might be interpreted differently according to the participating actors' worldview.

In their work with urban sustainable indicators (USIs) Keirstead and Leach (2008: 330) argue that before indicators can be used in practice to e.g. set goals, it is crucial that there is a theoretical understanding of sustainability:

> The theoretical basis for indicators must be considered first; this means defining urban sustainability and identifying the associated principles that should be reflected in the choice of USIs.

Consequently, the conception of sustainability will be reflected in the indicators as a result of the process of defining urban sustainability. This should be viewed in relation to the discussion about ontologies of sustainability presented in Section 2.1. The various ontologies and uses of the concept illustrate the complexity of sustainability, and even though SIs should create a common point of departure, there is a challenge that this point of departure is not common for the actors as they each have their own understanding of sustainability. If the actors are able to create a common point of departure it is important to still remember that this is not representing the full picture. Further, it can be argued that a common point of departure implies that the complexity is not embraced. But this raises the question; what is the alternative? Should there then be multiple indicators, so different conceptions are represented, or something entirely different? The point here is not that the complexity should keep actors from using SIs, but that there must be an awareness of the different understandings and that SIs constitute a specific framework and conception of sustainability. No matter the stance, there must be a theoretical understanding, as this is crucial in the subsequent practice. Moreover, Keirstead and Leach (2008: 330) argue that 'effective USIs must therefore balance the practical needs of policy-makers with a theoretically sound understanding of urban sustainability'. When seeking to clarify the theoretical understanding, they suggest the participating actors to step back from the broad and general definitions such as the Brundtland definition. Instead, they should be inspired by Haughton's approach and thus start by identifying 'the principles by which a city could govern itself towards sustainability' (Keirstead and Leach, 2008: 331). Related to the practical part of defining and working with SIs, Mega and Pedersen (1998) suggest using a survey to measure the citizens' interests and in that way also arouse the public's interest in relation to sustainability.

Even though the characteristics of SIs presented in this subsection seem quite alike and unaltered in a period of 20 years, the understanding and use of SIs in practice have changed. The following subsection illuminates how the role of SIs has changed, which at the same time illustrates the development of SIs as a governance tool.

Changing conceptions and uses of sustainable indicators

The growing popularity and use of SIs can be related to the development in both the conceptions of the role of these indicators and the use of them. Based on a literature review on SIs, Holman (2009) puts forward three categories of SIs. In the first category the role of SIs is viewed in a positivistic and technical perspective. The aim is to develop the ideal indicator system, which functions as a tool to provide a quantitative picture of reality. Due to their scientific validity, SIs are appropriate tools for producing the information needed in the technocratically-inspired policy-making processes. In that manner, policy-making is viewed as a linear input-driven process, in which SIs function as a decision-making tool. However, as Holman (2009: 368) argues, this conception and use of SIs 'cannot explain the inherent complexities of modern governing frameworks, which are not based so much on traditional hierarchy but are formed out of broader networks of actors from both inside and outside government'. Consequently, another more dialogue-based category has been made.

The second category of SIs engages with developmental goals, meaning that capacity building, engagement, social knowledge and participation are important. Perhaps not surprisingly, these goals are, and still tend to be, intangible and difficult to measure through SIs. Nevertheless, Holman (2009)

stresses that although these 'softer' values are hard to measure, they should not be ignored on these grounds. There is a need to integrate these soft values with the hard values incorporated in SIs. This also implies a level of integration between expert knowledge and community knowledge, so that community visions might be linked to measurable SIs. By mixing different actors and framing the discussions around collaboration, Holman (2009: 370) believes 'that the educative value of indicator selection can aid in stakeholder's understanding of how to achieve sustainable development, which is the first step in making progress towards it'. This 'learning framework' indicates a more circular and hermeneutic approach in the work with SIs, as the actors together have a platform for debating sustainable development and how to combine both soft and hard values in SIs. Even though this conception and use of SIs illustrates how the soft values of e.g. communities should be integrated in SIs, Holman (2009: 370) argues that communities still lack:

> […] Real engagement with notions of governance and the policy process. Here the research misses out by not explicitly discussing the role that the indicators can play in network integration between policy-makers, departments and stakeholders both across spatial scales and policy sectors.

The third category it thus focused on how SIs influence policy and alter governance. This category of SIs does thus not just combine the two former but moves beyond them due to the fact that SIs here are used to mobilise actors and shape networks. Holman (2009: 371) underlines:

> […] How governance is articulated through indicator programmes including issues such as the relationships developed through interactions between central and local policy actors and the manner in which the dialogue over the contested nature of sustainable development is produced and reproduced in policy networks.

Therefore, SIs have the potential to start dialogue and shape networks between various actors and layers of governments and at the same time put sustainability on the political agenda. In that manner, SIs can help to frame the discussion around sustainability.

Even though both sustainability and governance are slippery concepts 'it is impossible to avoid this partnership of terms if we are to seek a better understanding of how sustainable development is being operationalised' (Holman, 2009: 371). To some extent this implies that the work with SIs should be viewed as a learning process in which the actors both create relationships and discuss what sustainable development would be in their specific context. The relationship between the layers of governments and other actors impact the use of SIs – a poor relationship will thus often have a negative impact on the use of SIs and vice versa.

In relation to Holman's (2009) three categories, we concur with the conception of the third and understand SIs as a governance tool. In that manner, we also argue that SIs should not just be a rational tool like in the first category, and additionally that SIs have the potential to focus on more than just the developmental goals, as in the second category. Holman (2009) puts up these three categories and conceptions of SIs, each of them existing simultaneously. However, it can be argued that the three

categories additionally indicate a development in how SIs are perceived and used – starting from a positivistic and rational conception moving to a developmental conception and finally ending up with a governance conception that combines the two former conceptions and focuses on learning processes and responsibilisation. It can be argued that responsibilisation can be viewed at two, but still interconnected, scales. First, it can be related to how communities and actors should be involved and have a voice in planning processes. They potentially both gain responsibility and feel responsible for a specific sustainable development project, consequently fostering a sense of ownership. Thus, planners and other actors such as interest organisations have a responsibility to promote sustainability and to engage actors to be interested in sustainability, to take part in planning processes and to feel ownership. A sense of ownership or acceptance of responsibility is crucial for later action (Rydin, 2007). In this relation, it is crucial that the actors who should feel responsible accept the responsibilisation, and not see it as a symbolic responsibilisation. Second, this focus on responsibilisation can be linked to the greater sustainability discussions in Chapter 2, and hence understood in a larger context. As stated in Section 2.1, everybody has responsibilities for a sustainable future, not only viewed in a planning perspective. Therefore, it is essential to focus on responsibilisation and different types hereof, and that this responsibility goes beyond city boundaries, meaning that networks with various actors and interests can be a way to think beyond own interests and boundaries.

The development in conception and use of SIs can be related to a similar development in the conception of urban planning – roughly speaking going from rational planning to communicative planning and finally neoliberal planning with focus on governance among other things (e.g. Allmendinger, 2017; Banfield, 1959; Healey, 1996; Sager, 2011). In this manner, theories *of* and theories *in* planning have changed concurrently both having a current focus on especially governance. Additionally, as aforementioned, Gunder and Hillier (2009) argue that sustainability is the ultimate goal in contemporary urban planning, which therefore both influences the theories *of* and *in* planning.

Irrespective of which conception that is in evidence, the specific conception of SIs will function as a framework for the planning practice. In that manner, SIs have an inherent power that is activated when actors utilise them. The power of SIs, which we argue is aligned to the power of a governance tool, will be further elucidated in the following subsection.

Power of sustainable indicators

When SIs are preferred as approach to understand and work with sustainability, it implies that reality is presented in a particular way. In other words, SIs embody a particular frame, thus also representing issues in particular ways, or structuring public policies and the outcomes hereof (Le Galès, 2011). Hence, SIs embody indirect power in themselves by their methodology and furthermore by steering the discussion according to the selection of indicators (Christensen and Jensen, 2008).

The fact that SIs simplify and quantify sustainability means that the concept becomes more tangible for decision-makers, and SIs thus have the power to 'facilitate and feed into policy-making' (Holman, 2009). As stated by Mega and Pedersen (1998: 2) 'indicators offer a powerful instrument in addressing change' which makes SIs effective in policy-making and derived hereof decision-making, as data produced by SIs often serves as a launch pad to benchmarking and goal-setting. Moreover,

the fact that sustainability is largely interlinked with an economic growth thinking makes SIs attractive in benchmarking processes, because 'such statistics are useful in comparing the performance of countries, or in analysing which areas of a given country/company/community are in an "unsustainable" condition and therefore in need of increased resources' (McKenzie, 2004: 14). SIs and benchmarking are thus used to inform decision-makers or local governance in a broader perspective.

The framing inherent in SIs is related to the ontology of the actors who develop and select the individual indicators. This implies that those in power 'will quickly determine the real meaning of the work of any organisation in the field of sustainability' (McKenzie, 2004: 5). It is therefore of importance to pay attention not only to the power inherent in SIs and the associated construction of sustainability, but indeed also to the actors taking part in developing the SIs. Additionally, since sustainability not is an a-political or neutral discourse, the actors possess discursive power (Woodcraft, 2012). Therefore, neither SIs nor the actors are neutral (Le Galès, 2011).

When framing the sustainability discussion in a particular way through SIs, a foundation for shaping a network interested in this theme is created (Holman, 2009). In this manner, SIs' ability to frame issues in particular ways is not only powerful in policy-making but also in shaping networks (Holman, 2009). Moreover, within the networks SIs have the power to facilitate the communication between the actors according to the selected indicators. SIs thus set the sustainability agenda according to the selected indicators. Overall then, SIs function as a powerful framework for both the discourse and planning practice related to sustainability. Another crucial point to make is that actors have an underlying power in SIs, as they are the ones defining the framework, and in that way indirectly steering the discussion of sustainability in a particular way. An index can be seen as a result of a relational process where the power between the actors has shaped the final form of an index, meaning what SIs are included. Moreover, when SIs are utilised in any given planning practice, the power structure of the developing network functions as a resource or substance that then affect both the discourse on sustainability as well as the decision-making (Christensen and Larsen, 2008).

In this manner, governing sustainability is not just about making it measurable, but, as Rydin (2007) argues, also about altering actors' subjectivities to develop a common framework. However, she also raises a criticism towards this, which will be addressed in the following subsection. She further argues that SIs will only be truly powerful in urban planning if 'their assumptions about governmental priorities […] become embedded in institutional arrangements and thereby in actors' self-reflexive views of their roles' (Rydin, 2007: 618). This should be seen in the light of the former discussion of responsibilisation and the need to change individual behaviour for a sustainable future, in that manner SIs are given the doubtful role and responsibility of reducing the complexity of sustainability and to change individual behaviour. Consequently, Rydin (2007: 619) states that 'this is an overstatement of the possible influence of SIs on their own'. In this manner, criticism can also be raised towards the assumption that if this institutionalisation of SIs succeeds 'it would be […] appropriate to follow the target set by a SI' (Rydin, 2007: 619), as this point can be considered a simplification. In institutional theory it is addressed that also 'bad practices' are institutionalised. We do not argue that the use of SIs is a bad practice or approach to work with sustainability, but that there are some points of concern. The following subsection delves into some of these.

Normative biases of sustainable indicators

Normatively speaking, SIs are viewed as beneficial at all policy scales (Rydin, 2007). However, in this subsection we, as several scholars including Rydin (2007) have done, want to challenge this normative perspective. First of all, there is a criticism towards the particular framing and indirect power of SIs (Le Galès, 2011). The use of SIs become problematic if the mentality is "what gets measured is what matters", as there is a risk that too much emphasis easily can be put on certain and more tangible (and therefore also measurable) problems (Verdi, 2019). In continuation hereto, Keirstead and Leach (2008: 337) not only problematise SIs as producing a restricted picture of reality, but also raise a more general critique to the use of indicators:

> The review of urban sustainability indicators provided here suggests that developing meaningful metrics can be extremely difficult. Theoretically, USIs often lack a clear declaration of sustainability principles, thus creating uncertainty about the desired goals of indicator efforts and the associated policy responses to collected data. Practically, indicators are the product of subjective debates and can be interpreted in different ways by different people; furthermore, the challenges of data acquisition often trump questions of analytical validity. Overall then, USIs often present a restricted picture of urban sustainability that fails to address many of the fundamental questions about how a sustainable city might be defined and achieved.

Bagheri and Hjort (2007: 87) also express their scepticism about the framing inherent in SIs and other tools in general, since 'a model is not a perfect representation of a problem, its optimal solution is not an optimal solution of the problem'. Despite this, they emphasise how collaborative learning processes are beneficial in the work with and promotion of sustainable development. As such, working with SIs through collaborative learning processes can potentially provide a better understanding of sustainability, new knowledge and shape fruitful networks.

Likewise, Holman (2009) and especially Rydin (2007) challenge the normative conception of SIs by presenting a more critical perspective that puts focus on the risk for different tensions between the central-local relationship when using SIs to control at a distance. Ideally, when developing and using SIs, local visions and goals can be linked to centrally developed measurable SIs and in that way empower local governments and/or communities to work with sustainability in their own context (Holman, 2009). Here it can be argued that SIs gain legitimacy, as they can be used to mediate between the participating actors. Nevertheless, in practice SIs do not always play the role as mediators and space-shaping for compliance and responsibilisation but can also fertile the soil for local resistance towards the use of generalised SIs, that do not necessarily fit to the local context (Holman, 2009). Also, McKenzie (2004) underlines how the local sense of ownership might be disrupted if the community is approached with a pre-existing definition of sustainability and selected SIs. Rydin (2007: 613) argues that local resisting actors sometimes show agency and 'instead develop their own agendas, techniques, and practices'. However, she questions whether there is actually space for resistance within the planning process and whether the responsibilisation of local actors can be considered as oppressive or empowering.

Additionally, in her research Rydin (2007) contests the understanding that local actors must alter their subjectivities in order to achieve the indicators' objectives set by the central government or the actors who developed the SIs. In practice there seems to be no evidence of this happening, which underlines how sustainability is socially constructed. Keirstead and Leach (2008) concur this argument by arguing that SIs should not be seen as objective but as subjective and socially constructed, representing the interaction, collaboration and conflicts between actors. They continue by arguing that this must be an acknowledged matter of fact, if SIs should provide inputs to policy-debates. In that manner, they break up with the indicator ideal. Moreover, as discussed in Section 2.1, there is an ideological power inherent in the word sustainability, meaning that when applying it to indicators, SIs are not just subjective and socially constructed but they also have a political dimension and an ideological power. As both Rydin (2007) and Holman (2009) argue, it is, therefore, essential that there is space for agency and conflicts including local resistance when steering and shaping networks through SIs. This implies that SIs may operate in unexpected ways, consequently it should not be assumed that the use of SIs will deliver a specific rationality (Rydin, 2007).

Another issue Rydin (2007: 622) turns her criticism towards is the role of SIs in policy-making, arguing that both the use of the word sustainability in itself and the use of SIs play a symbolic role legitimising 'policy action under the banner of sustainable development in the face of demands to be doing so'. She continues to ague how 'diversionary policy action is important because it diverts attention from other policy action and it consumes resources that might have been used elsewhere. It legitimates what might otherwise be unacceptable policy activity' (Rydin, 2007: 622). This symbolic role of SIs should be understood in relation to the discussion in Chapter 2 about how sustainability as a word, regardless of the context in which it is used, is perceived as having an inherent positive value, thus also having an ideological power (Gunder and Hillier, 2009). Furthermore, the fact that SIs can be found at all policy scales indicates 'the interface of a continuing embedding of sustainable development as a legitimate focus of collective action and the increasing use of indicators across a range of policy areas' (Rydin, 2007: 613).

Summary

Overall, the shift from government to governance has not only implied new planning actors but also new planning approaches. Especially the use of tools such as SIs has increased, which we see as an expression for the complexity related to sustainability and governance. The conception and use of SIs have changed during time, starting from SIs being viewed in a positivistic perspective, then a dialogue-based perspective and then finally in a governance perspective, from which we develop our understanding of a governance tool, see Section 3.3. SIs possess a methodological power in framing sustainability discussions, conception and practice according to the chosen indicators. Additionally, the actors developing the specific SIs do also possess power in the way that they individually have priorities that influence the conception of and work with SIs. However, taking a more critical view on SIs, their framing of sustainability in a particular way gives a restricted picture of reality, and consequently there is a risk that fundamental questions about what a sustainable city is and how this should be worked with not are addressed. The relationships between the actors and layers of governments are essential to the use of SIs. Ideally, when SIs mobilise actors these actors are also given

responsibility, however it is questionable whether this responsibilisation can be considered as empowering or oppressive, and whether there is space for agency and conflicts in the planning process. Additionally, it is questionable whether SIs play a symbolic role in legitimising policy action under the banner of sustainable development. In that manner, the governing aspect of SIs easily entails implications when used in practice.

3.3 Theoretical framework

The aim of this Master's thesis is to understand the way in which a programme, consisting of an index among other things, launched by an interest organisation shapes the conception and planning practice of social sustainability in Danish municipalities. To do so, the following theoretical framework around SIs as a governance tool is constructed, see Figure 3.1. This framework builds on the knowledge derived from this chapter as well as the former chapter. Hence, this framework is what bridges the theoretical knowledge with the forthcoming empirical knowledge, ultimately facilitating a broader discussion about indices in urban planning practice based on the case of this research.

SIs are often seen as a means to handle the complexities of new modes of governance as well as the concept of sustainability, as they entail a particular framing by which they simplify complexities. Moreover, SIs are often referred to as a governmental policy tool, however, in this research we enlarge this conception, so SIs are conceived as a governance tool. When referring to SIs as a governance tool, we understand that SIs influence conception and practice in two arenas; the planning arena, where the actual planning practice takes place, and the political arena, where policy-making influencing planning practice takes place, see Figure 3.1. SIs do so by disseminating their nature, in other words their conception and methodology, to the actors in the two arenas. In this manner, the content, meaning the range of indicators in the governance tool, frames sustainability in a specific way.
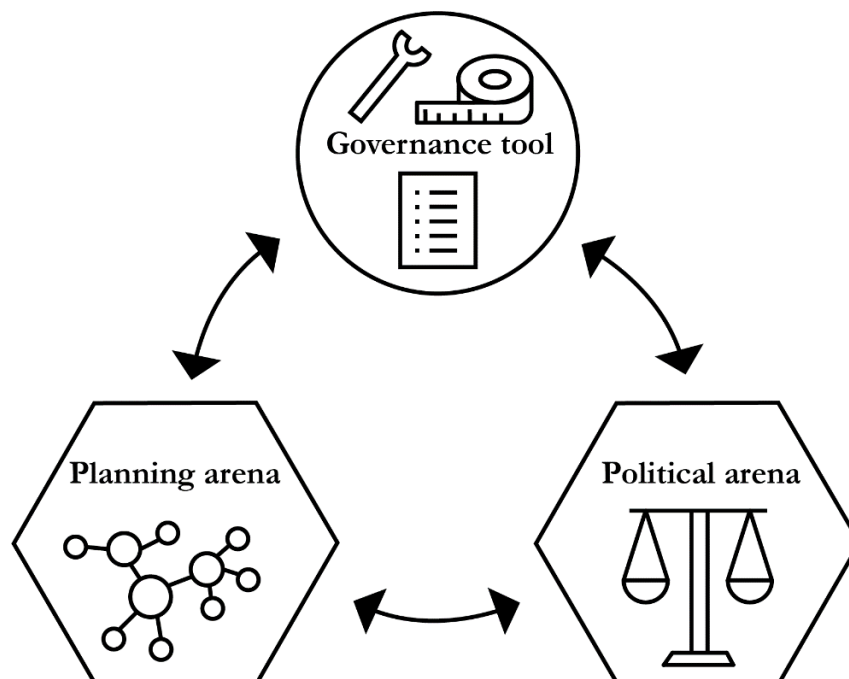
Figure 3.1: Theoretical framework.

More detailed, in the political arena a governance tool can set an agenda, which ultimately shapes conception and political prioritisation. Because of the tangibility of a governance tool, it is compelling in the political debate and it thus has a methodological power in its nature. Likewise, in the planning arena a governance tool can shape conception, which further will be reflected in the planning practice. Since planning largely takes place in networks and processes herein, a governance tool can likewise shape conception and practice in these networks. Hence, a governance tool can also be a contribution when facilitating dialogue-based processes. This applies to both the internal and external networks in which a planner takes part. One of the networks that a (municipal) planner is embedded in is a political planning network, and the planner therefore takes part in influencing political conception and prioritisation. Conversely, planning practice is to a large extent a result of policy and decisions in the political arena. In that manner, an interrelationship exists between planners and politicians. We therefore argue that the power of a governance tool can be divided into two categories; the first relates to SIs' power in policy-making, while the second relates to SIs power to in mobilising actors and shaping networks, thus also influencing these actors' conception and practice.

A governance tool thus influences the two mentioned arenas, however the activity in those arenas can additionally influence the content of the governance tool. Yet, it must be emphasised, that regardless of the content of a governance tool, it functions as a governance tool because it still frames issues in a certain manner, thereby reflecting a specific conception of sustainability. Ultimately, it is the method inherent in a governance tool which is the crucial factor.

The overall argument then is that SIs as a governance tool generally seen influences both policy-making and planning, given that it handles the complexities of sustainability as well as governance processes. The outlined construction of a governance tool applies to a sustainability index. Meanwhile, we argue that an index focusing on social sustainability can function as a governance tool as well. This argument is grounded on a similar complexity in both the conceptualisation of and working with social sustainability, elaborated in Section 2.2.

4 Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of the research. Firstly, the scientific approach in this Master's thesis is outlined to establish the ontological and epistemological stance of the research. Secondly, the research design in the form of a table is presented in order to understand how the research is carried out. As part hereof, the connection between the sub-questions is elaborated to make their logic clear. Since this research is a case study, arguments and reflections hereon are also elucidated. Subsequently, the methods chosen for this research including participation in meetings and conferences, document analysis, interviews and e-mail correspondence are elaborated in terms of purpose and content. Lastly, the chapter includes reflections upon the chosen methods as well as the validity and reliability of the research.

4.1 Scientific approach

The point of departure for this research is that the world is socially constructed. This means that we ontologically assume that multiple realities exist, and that they are constructed by social systems and people's experienced life world (Creswell and Poth, 2018). No single truth exists, rather different conceptions of reality co-exist. Consequently, our epistemological assumption is that objective knowledge cannot be obtained, and the empirical knowledge we acquire is therefore per se only a section of reality. Meanwhile, the knowledge accounts for a subjective truth completely valid as representation of reality. Knowledge is thereby obtained through people's subjective experiences (Creswell and Poth, 2018). We understand verbal and written articulations of reality as constructed in relation to the context and social culture in which they are shaped (Farthing, 2016). Since every actor is part of multiple social relations or networks, expressed conceptions are a result of social processes with dynamic power structures. For this reason, the theoretical understanding of governance is helpful, as it acknowledges how complex planning processes are shaped and how instruments or tools are deployed on account of the well-functioning of governance networks like the ones planning actors engage in.

We consider the conception of social sustainability embedded in the SCP as constructed in social interaction between the actors who have engaged in the process of developing the programme. Hence, their individual background and understanding of the world is reflected in the SCP, compiled in a single conception of social sustainability as a result of the internal powerplay in the network of participating actors. The IFHP, being the formal sender of the SCP, is considered as the primary influencer of the SCP for which reason we study the IFHP's conception of sustainability and social sustainability through studying the methodology inherent in the SCP as well as the framing of the two concepts in published material and statements from two IFHP employees.

The understanding of the SCP as socially constructed is further reflected in the construction of the governance tool concept, cf. Section 3.3. We establish a governance tool as able to transmit a certain conception and methodology in two arenas, whereby it takes part in shaping both the conception of and practice of social sustainability. As conception shapes practice and practice influences conception, we study both conception and practice in order for us to attain a deeper insight into the life world

of the municipalities. Hence, we study both the existing conception and practice of sustainability and social sustainability of the five municipalities prior to their encounter with the SCP as well as the way in which their involvement in the SCP has influenced their conception and practice of social sustainability.

Due to our ontological stance and our ways of obtaining knowledge, we acknowledge that the research is affected by our own interpretations, both of reality and of the statements the interviewees articulate (Creswell and Poth, 2018). The value-laden nature of the research is embraced throughout the written report, but especially comes forward in the discussion in Chapter 8 about the implications for urban planning of taking on an index-approach to social sustainability. Our positioning in terms of sustainability and social sustainability is established in Chapter 2 and we recognise that different stances on the concepts co-exist. Meanwhile, we identify that a heavily neoliberal growth narrative is hegemonic in terms of the prevailing conception of sustainability. In light of sustainability as a planning ideal, we therefore expect a strong economic rationale in both the IFHP and the municipalities, which also is reflected in their approaches to the social aspect of sustainability.

4.2 Research design

This section depicts the research design of this Master's thesis, illustrated in Table 4.1. Our research takes point of departure in the SCP and the empirical problem therefore pertains to some apparent potentials and concerns related to the conception and methodology of social sustainability herein. To understand the dynamics of the IFHP as non-governmental actor developing a tool to work with social sustainability, two conceptual problems has guided the literature review of Chapter 2 and 3 in which the issue is considered in a general manner. Following this, two methodological problems regarding how to research the specific dynamics related to the case of the SCP are formulated and answered in the rest of Chapter 4. These identified problems lead us to formulate a research question, that revolves around understanding the way in which the SCP is shaping Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability by functioning as a governance tool – a theoretically constructed concept for the purpose of this research. To guide the research, three sub-questions are phrased that respectively creates the foundation of the analyses and the discussion. The table furthermore includes the methods for the research. This section finalises with an explanation on the correlation between the sub-questions, illustrated by Table 4.2 which constitutes our analytical framework.

Empirical problem
International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) is an NGO who is developing the Social Cities programme (SCP) which is indented to chart a course for Danish municipalities' conception and practice of social sustainability within urban planning. The SCP consists of an index to measure and operationalise social sustainability, which can play a vital role in fostering dialogue between urban actors unified in a network with social sustainability as focal point. However, in the process of developing and defining indicators, certain priorities and simplifications of the complexity embedded in social sustainability are obviously made meaning that reality is framed in a particular way.

Conceptual problem
1. How can we understand the role of NGOs in urban planning?
2. How can we understand how indicators can function as a governance tool to shape conceptions and practices of (social) sustainability?

Methodological problem
1. How can we research the role of the IFHP in the work with social sustainability?
2. How can we research how the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP shape Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability?

Research question
How is the IFHP's Social Cities Programme (SCP) functioning as a governance tool to shape Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability?

Sub-question 1
Why is the IFHP developing the SCP as a tool for municipalities to work with social sustainability in urban planning?

Sub-question 2
How has the SCP shaped conception and practice of social sustainability in the political arena and the planning arena in the five Danish municipalities?

Sub-question 3
What are the implications of indexifying social sustainability for urban planning?

Methods
- Interviews with Nielsen and Eikard from the IFHP
- Document analysis of the IFHP material
- Participation in meetings and conferences about the SCP

Methods
- Interviews with the five municipalities
- Interviews with Nielsen and Eikard from the IFHP
- Document analysis of municipal plans and strategies
- Participation in meetings and conferences about the SCP

Methods
- Interviews with the five municipalities
- Interviews with Nielsen from the IFHP
- E-mail correspondence with Stender from SBi
- Participation in meetings and conferences about the SCP

Table 4.1: Research design.

Correlation between the sub-questions

The analytical framework of the research can be visualised through Figure 4.2. Chapter 5 answers the first sub-question by creating an understanding of the nature of the IFHP's SCP, illustrated by the IFHP circle. It does so by exploring the content of and settings for the SCP, including the conception of sustainability and social sustainability reflected in the SCP and the IFHP as organisation. Furthermore, the motives behind the SCP are elucidated, as these are connected to the nature of the SCP and constitutes the aim of the first sub-question.

Chapter 6 revolves around the five municipalities which have been involved in the SCP, illustrated by the five municipality circles. It presents background information and existing conception and practice of sustainability as well as social sustainability of each of the five municipalities. The municipalities are seen as different entities and some features they share while they stand out with others. This is elaborated in the summary of the chapter and is included to illustrate the way in which Danish municipalities have different conditions and handle their conditions differently. Overall, Chapter 6 provides a basic understanding of the municipalities, which is needed to answer the second sub-question.

The aim of Chapter 7 is to analyse how the SCP has shaped conception and practice in the five Danish municipalities. This is illustrated by the arrows on Figure 4.2. The understanding of the IFHP and the SCP derived from Chapter 5 as well as the understanding of sustainability and social sustainability in the municipalities explored in Chapter 6 form the foundation of Chapter 7. This analysis takes point of departure in the theoretical concept of a governance tool for which reason the chapter delves into the political arena and the planning arena regarded from the municipalities' point of views.

The analyses and the theoretical insights constitute the point of departure for Chapter 8, where the third sub-question is answered. This chapter engages in a more generalised discussion upon the application of quantitative indices to qualitative matters in urban planning. The points hereof are as such relatable to other similar cases, however it is not case independent, as the substantial basis for the chapter stems from a combination of the literature review and the conducted interviews. Therefore, Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are of an analytical nature while Chapter 8 discusses elements of the index approach in urban planning in general to put the research into a broader perspective.
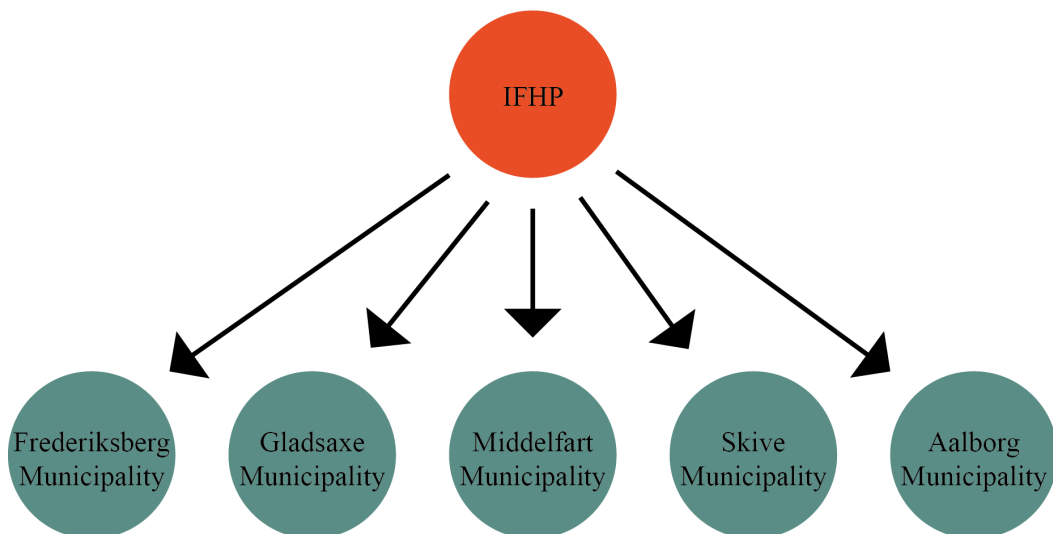

Figure 4.2: Analytical framework.

4.3 Case study

This research addresses an attempt to develop a quantitative tool for working with a qualitative and complex issue and the way in which this tool is being diffused in order to create consensus on the work with this complex issue. The issue, being social sustainability, is argued to be socially constructed, and to understand the impact hereon we must therefore study the articulated situations that the tool, being the SCP, is involved in. The case of the research is thus the SCP, and to study the way in which this tool is attempted to be disseminated, we look into five situations. The situations are taken place in five Danish municipalities, which therefore form the settings for our case study. Flyvbjerg (2006) shows us the relevance of case studies in scientific work, because it provides context dependent knowledge, which is needed in social sciences. By utilising the research strategy of case studies, we reject an outdistancing of the object of study, namely the SCP and the situations in which it puts an impact on the municipalities. Furthermore, we acknowledge that a nuanced understanding of the world depends on something else than epistemic theoretical constructions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This is in line with our ontological and epistemological assumptions about the world, as we consider reality to be socially constructed, and knowledge hereof thereby implies studying social relations.

We are studying the meeting between the SCP and the five municipalities which were appointed as test municipalities by the IFHP. At the time of starting this research, no other municipalities had engaged in the process, and it was therefore not possible to expand the settings for our case study. Meanwhile, we argue that the diversity in preconditions, such as size and urban characteristic, of the five municipalities represents a wide section of Denmark's municipalities. Generalisation is not a main goal of the research (Flyvbjerg, 2016), however we argue that some of the findings are applicable in similar cases, where quantitative tools are perceived as applicable means to reduce complexities of subjective, value-based matters.

4.4 Data gathering methods

The aim of this section is to present the methods used for gathering data about our case. We have used four types of methods: participation in meetings and conferences, document analysis, interview, and e-mail correspondence. In the following the use of these are individually described.

Participation in meetings and conferences

In autumn 2018 both authors were interns in the planning division at Aalborg Municipality. As a part of our internship we participated in a meeting with the IFHP together with planners from the division. In this meeting, the IFHP presented their SCP and had discussions with the planners about how the SCP could be utilised in Aalborg Municipality. Together with our existing interest in social aspects of planning, this meeting about the SCP caught our attention and became the early start of this Master's thesis. After this meeting we kept the contact with Ulla Eikard from the IFHP and had an additional Skype-meeting with her about our ideas for this research in January 2019. In that manner, these meetings became the kickstart of the research carried out in this Master's thesis.

Subsequently we have participated in two conferences related to the SCP. The first conference "IFHP Social Cities – measuring what matters" was held in late January by the IFHP. Besides representatives from the IFHP, various urban actors from Danish municipalities, private planning and architecture firms, London School of Economics (LSE), Statistics Denmark, among others participated. The conference was a mix of presentations and workshops all concerned about the work with social sustainability and how indices can be used in relation to that. A presentation of preliminary data from Aalborg Municipality produced by the Social Cities Index constituted the foundation for the following workshops. Here we participated in the workshops at two different tables, however around both tables discussions were related to the possibilities and barriers of quantifying something so qualitative as social sustainability, who the SCP is relevant for, as well as how results from indices should be communicated.

During the conference we also had the possibility to talk to representatives from four of the five municipalities testing the SCP, namely Frederiksberg, Middelfart, Skive and Aalborg Municipality, and meeting some of the relevant interviewees with whom we arranged interviews with later on. As Gladsaxe Municipality did not participate in the conference we contacted them by e-mail and arranged an interview. Later in this section, presentations of the interviewees from the municipalities as well as the IFHP can be found.

In April 2019, we participated in the "Conference about social sustainability in practice" held by Aalborg Municipality. Besides planners, the city architect and the alderman of the Department of Urban and Spatial Planning from Aalborg Municipality, various other actors participated in the conference. Among the participants were the IFHP, senior researcher Marie Stender from the Danish Building Research Institute, Middelfart Municipality, different housing associations located in Aalborg Municipality, managers and public servants from other departments in Aalborg Municipality as well as private firms. The conference was a mix of presentations, city walks and a panel debate. This format was supposed to underpin the conference's focus on social sustainability in practice. The discussions during the conference underlined that social sustainability within the built environment is a relatively new field, and the discussions quickly turned into individual behaviour and social policy. This is not to say this is not a crucial part of social sustainability, but it reveals the ambiguity of working with social sustainability in a planning context. However, the reason why the discussions took this turn should be found in the mix of participants at the conference.

Overall, the meetings and conferences have provided us with more general knowledge about social sustainability and how different professions understand the word differently. This underlines the importance of interdisciplinarity in the work with social sustainability, as the concept is so broad that no actors can handle its complexity alone. Furthermore, the conferences have been crucial for getting in contact with the various interviewees for this research. Additionally, it is crucial to highlight that we have had the opportunity to follow the entire process of the SCP getting introduced and utilised in the five municipalities. The process stated in autumn 2018 and finishes this summer 2019.

Document analysis

In order to understand the context in which the IFHP operates, thus also their role and aim with the SCP, as well as the five municipalities' existing conception and practice of social sustainability, we have used document analysis as a method. In relation to the IFHP, various material from their webpages and from the abovementioned meetings and conferences have been analysed. In relation to the five municipalities different planning documents in each municipality have been analysed. For each municipality both their current and former strategies for planning and municipal plans have been analysed. Additionally, other relevant documents regarding sustainability have been analysed. For example, Aalborg and Frederiksberg Municipality have specific strategies for sustainability which also have been analysed. These plans have been relevant to analyse, because they, as Farthing (2016) argues, can give an understanding of the social world in the individual municipality, and thus how the municipalities conceptualise and work with social sustainability.

To achieve comparable analyses between the five municipalities, first of all the main focus has been on the same type of planning documents, namely the strategy for planning and the municipal plan. Second, the approach to analyse the documents has been to identify the specific municipality's first engagement with sustainability and social sustainability. In practice this means that it is the first time the words 'sustainability' and 'social sustainability' explicitly occur. However, this approach also easily implies challenges, because it for several of the five municipalities have been difficult to find former planning documents. For example, for Aalborg Municipality it has been easy to access former planning documents and the description of their work with sustainability is thus naturally longer than the description for Frederiksberg Municipality where it has been difficult to access former planning documents, cf. Chapter 6. It is therefore of importance to underline that the first identified engagement with sustainability and social sustainability in each municipality not necessarily illustrates for how long the municipality has worked with the two concepts.

In this project, the method of document analysis has been used as a start of the analysis of how the SCP as a governance tool has potential to shape conception and practice of social sustainability in the municipalities. To get a more holistic understanding, the document analyses are combined with interviews. Further, the knowledge gained through the documents analyses has been essential in the design of the interview guides, see Appendix A.

Interviews

Interviews constitute the major part of the data collection in this project, as this method enables a more holistic understanding of the case study and allows each of the involved municipalities to explain their involvement in the SCP. As we believe conceptions of social sustainability to be socially constructed and never independent of the individual, planners and municipalities can have different conceptions of social sustainability. This assumption is considered with the method of interviews, which has allowed the interviewees to describe their experiences of the SCP and social sustainability in general in their own words. The interviews have thus given us the opportunity to understand both the IFHP's and the five municipalities' social worlds and desires, and based on that to understand how the SCP functions as a governance tool.

In total, seven semi-structured interviews have been conducted – one with each of the five munici-palities and two with the IFHP. The interviewees have as far as possible been chosen following their involvement in the SCP. When we decided to take on a case study of the SCP, Gladsaxe Municipality was no longer involved, and we therefore never met with their employee who has been engaged in the SCP. Instead we got in contact with Maj Green, who following her position in the municipality was able to provide insights on Gladsaxe Municipality's conception and practice of sustainability and social sustainability.

All of the interviews have been conducted in Danish and afterwards transcribed in order to be able to analyse the data, thus identifying similarities as well as differences. This also means that we have translated parts of the interviews into English when using quotes or statements from the interviewees. We have chosen to stay as true as possible to the spoken works rather than convey the meaning of the quotes in proper English, because this process would take the statements through yet an interpretation from our behalf. Afterwards, the translated quotes have been sent forward to the interviewees for their approval, which has resulted in minor corrections.

It has been crucial to interview both the IFHP and the five municipalities in order to understand how the SCP functions as a governance tool, as both actors have a responsibility for getting the SCP im-plemented in the municipal practice. In relation to this, by interviewing all five municipalities we explore the SCP in greater depth and are thus able to see general tendencies for Danish municipal practice of social sustainability and whether there is a need to concretise the practice with a pro-gramme like the SCP. Moreover, it has been crucial to conduct semi-structured interviews because as we argue in Chapter 2, sustainability and social sustainability are fuzzy concepts that the inter-viewees should have the possibility to put into their own words, just as they should have the possibil-ity to explain their practice and challenges with the concepts. Therefore, in all interviews, except the last with the IFHP, the questions have overall been related to; firstly, what the interviewees know about sustainability and social sustainability, and; secondly, what they do in practice regarding the two concepts and thirdly what they think about quantifying social sustainability.

For each of the interviews, the questions were made beforehand and structured in an interview guide, see Appendix A. The interview guides for the municipalities have been structured so they include a set of standard questions regarding conception and practice of sustainability and social sustainability, the involvement in the SCP and the collaboration with the IFHP. Additionally, the interview guides contain a set of individual questions around the specific municipality's planning documents analysed in Chapter 6. By asking many of the same questions to the municipalities, it has been possible to compare their conception and practice with social sustainability as well as their involvement in the SCP. For the two interviews with the IFHP, different interview guides have been made, as the pur-poses of the interviews were different. In the first interview with the IFHP, where Morten Nielsen was interviewed, the purpose was to understand who the IFHP is, why they have developed the SCP and how they conceptualise sustainability and social sustainability. In the second interview, con-ducted with Ulla Eikard, the purpose was to gain knowledge about the collaboration between the IFHP and the five municipalities as well as the status for the work with the SCP in both the IFHP and the municipalities. In that manner some of the standard questions asked to the municipalities have

also been asked to the IFHP. This has been crucial in order to understand the collaboration from both sides and further in order to compare how the municipalities and the IFHP conceptualise sustainability and social sustainability. In the following, the interviewees along with their background and their role in relation to the SCP are presented.

Morten Nielsen, the IFHP (Telephone interview, 25 March 2019)
Nielsen has since 2018 been the CEO in the IFHP and has been involved in the entire process of the SCP. In the beginning of designing the SCP, he was hired as a consultant by the IFHP. Here he was responsible for promoting the project and making activities around it. Further, he is educated as a biologist and has another job next to his role as CEO in the IFHP.

Hanne Müller, Frederiksberg Municipality (Telephone interview, 9 April 2019)
Müller is located in the Social, Health and Labour market Department in Frederiksberg Municipality. She is educated as a planner and has earlier worked specifically with urban renewal in Frederiksberg Municipality. Today she is working with interdisciplinary policies and strategies for the municipality. As a part of this, she has been facilitator for the "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainability city". She therefore has experience both with social sustainability and indicators to concretise the work. Moreover, she has participated in meetings with the IFHP as well as in the conference held by the IFHP in January.

Louise Secher, Middelfart Municipality (Face-to-Face interview, 11 April 2019)
Secher is a recently employed urban planner located in the Staff Function (Staben) in Middelfart Municipality. She is the project manager on the project "Sustainable development in all local communities - 2025" that has a particular focus on social sustainability. This project is involved in the SCP and it has therefore been important to interview Secher. Before becoming an employee in Middelfart Municipality she has worked in Copenhagen Municipality and the Metro Association (Metroselskabet). While working in the Metro Association she was a project manager for a project focusing on social sustainability where she created temporary urban spaces and city art on all building sites related to the expansion of the metro in Copenhagen. Moreover, she has participated in meetings with the IFHP as well as in the conferences in January and April.

Maj Green, Gladsaxe Municipality (Face-to-Face interview, 12 April 2019)
Green is director in the Urban and Environmental Department in Gladsaxe Municipality. She has an education within geography and administration and has earlier been first an employee and later chief operating officer in Local Government Denmark (KL). Here she worked as a consultant for Danish municipalities i.a. in relation to the municipal reform in 2007. Before becoming director in Gladsaxe Municipality she worked in the municipality for 8½ years. She has been involved in the making of the strategy "Neighbourhoods in social balance" as well as the project diverted from this called "Strategy for Bagsværd in social balance". In these strategies the municipality uses indicators, as such she has experience with social sustainability and appertaining indicators. Green has not been in direct contact with the IFHP but knows about the SCP because some of her employees have been involved in the early stages of the development of the SCP.

Bjarke Danvig, Skive Municipality (Telephone interview, 23 April 2019)

Danvig is the team leader for the planning division in Skive Municipality. He is educated as an architect and did for a long time work at a private drawing office. After being an employee there, and before coming to Skive Municipality, he was the manager for the planning division in Struer Municipality in many years. Further, he has participated in meetings with the IFHP as well as in the conference in January.

Louise Ladefoged and Rie Malling, Aalborg Municipality (Face-to-Face interview, 25 April 2019)

Ladefoged and Malling are both located in the planning division in Aalborg Municipality. Malling is educated as an architect and has worked with urban planning in Aalborg Municipality since 1999. She is working strategically as well as with more physical one to one planning. Currently, she is mainly working with and facilitating urban transformations. Processes and methodological considerations therefore play an important role in her job. Ladefoged is educated as a sociologist and became an employee in Aalborg Municipality around a year ago. She has in the last six months been the project manager for the urban development plan in the neighbourhood Vestbyen. She is i.a. focused on how to involve the public and how to communicate to the public. Malling is also working on the development plan for Vestbyen, and since this project is involved in the SCP it has been important to interview both employees. Additionally, they have both participated in meetings with the IFHP, in the conference in January as well as organised the conference in April.

Ulla Eikard, the IFHP (Telephone interview, 30 April 2019)

Eikard has been an employee in the IFHP since autumn 2018 and is responsible for the communication and collaboration with the five municipalities. She became involved in the SCP when the collaboration with the municipalities slowly begun. She was participating in the first meetings with Aalborg and Skive Municipality. Further, she is educated as an architect and urban planner in 1989, and has until her job in the IFHP worked as a consultant and adviser in Danish municipalities. Here she has been particularly involved in helping municipalities make societal development strategies, as well as working on how to achieve sustainable urban development.

E-mail correspondence

As aforementioned, senior researcher at the Danish Building Research Institute, Marie Stender, participated in the conference held in April by Aalborg Municipality. Here she presented a research project about the use of indices in the work with social sustainability in the built environment. We therefore saw the relevance of asking Stender further questions related to our own research as well as the growing index-ideal in urban planning. We did this by sending her questions by e-mail. The questions asked can be found in Appendix B.

4.5 Critical reflections

When reading this Master's thesis, the following methodological reflections should be taken into consideration. As pointed out by Farthing (2016), the selection and study of cases are linked to questions of validity and reliability. Starting by the validity, we first of all argue that the research question and sub-questions presented above have functioned as guidance for the entire research, both in relation to the methods of data generation as well as the structure and content of the analyses and discussion. The chosen methods have been selected with considerations of how they each provide us with the knowledge needed to answer our questions. As we argue that reality is socially constructed, it has been crucial to interview both the IFHP and all of the five municipalities. By creating interview guides with some identical, standard questions we have made sure to get various perspectives on the same themes, consequently making the research more valid. However, it should be emphasised that because the municipalities have been involved in the process of the SCP in different ways and because the interviewees have different positions, the answers reflect this. For example, in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality the interviewees both talked about social sustainability at a strategic as well as at a more concrete level because they each have a specific project involved in the SCP. Whereas in Frederiksberg Municipality the interviewee mainly talked at a strategic level, as she is working with interdisciplinary strategies and policies in the municipality and because the municipality has no specific project involved in the SCP. Moreover, by standardising the approach applied when analysing the municipal planning documents, the validity is strengthened, as it is possible to understand conception and practice of social sustainability in a broader but still structured picture.

A critical point to make in relation to the validity of the research is whether the time, both in relation to planning literature and planning practice, has been ripe for conducting a research that is able to answer our research question. It can thus be discussed to what extent we have been able to delve into the field of indicators as means for working with social sustainability in urban planning. However, given the relative novelty of indices on social sustainability in Danish municipalities, we argue that it is of relevance to carry out research on the matter continuously with discovered changes within the field.

Moving on to the question of reliability, our scientific approach implies that it is not only the interviewees and planning documents that represent various social worlds, we as researchers also bring our own understandings and interpretations into the research. This often makes it difficult for others to conduct the same research. However, in order to strengthen the reliability as well as transparency, our position in the research is presented both in Chapter 2 and Section 4.1 above. The interview guides and approach applied in the document analyses further strengthen the reliability and transparency, because they show a procedure for how the data has been generated. The fact that the interviews have been semi-structured naturally cause that other researchers conducting a similar study to some extent will gain other knowledge. The theoretical framework presented in Section 3.3 as well as the analytical framework presented in Section 4.2 also strengthen the reliability and transparency of the project. Finally, the fact that we have had the opportunity to follow the entire process of the SCP being introduced and utilised in the municipalities makes this research special. Consequently, this should also be considered a crucial factor for the data generated in this project.

5 The IFHP and the Social Cities Programme

The aim of this chapter is to answer the first sub-question: Why is the IFHP developing the Social Cities Programme as a tool for municipalities to work with social sustainability in urban planning? The chapter thus looks into the rationales behind the initiation of the programme, the purposes embedded within it and the role which the IFHP has played in the development and testing of the programme. Based on some identified motives, we establish the SCP as a potential governance tool, Chapter 7 investigates this notion further.

5.1 Presentation of the IFHP and the SCP

The IFHP is a global network of public, private and academic urban professionals. It is a membership organisation represented by more than 60 countries, primarily located in Europe, North America and Asia (Nielsen, 2019). In the end of 2013, the headquarters of the IFHP was relocated to Copenhagen. The NGO engages in construction, design, architecture and urban planning, especially within the context of sustainable development. They advocate for 'better cities for all' (IFHP, n.d.), which implies working towards making inclusive and liveable cities. The IFHP originates from Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement founded in 1913, which underlines their emphasis on green cities with great social cohesion. Their ambitions are linked to the SDG number 11 (United Nations, 2015) as well as UN Habitat's New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2017) which both operate at a global scale. In that connection, the IFHP considers themselves to be an 'implementation agent' that brings urban professionals together in conducive partnerships. In practice, this means that they 'explain, translate and concretize the global agendas, by transforming them into practical action on a local scale - through projects, seminars and workshops with relevant partners in different countries' (IFHP, n.d.). Hence, the organisation has a bipartite goal consisting of local, concrete implementations on the one side and dissemination of the sustainable cities-agenda across the globe on the other. The latest addition to their repertoire is the Social Cities Programme which focuses on the social aspect of sustainability. The IFHP is, in their own words, 'a small organisation with big ambitions' (Eikard, 2019). Based on the division from Fisker (2015) elaborated in Section 3.1, we consider the IFHP as an ideal organisation, as their members, such as different Danish municipalities, do not have a selective self-interest in social sustainability in a housing and planning context but have a greater societal interest in making (socially) sustainable cities.

When presenting the SCP, the IFHP refers to a population forecast that predicts cities worldwide to have grown by 1 billion in 2030 compared to 2015, which is a 25% increase (IFHP, 2018). Hence, the need for proactive initiatives for the socially good city is increasingly significant. The initiatives and decisions regarding urban development and social sustainability are highly based on 'something you believe, think, feel and mean something about, but that you do not really know anything about' (Nielsen, 2019). Furthermore, Nielsen (2019) argues that 'the social has indeed been a silo by its own, which was difficult to define, which was difficult to measure and weigh and consequently also difficult to govern' and the IFHP aims to break down this silo. These features of social sustainability are in the IFHP's view an issue, because they undermine the social aspects' influence on projects and
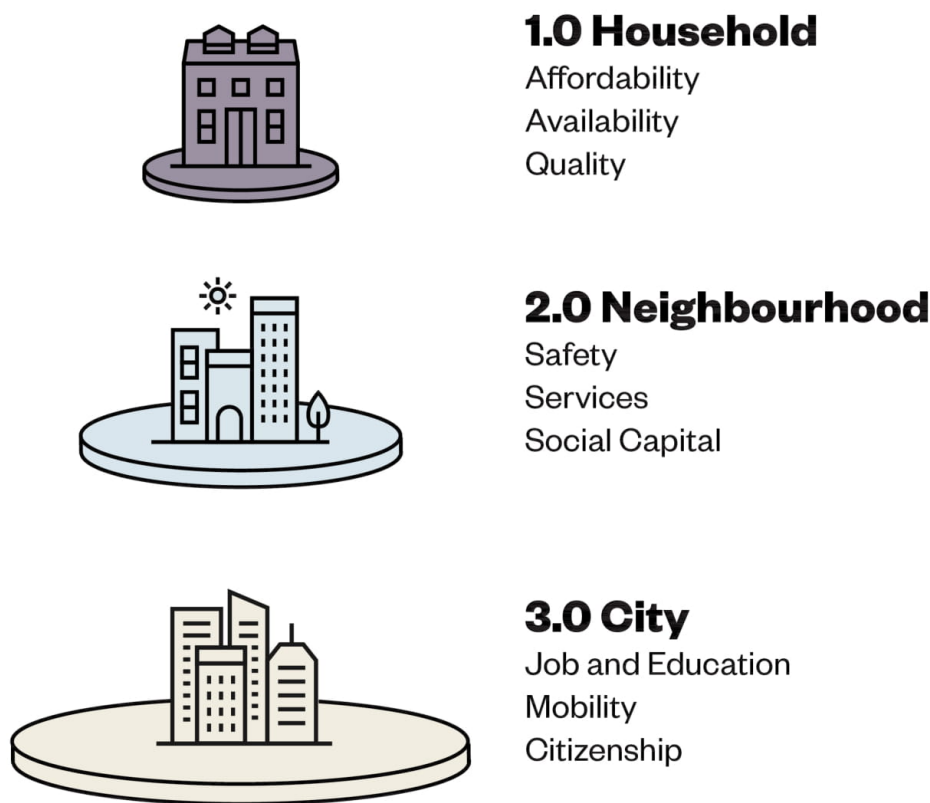
decisions. Therefore, since 2016 the IFHP has worked on the SCP, which is designed to bring clarity about social sustainability into urban processes and is further described as 'a tool to gather and translate fragmented data to insights, to connect relevant stakeholders and measure the concrete social impact of political initiatives across several parameters' (IFHP, 2018). The promise of more socially sustainable cities is thus embedded within an operationalised, quantitative approach to planning. The tool is divided in three steps, which are presented in the following subsection.

The three steps of the SCP

The first step is the 'Social Cities Index' in which the social sustainability in an area is identified through measuring 40 different indicators. These indicators are divided between three scales; city, neighbourhood and household, each divided into nine categories. See the below Figure 5.1 for an illustrative structure and Appendix C for a full list of the indicators. The data derives from statistical and survey data from the local context, containing perceptions of the public, which together are indexed against the national or city level generating insight in a clear, standardised format. The result is thus a profile, which is unique to the specific area (IFHP, 2018). The format of the profile is yet to be decided upon, various options such as heat maps and 'traffic lights' are being discussed, but generally seen the aim is to put social sustainability into one picture, which makes it possible to share with and learn from other cities as well as to help local governments in producing social sustainability strategies. As such, the index consists of quantified data summarised into a simplified arrangement, inevitably entailing some sort of prioritisation in order for it to be 'an easy-to-read diagnose' (IFHP, 2018). This should greatly facilitate holistic policy-making because it provides insight on equal terms with the knowledge on the environmental and economic aspects of sustainability. Furthermore, the index enables processes of benchmarking, both internally and externally. This can generate competitiveness amongst cities or neighbourhoods depending on the level of engagement (Verdi, 2019). The IFHP aims at encouraging a cooperative and collaborative approach among local governments as opposed to competition. Lastly, an index of the kind that the IFHP is developing can be used to make trend analyses, keeping track of the impact of the planning strategies launched in the wake of the SCP. This of course requires, that the included indicators are constant over time.

Collaboration, being a cornerstone of the organisation, is emphasised as vital in the pursuit of sustainable cities. With the Social Cities Index as underlying basis, the second step in the programme is a process of co-creation through an 'Ideation Lab' (IFHP, 2018). Here, relevant actors, such as policymakers, citizens, experts and entrepreneurs, gather together to develop concrete solutions to be implemented in the specific context. To enlarge and ensure the impact and value of the two first steps, the programme contains a third strategic step of network and knowledge sharing. A platform consisting of knowledge, methods and inspiration from involved cities will gradually take shape as experiences are generated. 'The goal is that the best solutions can be shared and adapted across regions and cities' (IFHP, 2018), which is connected to the IFHP's international operations. The platform is also referred to as a 'digitally solutions catalogue that translates these abstract measurements and these abstract discussions into some concrete, practical actions' (Nielsen, 2019). This connotes the SCP as a universal tool which is at variance with the theoretical arguments on social sustainability as context depended and therefore not universal.

1.0 Household
Affordability
Availability
Quality

2.0 Neighbourhood
Safety
Services
Social Capital

3.0 City
Job and Education
Mobility
Citizenship

Figure 5.1: Dimensions and categories of The Social Cities Index (IFHP, 2019).

The programme thereby consists of three interlinked steps. There is a natural flow of the steps inherent in the programme, but the order is not rigid and engaging in one of the steps does not require full commitment to all the steps, as the IFHP acknowledges that some elements can be more important than others in local contexts:

> […] It is not a religious tool, it is no bible, it is no dogma. It is a way to lift up the entire agenda and use it to supplement what you already have. […] If you are struggling to define it [social sustainability], if you are struggling to get political speaking time, if you are struggling to engage stakeholders and involve citizens, then you can take the tools that make the most sense in the current situation. (Nielsen, 2019)

The utilisation of the programme is thus flexible, so that it can fit into different situations, whether it is a situation of difficulty regarding content of social sustainability or a matter of engaging actors in processes. In this manner, the IFHP articulates the SCP as having a relevance in a wide range of matters, in order for as many actors as possible to see its applicability. In Chapter 3 it is elaborated, that indices are no new way of working with sustainability, and the IFHP does by no means emphasise the Social Cities Index as novelty. The compilation of the 40 indicators is a result of a research on other indices around sustainability and social sustainability from the OECD and other organisations (Nielsen, 2019). Nothing new has been invented, rather a new combination of existing indicators is created based on a housing and planning context. However, Nielsen (2019) highlights the three scales

of the index as something that distinguishes it from other indices. Finally, the fact that the index does not stand alone but is supposed to be followed by a collaborative process and real action makes the SCP stand out. In this connection, we argue that the supplementary second and third step are embedded in order to strengthen the articulation of the SCP as a dialogue tool, but really brought into the world to promote the index approach. This is underlined by the fact that no Ideation Labs have yet taken place, the fact that there is currently no platform taking shape, and the fact that the first step has received the most attention in the development of the programme so far.

5.2 The background for the SCP

In 2013, Realdania provided the IFHP with a three-year basic fund and the organisation thus moved its headquarters to Denmark (Nielsen, 2019). In many years, the primary activity for the IFHP was organising and hosting a yearly conference on urban development with stakeholders, experts and associations from all over the world (Nielsen, 2019). This was however not financially viable and when the basic fund from Realdania expired in 2016, the CEO at that time and Morten Nielsen, the current CEO, sat down to work out a new primary activity for the IFHP. Together they sketched the SCP and send it to Realdania as a project application which was granted. With the change in funding of the IFHP as an organisation to a funding of the SCP as a project, the IFHP had to find a new way to work. This resulted in a fundamental change in their organisational structure. Previously, there was a secretariat with eight permanent employees, but now all employments are project based, and there are only around three people engaged in the SCP (Nielsen, 2019). The shift has created a need to set goals and deliver results at a much more evident extent. Moreover, this recent shift in the IFHP to a project-based organisation is in line with Sehested's (2009) analysis of more proactive interest organisations within Danish urban planning, of which the IFHP can be identified as an organisation seeking to gain access to the planning bureaucracy and consequently the political decision-making system. The SCP is not a physical urban development project, but a project developing a method, that is entering the public planning authority arena enabled by governance. As also stated in Chapter 3, access does not imply influence, but it is after all the first step towards impact.

The expiration of the basic fund accounts for an essential rational basis for the SCP. Nielsen (2019) explains that the programme 'really kick-started in light of a crisis internally in the IFHP', which points to a bias in relation to their overall formulated goal as being to create better cities for all. Not in the sense, that they are not working towards that goal, but they are, as any other organisation, subject to financial security, which means that they in any case must work for their own survival as well. This point is interesting to bear in mind in relation to some of the tensions between the IFHP and the municipalities analysed in Chapter 7. Meanwhile, Nielsen highlights that they saw their need to change something within the organisation as an opportunity to do something for the world and for the IFHP's members. He states:

> Our rationale for starting Social Cities was actually to focus on something where there was a big need, where there was a frustration and thus also a demand from our members to get new insights and to get new knowledge and to get new investments. So, there were two reasons. The one was that we thought we could see that the world needed that we

all stepped up with this field. Secondly, we saw internally a need to get a new way to work and a new way to finance the organisation. […] The purpose is really to make an action platform that can be a part of enhancing sustainable cities. […] So, the purpose is actually to attain a result and make the cities more socially sustainable and make them more inclusive. (Nielsen, 2019)

The content of the programme is, in Nielsen's words, based on an observed need from the IFHP's members to attain more knowledge on working with social sustainability in the urban. This has led the IFHP to aim at satisfying the need for putting social sustainability on the agenda to a much greater extent than today as well as the need for transforming discussions and knowledge into some serious actions. This is all in the name of creating socially sustainable cities. The initiatives launched in an urban planning context should be 'actions based on some knowledge' (Nielsen, 2019) which points to the large investment of time and resources in developing the Social Cities Index. These actions are not intended for a Danish context only, as a premise for the Social Cities Index is a global dissemination.

Globalising the Social Cities Programme

The IFHP recognises the neglect of social sustainability in a planning context as an issue worldwide and as an international organisation, they are thus focused on the potential for propagating the SCP to other places than Denmark. Indeed, the aim of globalising the programme is topical for the IFHP and they 'feel ready now to try to internationalise the concept' (Nielsen, 2019). Hence, during the spring 2019 they have been working with involving the municipality of Amsterdam in the project, and if that did not work out 'then it must be another international' (Nielsen, 2019). This indicates that the organisation is very much focused on disseminating the SCP, potentially at the expense of assuring the quality in the Danish cases. This is delved into more thoroughly in Chapter 7. The case of Amsterdam is as such not of interest to this research, however the collaboration is initiated and the IFHP is drafting a Social Cities Index for the city of Amsterdam to present at a workshop during a festival called "We Make the City" at the end of June 2019 (Eikard, 2019). This implies a pursuit of new funding as the current funding from Realdania expires by the end of 2019 and emphasises their underlying agenda of surviving as an organisation.

The international aim is in fact a criterion that has influenced the content of the index, because the tool has to be flexible in order for it to be adopted elsewhere (Eikard, 2019). An example is indicator 2.1.1.1 of the percentage of homicides per capita in a municipality, which is included because it is relevant globally, but in a Danish context it does not make much sense. The global premise has furthermore caused a need to deselect indicators in the name of clear overview. The analytical validity can be questionable in terms of the generalised indicators being a representation of the level of social sustainability. These are points to pay attention to, both for the IFHP in their communication of the tool's capacities and for the municipalities in their deployment of the index. Eikard (2019) expresses the IFHP's awareness of the matter:

Because, the intention with the index is not to just make a ranking or a description of sequences but to use it for a dialogue about what kind of dilemmas do we have, what kind

of challenges do we have, how should we prioritise them and how should we handle them. So, in my perspective it should exactly be used for such a dialogue […] and certainly that it has to be seen in relation to other ways in which things are measured. […] It is not supposed to provide the full picture of anything, but it can play a part in setting the framework for a dialogue.

The SCP is thus intended to function as a dialogue tool, which relates especially to the second step of the programme, the Ideation Labs, during which urban actors are supposed to meet and formulate actions together. Meanwhile, these dialogues and actions are supposed to be based on the Social Cities Index, in the light of this it is questionable what is really up for debate. It is exactly the dilemmas and challenges that are discovered from the Social Cities Index, which are the point of departure, and therefore a framed reality.

Nielsen (2019) refers to the international trait of the organisation and the way in which the IFHP thus seeks to avoid reinvention of the wheel. Furthermore, the hypothesis of the IFHP is, that 'the problems have the same nature, they might have different magnitude, but they have the same nature in all countries' (Nielsen, 2019). He states that:

> The IFHP's Social Cities is to be a fast track to making socially sustainable cities, because you get the advantage, that you from the beginning, when you get involved with us, have a sharp definition of what social sustainability is. You have some indicators to identify your risks and opportunities, and you have a concept for how to convert the measurements into some practical solutions by involving politicians, the corporate world, citizens, urban planners and so on in the process. (Nielsen, 2019)

The SCP is articulated as a 'fast track' which means that the IFHP offers an easy way to social sustainability. Eikard (2019) expresses the same notion when she states that the IFHP can improve their communication skills regarding convincing the municipalities, that 'if they do exactly this, their world gets easier'. This is interesting in the light of theoretical reflections upon the complexity of social sustainability, not least the academic debate of the feasibility of defining the concept, cf. Chapter 2. The importance of including citizens' interpretations is embedded in the SCP as the index is partly based on surveys and the Ideation Labs are to include citizens among others. However, the index does not take into account many of the elements listed by Davidson (2009: 614), namely 'the localised effects of national policies, health and education, infrastructure and housing, local urban management and historical factor'. In fact, Nielsen (2019) articulates the SCP as only related to a housing and planning context, and the programme is thus per se only concerned with a fraction of cities' social sustainability. For instance, the Social Cities Index does not deal with health issues, even though public health indeed is a concern for the social sustainability (Nielsen, 2019). Health is not included, because the IFHP solely focuses on a housing and planning context, which is a specific prioritisation that has some implications:

Every time you select one indicator you have perhaps deselected ten other indicators, that you do not use to describe social sustainability. So, the risk is that when we try to break down some silos we are in fact just making new silos. (Nielsen, 2019)

Nielsen articulates one of the important points of attention in working index-based, and this awareness is indeed vital but not only for the IFHP as sender of the SCP but also for every actor engaging in the SCP. A broader discussion hereof is elaborated in Chapter 8. Here it is however interesting to notice, that the IFHP's aim of breaking down silos through a cross-sectoral focus on social sustainability will potentially create new silos, as the social sustainability agenda is put into a restricted context of housing and planning, despite the breadth in this setting. Consequently, by ensuring the pursuit of globalising the SCP, the IFHP compromises other aims.

5.3 The development of the SCP

In Chapter 3 the assets and challenges of urban governance are outlined and as part hereof it is stated that no urban actors are able to govern alone in the complex situation of sustainable transition. The IFHP's collaborative nature fits well into this already existing network governance demand. As with other initiatives from the IFHP, this programme is based on collaboration with other actors: five Danish municipalities representing the practical angle and the London School of Economics Cities (LSE) who are contributing with academic perspectives. The five municipalities are Frederiksberg, Gladsaxe, Middelfart, Skive and Aalborg, which are presented more thoroughly in Chapter 6. Moreover, Rambøll Management Consulting (hereafter referred to as Rambøll) has designed a questionnaire for the programme and other urban organisations have expressed their support by participating in conferences and workshops (Nielsen, 2019). The programme is financially supported by Realdania in the form of a project fund. There are thus multiple actors involved in the SCP and in relation to the focus in this Master's thesis, they can be roughly divided in two categories: the ones who have supported the IFHP in one way or the other in the development of the SCP and the ones who are utilising the SCP in practice. Those two categories can be perceived as two networks in which the IFHP plays different roles, besides from their general, official role as project owner. This role consists overall of making 'strategies, projects management and communication' (Nielsen, 2019). In the following, the role of the IFHP in the two networks is analysed into.

Developing actors

The funding from Realdania is based on a grant notification letter in which the three steps constitute the aims of the programme (Nielsen, 2019). It is specified, that a measuring tool is to be made in collaboration with the LSE who is hired to be the knowledge expert. The relationship between the LSE and the IFHP is thus, that the IFHP is a customer of the LSE's service in the shape of academic content and expertise (Nielsen, 2019). This can be related to an expertise in both creating an index and in social sustainability. This means that the IFHP secretariat is not 'very much experts on content' although they have 'members who after all are experts in their respective field' (Nielsen, 2019). The notion of experts within planning has had much resistance from especially opponents of communicative planning and without reference hereto, Eikard (2019) reflects on the questionable proclaiming of experts within the field of urban social sustainability:

> Well, there is really only one way [to do this] and that is more cross-sectoral collaboration in solving those huge challenges our society is facing in the name of the unified sustainability. There are simply so many challenges which means that you have to work in another way, period. […] And then you must prepare yourself that there are no experts here, everyone is newbies and novices in relation to getting some sense into sustainable urban development. You simply have to disclaim the expert role and then try again. In humility to the enormous task that is present.

Due to the unclarity and complexity of working with social sustainability in an urban context, it is necessary that actors are open to new working ways and methods. This call for interdisciplinary collaboration is linked to the way in which the IFHP goes about developing the SCP and perceives the contribution from many different actors to be fruitful. Despite Eikard's point on no one being experts within the field of social sustainability, the LSE is drawn into the process due to their expertise. As elaborated in Chapter 3 a theoretical understanding of sustainability is crucial before utilising an index in practice, and this is exactly what the LSE is contributing to the process. Nielsen (2019) highlights that the members of the IFHP are also experts within each of their own fields and Rambøll has designed a questionnaire based on the LSE's work. As such, the power to determine the scientific basis is not solely in the hands of the LSE. The index is flexible, yet it has a starting point in the 40 indicators compiled by the LSE, but these are based on the framing of the IFHP, which means that the Social Cities Index ultimately reflects the conception of social sustainability of the IFHP, although the theoretical basis is provided by other parties. This can be supported by another point from Chapter 3 about the need to have some sort of hierarchical structure in governance processes, in this specific scenario reflected by the IFHP being creator of the SCP. Especially because the LSE is employed on contractual basis by the IFHP, they have a framework to follow, and the IFHP thus holds the power formally. However, in the light of relational power, the LSE has influenced the conception of the IFHP by engaging in the process, and the conception of social sustainability reflected in the index is thus ultimately a result of the relational processes between the participating actors.

As part of the grant notification letter, the IFHP must deliver two manuals. One is related to the index, covering how to gather data, how to convert data so it fits the index, and how to convey data (Eikard, 2019). The presentation of data requires further development which is ongoing at the time of writing. The other manual is related to the Ideation Labs, so how to get different actors to work together in making action-oriented decisions (Eikard, 2019). Since the latter manual revolves around processes which have not yet taken place in relation to the SCP, we expect that the IFHP base this manual on their existing knowledge regarding collaborative processes between various urban actors. In that manner, the work of the SCP is in any case contingent on a translation into a manual form as known from Realdania's work procedure.

Testing actors

The municipalities have also participated in the development of the SCP through attendance in meetings, conferences and workshops, however their primary role has been to test the SCP in practice. To ensure collaboration with the municipalities, the IFHP hired Ulla Eikard. As described in Section 4.4,

Eikard's role in the process of the SCP is to get the Danish municipalities engaged in the programme. The way she explains it herself is that she is working 'to get them on board and into the fight and figure out where in their working day it is possible for them to take part in developing this index' (Eikard, 2019). Eikard is thus the primary contact person to the municipalities. When she got involved in the SCP, she compiled a work plan for each of the five municipalities, which has functioned as the settings for the cooperation. As is elaborated in Chapter 7, the actual involvement of the municipalities in the SCP has varied a lot, and this can first of all be ascribed to the flexibility of the agreement between the IFHP and the municipalities, because the work plan is not shaped as a written, formalised contract between the two. Eikard (2019) explains:

> It will always make a development work easier if you write down precisely what is about to happen and when, and what are the milestones. But in this case, it has been more agile, I think you could call it. I mean, one has grabbed the balls that has occurred on the way. […] Because the thing is, it has been very much about fitting it in wherever the municipality in question was at.

Flexibility is in general a feature within the SCP both in relation to the content and the process, which as described in Section 3.1 is a key feature of network governance. This flexibility in the index and in the municipalities' use of the programme is thus essential for the network to function. The IFHP has not put up specific settings for the municipalities' engagement in the project, and this can be seen in the light of the IFHP's acknowledgement that the municipalities are pressed for time (Eikard, 2019). Furthermore, municipalities typically work with more loose time horizons that do not fit well with limited projects. There is thus a discrepancy between the recognition of municipal planning procedures and the SCP, in the sense that the actual cooperation and communication between the IFHP and the five municipalities ends this summer. Eikard (2019) elaborates:

> We do know that it takes time before changes of working in another way around the world will happen. One could say, there is political demand, and everyone knows the SDGs and ailing economy and cities that are breaking […]. You do not just fix the social sustainability in half a year or put it into play. And that is also why the collaboration that we have with the municipalities will continue in one way or the other, this maturing of it. In general, the work of getting such a kind of tool implemented, that is something that will take more time.

The IFHP is aware that changing the mindsets and ways of working take time, this is indeed the case in terms of improving the social sustainability in cities. It is difficult to determine how the SCP will function in the Danish municipalities in the future, but there is a risk that the time limit for the SCP will undermine the potential of the tool's influence. Hence, the question will be whether the time assigned for the development of the SCP has been enough for it to gain a momentum strong enough to create changed conceptions and practices.

5.4 Conception of sustainability and social sustainability

The purpose of the IFHP is to 'promote sustainable cities in the context of housing and planning' (Nielsen, 2019). Sustainability thus has a great focus for the IFHP, but as established in Chapter 2, sustainability does not mean one thing only, and it is thus interesting to delve into the meaning of the word within the IFHP. Nielsen (2019) explains that sustainability has three pillars; the economic, the environmental and the social, and in doing so referring to the tripartition as known from the Brundtland Report. He argues, as seen in the literature, that the economy is often main focus and that 'the green' has gained great attention already, but that the social aspect of sustainability has been neglected. This is an issue because:

> […] Sustainability stands on three legs and the third leg must join in, otherwise the stool knocks over […] so to ensure the stool does not knock over, one must strengthen [the social leg] […]. The beauty in sustainability, and what is important in always thinking the three legs together, is that you cannot balance any of them in isolation. So, the thing that is important when we talk about social sustainability, that is to always understand it in a context composed by all three elements. (Nielsen, 2019)

Nielsen draws in an analogy of a three-legged stool of which all three legs are equally important and must be given attention to, otherwise the stool, that is sustainability, knocks over. As argued by this Master's thesis, the IFHP too argues that there has been a lack of focus on the social aspect, which has caused the IFHP to emphasise this part of sustainability. In relation to the ambiguity of the concept of social sustainability, as delved into in Section 2.2, it is relevant to look into how social sustainability is perceived in the IFHP. Nielsen (2019) explains:

> In relation to the IFHP, social sustainability is about ensuring that households, neighbourhoods and cities are designed in a way which provides space and opportunities for all – regardless of age, gender, socio-economic and physical conditions. In that manner, social sustainability can be translated into a city which is inclusive, and that there is a high level of quality of life by living in that city.

Without giving a specific definition of social sustainability, Nielsen (2019) pinpoints what the concept means in relation to a housing and planning context, in which key themes such as 'liveability' and 'inclusion' are evident. Following this statement, it is relevant to contend the conjunction between 'social' and 'sustainability' in the sense that the above words are legitimate aims by themselves. Nielsen (2019) explains:

> It is for us also a way to ensure that you obtain a holistic thinking and that you think across silos. That is why it is so important to us that we always say "social" together with "sustainability", because when you say sustainability, you automatically think, or you should at least automatically think of the three dimensions, which constitute sustainability. Therefore, it is important that you do not just take it socially, socially, socially, but that you frame it as social sustainability. Because then you say, that we are aware that it

also must be green and that the economy also must held together. […] I think that a significant part of getting leaders, stakeholders and the population engaged is to articulate this in a way which unites and unifies people. In that connection, the story of sustainability has gained ground and it is taking part in enhancing the understanding of the importance of cross-disciplinary work. So, you could say, everyone is talking about sustainability.

The rationale of embedding the SCP in the concept of sustainability is first of all that it ideally ensures a holistic way of thinking which refers to the former point about social sustainability being just one of the legs of the sustainability stool. This is however an ideal that can be contended in the light of contradictive actions in the name of sustainability, cf. Chapter 2. Furthermore, it is not just the actors themselves that must think more holistically about social sustainability, they must also work holistically, meaning working across departments and professional fields. The need to break down silos is of a general concern to the IFHP and is indeed a pertinent issue in Denmark (Eikard, 2019; Nielsen, 2019). Regarding this, Nielsen points to a broad palette of actors that must be engaged in a united network working towards enhancing social sustainability, which relates to a process of network governance in which the participating actors are held responsible for the promotion of social sustainability. However, as mentioned above, these networks can potentially create new silos.

A second rationale is that the IFHP considers sustainability to be a very strong narrative, that can bring people together to work towards a unified goal. In Section 2.2 it is elaborated how sustainability is an empty master signifier with no actual meaning but with great ideological power. There is thus concordance between the generalised interpretations of Gunder and Hillier (2009) and the case of the SCP. The IFHP utilises this in the sense that Nielsen (2019) points to the narrative of sustainability as a strong gathering concept. On the other hand, as pointed out in Chapter 2 as well, the word is penetrating every corner of Western society and yet a project engaging in sustainability might risk of disappearing in the crowd. Without sufficient empirical data that this is the case for the SCP, it is nonetheless evident that no more than five municipalities have to a greater or lesser extent participated in the project. Furthermore, as pointed by Christen and Schmidt (2012) it is necessary to have clarity of the meaning of sustainability to ensure the action-guiding power that the word potentially holds.

As already touched upon, the Social Cities Index does not include health issues, even though it from research is stated that health is a crucial feature in social sustainability. The SCP leaves out this and other matters, because the framework is 'social sustainability in a housing and planning context' (Nielsen, 2019). Consequently, the IFHP seeks to add on the debate about social sustainability in a social policy context, which the concept usually is linked to. Nielsen (2019) argues that the Danish meaning of 'the social' often resonates with vulnerable and diseased citizens, which often are perceived as an expense to society. However:

> There is also a more common meaning of the word social, particularly in the English language, which is more related to the way in which we are together, what we are doing, what quality of life is, how we interact, what our lifestyle is, how we spend time with

family and friends, how we work, how we undergo training and how we transport our-
selves. You know, one's lifestyle and content in life. (Nielsen, 2019)

As Eikard (2019) highlights, the connection between social sustainability and social legislation is absolutely crucial, 'but it is after all not the only dimension of social sustainability'. The IFHP aims to establish a conception of social sustainability as not related to socially vulnerable citizens, but rather related to the way the built environment is designed to support a good life for all. The words and issues expressed above by Nielsen indicate that the IFHP's conception of social sustainability resonate with key themes identified in Section 2.2 and indeed the soft and subjective matters present in the quotes above. As pointed out by Boström (2012), it is theoretically and practically impossible to think of quality of life as something to be maximised and yet this is the goal for the IFHP. As Nielsen (2019) argues, 'if you do not know what human's quality of life is, it is difficult to work towards it' and therefore, the IFHP is developing 'a tool that can measure the state of the social sustainability'.

5.5 Arousing the interest of decision-makers

Yet a point for inquiry of the SCP is the chosen method with which the IFHP aims at putting social sustainability on the agenda. Nielsen (2019) admits that the SCP is marked by his own professional background as a biologist, because he took part in designing the programme. He elaborates:

> It might become a bit engineer-ish, no bad words about engineers or natural science, but there is after all other methods and other approaches. So, you might lose some of the heart in this, it becomes too much brain and not so much heart. But you know, we have chosen to do it this way because it has to appeal to a decision-maker. It must talk directly to the directorate in a municipality, so they can get something that they can decode rather fast and that resembles what they get within the economic and green fields. And that is why we have chosen it, and then we try to remember the weaknesses in it. (Nielsen, 2019)

What is reflected in the quote above is the prioritisation within the SCP. The aim of enhancing the social sustainability of cities is of secondary importance in relation to appealing to the decision-mak-ers. This is thus a situation in which the policy relevance trumps the analytical validity, cf. Chapter 3, which is a cause for concern in the light of the index in the SCP as creating the point of departure for initiatives in municipalities. Indices are per se a restricted picture of reality, and if the Social Cities Index is assigned decision-making power, in the sense that solutions to the issues portrayed in the index are implemented, the initiatives brought about in a city or neighbourhood might be a waste of resources, or in worst case destroy dynamics and networks in that specific area. The emphasis on collaborative processes within the SCP risk being able to bring back the balance between brains and hearts, but this once again depends on what kind of power the index is assigned. Based on relational power, the utilisation of the index in a collaborative process will in any circumstance take part in and shaping the conception of social sustainability and consequently the derived actions hereof. The point about the SCP as flexible, more specifically the flexibility of including various indicators, functions as an important feature in disseminating the use of the programme, but can meanwhile also distort

subsequent processes, if the included indicators are used to emphasise a key point for one strong actor. Nielsen (2019) highlights that they 'try to remember the weaknesses in it' and Eikard (2019) emphasises that it is a dialogue tool, which can supplement other approaches but never stand alone. Some of the risks of utilising the Social Cities Index is thus taken into account within the IFHP, but this is an uttermost important feature to highlight in the presentation and communication of the programme to the decision-makers.

The rationale of an index as chosen method furthermore relates to the fact, that the SCP obviously is not the only initiative that municipalities can engage in. As highlighted in Section 3.1, Levesque et al. (2017) argue that interest organisations are competing against each other about political attention and resource, and the IFHP is aiming at shaping policy outcomes by focusing on the decision-makers. The IFHP is naturally interested in spreading the word about the SCP as much as possible, and 'there are different target groups, but the user group of which it is intended will primarily be the directorate in a municipality' (Nielsen, 2019). Furthermore, they see a great relevance for the programme at a political level 'who can use it to concretise what social sustainability is' (Nielsen, 2019). It is thus explicitly articulated, that the IFHP wishes to implement the SCP as a tool for the decision-makers. The reason for this is clear because:

> There has to be some kind of political order for an administration to be able to perform a task like this. Before spending time on it, a city council has to want this, after all. […] The intention here is exactly that it should get out and be discussed politically. […] We are talking about a potentially new way to work together with each other, but it is difficult and there really needs to be a top-prioritisation that we must create more effect for the citizens and we must turn around our view on this. (Eikard, 2019)

As is delved into in Chapter 7, the IFHP's strategy of influencing the highest level of decision-making is rather ambitious, however the above quote reveals the rationale behind this. A (planning) administration with public servants has a long list of tasks to perform, and the time for method developing is scarce and must be prioritised at managerial level. This can also be related to the pursuit of simplifying the complexity of social sustainability, as decision-makers rarely have a deep professional insight into the matter and therefore need a clear overview. The SCP can be exactly that:

> This can be a way in which they can get a quick overview of where their strengths and where their weaknesses are, where their risks and where their opportunities are. (Nielsen, 2019)

The opportunity of getting this overview is linked to a need which the IFHP has identified among their members both at the level of directorate and planners (Nielsen, 2019). The previous analysis of the IFHP's conception of social sustainability applies here as well, because the need to make 'the discussion about the social more specific and more human, so the social is not only a social security matter, but really an opportunity to get some quality of life' is indeed a need that the IFHP identifies as a political need (Nielsen, 2019). The expressed aim of changing the political conception of social

sustainability relates to Davidson's (2009) argument about the need to politically discuss the meaning of the social. As such, the IFHP encourages a politically grounded discussion about social sustainability and Nielsen (2019) refers to it as 'a responsibility to also speak of this as a human-agenda which is about both humans and quality of life', however the social is not related to a discussion about the relation between society and nature. The call from Davidson to change political institutions and practices are not found in the SCP, because it urges politicians to take responsibility of the social sustainability agenda based on a quantifiable index, thus searching for a level of stability. This process of taking responsibility is thus precluded from the realisation that a sustainable society encompasses the dynamic and instability following democracy. Nonetheless, the realisation that change must happen at a top level is leading for the IFHP's strategy, which relates back to the abovementioned rationale behind putting the SCP into the sustainability agenda, because the IFHP expects this to add clout to the project (Eikard, 2019; Nielsen, 2019).

Besides the main target group of the SCP, the IFHP likewise sees an application of the programme to mid-level managers who are accountable of the planning processes. To them, the IFHP considers the SCP to be a 'tool box to make their work more efficient and to give their work more impact' (Nielsen, 2019). Subsequently, the SCP can be utilised by the planners to identify risks and opportunities, to involve and engage actors in step two in a data driven process and finally to 'inspire politicians and other actors in the political process by showing, with practical examples, what social sustainability is about' (Nielsen, 2019). The focus for the IFHP is therefore ultimately to influence policy decisions, rather than merely setting the agenda as similar organisations typically do, cf. Chapter 3.

5.6 Part-conclusion

The IFHP is a global network of urban actors, that engages with making cities more sustainable, with a specific focus on inclusion and liveability. At first sight, the IFHP can be considered to be an interest organisation within the ideal category, as the members do not have a self-interest in the aim of the organisation, rather they work to enhance better societies. However, when digging into the core of the organisation where strategies are formulated, and projects are being organised, underlying agendas are discovered.

The IFHP has launched the SCP as part of their global goal of making socially sustainable cities and this programme consists of a tool to operationalise social sustainability of a geographically outlined scale at a given time. There is thus a bound methodological rationality inherent in the programme, which the IFHP disseminates through their visible agenda of enhancing social sustainability. The SCP therefore encourages a certain category of practices. In line with this point, there is a specific conception of social sustainability inherent in the SCP, which the IFHP works to pass on to the municipalities, through the 40 indicators that constitutes the Social Cities Index. With the SCP, the IFHP argues that the social aspect of sustainability has been neglected and that there is an apparent need to 'rebalance' the three aspects of sustainability. This conception is aligned with Brundtland's tripartition of sustainability connoting a sectoral division of sustainability, although the IFHP emphasises the holistic notion in the sustainability concept.

Furthermore, the SCP is intended to influence policy-making at a high governing level in the municipalities. This is substantiated by the interrelationship between policy and planning practice. However, this intention additionally indicates an underlying agenda of increased influence in Danish municipal planning practice in general.

A final and crucial finding about the rationales behind the initiation of the SCP is the fact that the IFHP was on the verge of a crisis when the idea of the SCP was outlined. The basic fund from Realdania was about to expire and consequently, the IFHP fundamentally changed the structure of the organisation and they now live on project-based funding rather than basic funding. This further points to an embedment of Realdania's planning approach in the SCP, as the IFHP must live up to a contractual commitment.

Based on the abovementioned points on the nature of the IFHP and their intentions with the SCP, we argue that the SCP can be seen as an indented governance tool. Specifically, it is the Social Cities Index that acts as a governance tool, while the second and third step of the SCP enhance this function because of their propagation feature and their reinforcement of the index approach as fruitful. There is a flexibility related to the SCP, which at first sight brings forward an argument on the SCP as a weak governance tool in the sense that its content does not have to be consolidated with its dissemination. Meanwhile, the 40 indicators included in the Social Cities Index do not cover the full spectrum of social sustainability, but neither will hundreds of more indicators, because social sustainability per se cannot be quantified given its value-based nature. What therefore verifies the SCP as a governance tool is its success to transmit the data-driven approach inherent in it.

6 Municipal conception and practice of social sustainability

The aim of this chapter is to present the five Danish municipalities that are involved in the SCP, and further explore each of the municipalities' existing conception and practice of social sustainability. Each municipal presentation consists of two parts. The first part is a presentation of selected background information of the municipality, including location and demography. In the second part, the municipality's existing conception and practice of social sustainability and sustainability in general are explored. The municipalities' practices are reflected in the official strategies, plans and projects related to social sustainability and sustainability. It is thus also within these documents that the municipalities' first engagement with sustainability is identified. For several of the five municipalities it has been difficult to find former planning documents, however, due to the Danish Planning Act is has since 2000 been mandatory for Danish municipalities to develop a strategy for their local Agenda 21-work (Miljøministeriet, 2002). In that manner, we assume that all of the five municipalities somehow have worked with sustainability at least since 2000, even though it might not have been possible to find specific planning documents.

The understanding of each municipality is crucial to establish before being able to analyse how the SCP functions as a governance tool in the municipalities. It is of importance to mention that the descriptions of the five municipalities are characterised by both the position of the interviewees and the access to planning documents. Figure 6.1 below shows the location of the five municipalities.
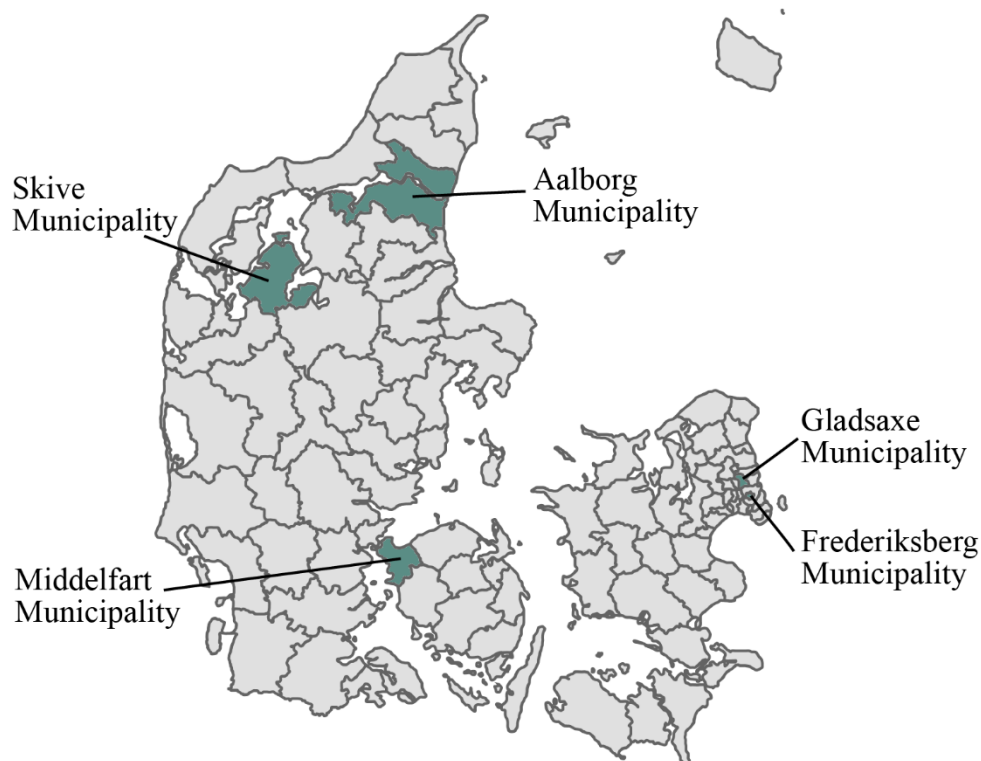
Figure 6.1: Location of the five municipalities (Styrelsen for Dataforsyning og Effektivisering, n.d.).

In order to get an overview of the contexts in each municipality, the following tables illustrate the municipalities' demography (see Table 6.2) and housing ownership (see Table 6.3). The tables will be further explored in each of the five descriptions.

Table 6.2: Demography in the five municipalities (Danmarks Statistik, 2019a).

Table 6.3: Housing ownership in the five municipalities (Danmarks Statistik, 2019b).

6.1 Frederiksberg Municipality

Frederiksberg is an independent municipality and also a neighbourhood in the Danish capital, Copenhagen. It is located close to Copenhagen's inner city and is highly urbanised, as it has green areas but 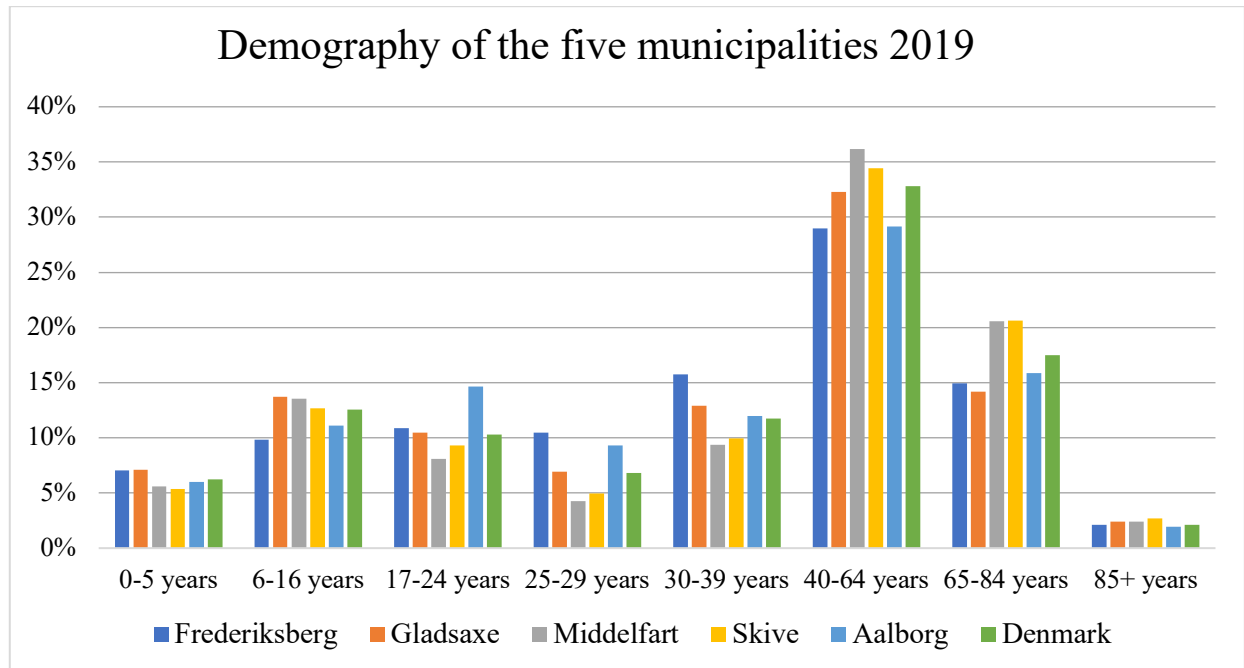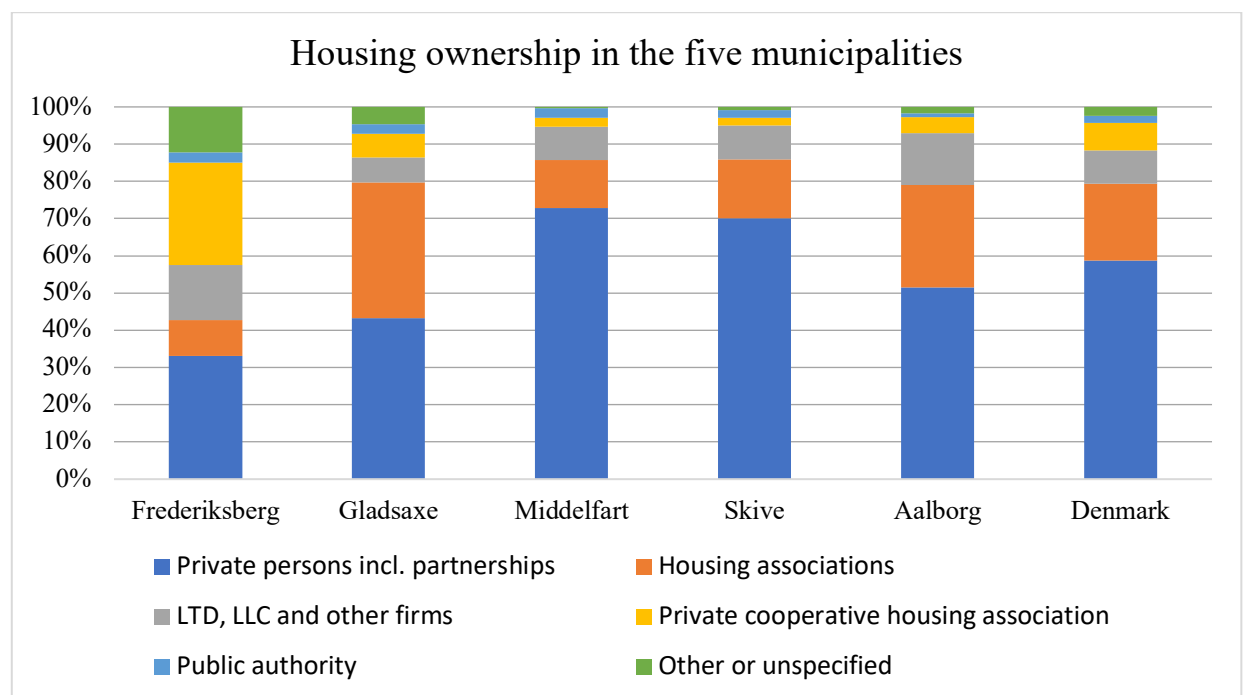no agriculture or forests. The municipality, which is surrounded by Copenhagen Municipality, is inhabited by just above 100.000 people in 8,7 square kilometres, making it the most densely populated municipality in Denmark (Frederiksberg Kommune, n.d.). As shown on Table 6.2, Frederiksberg Municipality has a higher number of children aged 0-5 than the national average, while the opposite applies for the 6-16 age range. There is the highest amount of age 25-29 as well as age 30-39 percentage-wise among the five municipalities. This correlates with the fact that the municipality has a higher percentage of working citizens and fewer receiving welfare payments than the national average (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018). Frederiksberg is expected to grow up until 2030 after a couple of years with declining population (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2019). As the rest of the country, the greatest increase in population is expected to be within the elderly groups. In Frederiksberg Municipality they have a great amount of private cooperative housing compared to the national average, see Table 6.3. Further, the amount of private housing and housing associations are low compared to the national average.

Conception and planning practice regarding sustainability and social sustainability

The municipality's strategy for planning from 2012, the Frederiksberg Strategy, is the first identified document where sustainability is in focus. The municipality sees an increasing need for sustainability – both economic, social and environmental sustainability (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2012). Frederiksberg Municipality thus conceptualises sustainability in relation to the tripartition from the Brundtland Report. The three sustainability aspects are related to the Frederiksberg Strategy's four themes, however, it is only social sustainability that explicitly is being referred to in the strategy for planning. Social sustainability is the focal point in the theme *Quality of everyday life* where inclusion, welfare, integration, access to various urban functions and public services as well as health are key themes. Moreover, the municipality sees involvement and dialogue with actors as central for the social sustainability.

The four themes from the Frederiksberg Strategy 2012 are carried on in the municipal plan from 2013, where they function as point of departure (Frederiksberg, 2013). Notwithstanding the four themes are integrated in the municipal plan, sustainability is generally speaking not mentioned in the municipal plan. However, in the municipal plan from 2017 sustainability is mentioned several times and in different urban contexts such as sustainable growth, sustainable mobility and sustainable building work, which shows an increased focus on sustainability compared to the municipal plan from 2013 (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017). The municipal plan from 2017 is based on the Frederiksberg Strategy from 2016. In this strategy for planning, sustainability is described as the foundation for urban development in the municipality (Frederiksberg, 2016). As a part of the strategy's theme *Quality of everyday life* the municipality has produced a strategy for social sustainability, which translated in English is called "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018a). According to Müller (2019) this strategy is a result of the lack of tools to include the social sustainability aspect in new development projects:

There have not really been the tools to say […] how does it [new development] affect the local area and the residents there? Can we do something so that we do not just place an institution somewhere without thinking about the local area and involving them, just as an example. And that is, among others, what we use this strategy for, to say that this is the way we should do it.

Even though the municipality might has needed tools for working with social sustainability in more specific ways, the focus on a socially sustainable city has been on the political agenda for around 10 years (Müller, 2019). In relation to the lack of tools, Müller (2019) underlines that exactly the social aspect of sustainability has been more difficult for the municipality to work with compared to the two other aspects. This underlines the complexity of social sustainability, and how this is sought simplified through the use of indicators. In the "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" Frederiksberg Municipality tries to explicitly define social sustainability (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018a). The municipality considers social sustainability to revolve around 'strengthening Frederiksberg as a city with room for all through the entire life' (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018a: 2). That is the aim which the strategy is supposed to make operational. Müller (2019) explains that the definition might be a bit fluffy but that it is the closets they could come to a definition. This, again, clearly underlines the fuzziness and complexity of social sustainability.

"Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" is a document consisting of two parts. The first regards the direction for the socially sustainable city with four different focus points, one being a matter of the work procedures internally in the municipality, whereas the three others are points derived from the above strategy for planning (Müller, 2019). These are: *physical matters, social cohesion within a local area* and *individual citizen's well-being and community* (Frederiksberg, 2018a). Part two consists of nine themes, e.g. *housing for all* and *urban development in dialogue with the city*, each with four indicators, which thereby apply across the four focus points from the first part. An example of one of these themes and the related four indicators can be found in Appendix D. The indicators are key figures based on existing data, which 'illuminates the socially sustainable city here and now from many different angles' (Frederiksberg, 2018a: 8). The indicators thus cover diverse aspects of the city, e.g. demography, associational life, culture, refugees, safety, social housing, health and institutions. Müller (2019) underlines that by covering different aspects the municipality creates a foundation for a more interdisciplinary approach where departments collaborate. This is different to what they have done before, and the strategy thus aims at supporting interdisciplinary collaboration within the municipality. Furthermore, Müller (2019) states that the indicators are supposed to give a snapshot, and not as such be followed up on. It is rather the strategy that should be evaluated, so how the municipality has managed to work in this way, with this method and this interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, as Müller (2019) argues, 'the indicators are, how to say, not a secondary product, but it is actually the strategy that is the one we would like to use'.

"Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" was approved in 2018, and shows an increased focus on social sustainability, as there now is a specific strategy for the social aspect of sustainability. The municipality has also recently developed a specific sustainability plan called "2018-

2021 Sustainability plan for the environment", which again underlines the focus on sustainability, here a more specific focus on the environmental aspect (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018b). In this sustainability plan the SDGs are integrated and the plan functions as an action plan that shows how Frederiksberg Municipality will deliver on the SDGs. Müller (2019) explains that sustainability and the SDGs also will be incorporated much more in the future strategy for planning.

Overall, Frederiksberg Municipality is working with sustainability in different ways, all based on the conception of sustainability being tripartite. However, it is especially the social sustainability that has gained focus recently. In the work with social sustainability, the municipality has developed the "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city", which both constitutes the municipality's conception as well as how they should work with social sustainability. This work is related to the use of indicators, however the indicators are not seen as guiding in the municipality. Rather, it is the strategy's focus on interdisciplinary collaboration that is the focus and the approach that Frederiksberg Municipality wants to use when working with social sustainability.

6.2 Gladsaxe Municipality

Gladsaxe Municipality is located north-east of the Danish capital, Copenhagen and covers an area of 25 square kilometres of which most is composed of urban areas, but there are also several areas reserved for nature. With a population of 69.681, Gladsaxe Municipality is the twentieth largest municipality in Denmark. As Table 6.2 illustrates, the age composition of the municipality more or less follows the national average. However, the 65-84 age range stands out by being under the national average. The municipality is expected to grow by 9,2% in 2031 compared to the situation today (Gladsaxe, 2017b). All groups except the 17-24 age range are anticipated to increase, and both the 0-5 and 65-84 age range are expected to increase more than 20% towards 2032 (Gladsaxe, 2017b). Another characteristic is the high amount of housing associations as well as the lower amount of private housing compared to the national average, see Table 6.3.

Conception and planning practice regarding sustainability and social sustainability

It has been challenging to clarify exactly when sustainability was first mentioned in planning documents in Gladsaxe Municipality. Nonetheless, a memorandum of a city council meeting back in 1996 shows how sustainability was a part of the municipal plan from 1997 (Gladsaxe Kommune, 1996). Afterwards sustainability occurs in the municipal plan from 2005 and the following up until the newest from 2017 (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2005; Gladsaxe Kommune, 2009; Gladsaxe Kommune, 2013; Gladsaxe Kommune, 2017c). In these plans, sustainability is conceptualised as tripartite, thus containing a social, environmental and economic aspect. In the municipal plan from 2005, sustainability is especially related to a vibrant urban life with attractive streets and squares as well as various activities (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2005). This indicates how the social aspect of sustainability has been a focus in the planning practice. In the municipal plan from 2013 and 2017 there is a stronger focus on sustainable energy, climate changes, the environment, sustainable building work and sustainable modes of transportation. In the municipal plan from 2017, the relation between the three aspects of sustainability is highlighted as a focal point (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2017c). Gladsaxe Municipality argues that they are aiming to create balance between the three aspects. As argued in Chapter 2, there

often is a focus on balancing the three aspects, however the political reality is that the economic aspect is prioritised over the two others. The focus on balance is first introduced in the strategy for planning from 2012, "Gladsaxe in growth", where they highlight the challenge of finding a balance between the environmental and social aspects (Gladsaxe Kommune 2012). The strategy for planning from 2012 is not the only one putting focus on sustainability, also the previous from 2008 and especially the newest from 2018 focuses on sustainability.

With their strategy for planning from 2018 called "The Gladsaxe Strategy – sustainable growth and welfare", it is clear that Gladsaxe Municipality has increased both the focus and work with sustainability (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2018a). This is clear both because of the title that shows how sustainability now is put in front and how welfare is equated with growth, and because the logo of the SDGs is on the front page. It is still the tripartition of sustainability that is the point of departure in the Gladsaxe Strategy, nonetheless Green (2019) states that the municipality does not have a fixed definition of sustainability, as they are not done exploring what sustainability means. This should be understood in relation to the municipality's engagement in and exploration of the SDGs in their context (Green, 2019). Gladsaxe Municipality was the first Danish municipality that implemented the SDGs, they therefore consider themselves as a role model for other municipalities when it comes to the use of SDGs and indicators related to these. The Gladsaxe Strategy results in concrete goals and initiatives related to the selected SDGs and municipal themes, which the municipality evaluates on by using different indicators (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2018a), see an example of the use of indicators in Appendix D. The indicators in the strategy are chosen based on existing data (Green, 2019).

As there is no fixed definition of sustainability in Gladsaxe Municipality, there is not a fixed definition of social sustainability. However, Green (2019) states that their understanding of social sustainability is 'that if everybody should have equal opportunities, then we should treat them differently and give them different offers'. Even though Green (2019) explains there is no explicit definition of social sustainability, the municipality's focus on social balance in neighbourhoods sets a direction for initiatives. Green (2019) argues that the focus on creating social balance in neighbourhoods keeps increasing in the municipality. She continues by explaining what social balance is about:

> It is really both about who lives there, what kinds of functions that are there, everything from the physical expression to - we have this notion that we must create meeting places and it can be both physical places, physical framework, but it can also be interactions. […] So, it is actually the balances that are important. […] This about creating diversity within the city, but at the same time a common identity. (Green, 2019)

The focus on social balance is reflected in an independent strategy, "Neighbourhoods in social balance" (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016). With this strategy the municipality creates a common foundation and direction for prioritising and working with social balance and additionally puts focus on areas where there is a need to do more or something different than the existing initiatives. Whether or not a neighbourhood is in social balance is i.a. measured through the national criteria for socially deprived neighbourhoods, the same criteria that are used in relation to the national ghetto list (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016). Additionally, the municipality uses several other criteria that will provide them with a

more nuanced picture of the neighbourhoods, as well as give them an opportunity to do preventative work (Green, 2019). In that manner, the social balance is measured by different indicators, which gives the municipality an opportunity to act according to the data. These actions are based on the strategy's three dimensions: the social dimension, the physical dimension and the organisational dimension (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016). The strategy is put into practice in relevant departments through specific initiatives, methods and collaborations that support the social balance in the various neighbourhoods of the municipality (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016). For every year the municipality evaluates its initiatives in different neighbourhoods i.a. by using indicators and makes adjustments if necessary. An example of the use of "Neighbourhoods in social balance" is the project in the neighbourhood Bagsværd (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2018b). Here the municipality has made a specific strategy for Bagsværd based on the three dimensions from the overall strategy for social balance.

In general, Gladsaxe Municipality has worked with sustainability since the late 1990s. During the following years this focus increased to a point where they were the first Danish municipality to implement the SGDs as a part of their conception and practice. Moreover, the municipality uses indicators to measure their sustainable initiatives and how they thus deliver on the SDGs. The conception and practice of social sustainability is linked to the strategy "Neighbourhood in social balance" from 2016. The initiatives for creating social balance are measured through indicators, meaning that the municipality evaluates their initiatives and uses the indicators as guidance.

6.3 Middelfart Municipality
Middelfart Municipality is located in the western part of the island of Funen and covers 300 square kilometres. It has a great stretch of coast and a central place in the Triangle Region. There are 38.554 people living in the municipality, which is expected to grow by 5,3% towards 2031 (Middelfart Kommune, 2019a). As seen on Table 6.2, Middelfart today has the highest percentage in the 40-64 age range and second highest in the 65-84 age range compared to the other four municipalities as well as the national average. There is the lowest share of people aged 17-24, 25-29 and 30-39 of the five municipalities. The population in Middelfart Municipality is thus older than the average and is also ageing in the future while the percentage of young and working people are declining (Middelfart Kommune, 2019a). Moreover, Middelfart Municipality primarily consists of private housing, and has a higher amount of these than the national average, see Table 6.3. On the other hand, the amount of housing associations in the municipality is lower than the national average.

Conception and practice regarding sustainability and social sustainability
Sustainability is encountered for the first time in Middelfart Municipality's proposal for their municipal plan 2009-2021 (Middelfart Kommune, 2009). Sustainability is not defined in the proposal, but the municipality underlines that growth and sustainability go together. Even though there is no specific definition, the municipality refers to sustainable energy and how sustainability, like climate and health, should be integrated in all development in both urban and rural areas. In the period between the municipal plan from 2009 and the newest from 2017, it is clear that the municipality has increased their focus on sustainability. In the municipal plan from 2017, the municipality explicitly defines sustainability through the three sustainability aspects, and underlines that:

The prioritisation of the initiatives is based on the fact that a sustainable urban environment encompasses much more than environmental labelling and technical solutions. It is just as much a matter of ensuring vibrant and dynamic cities that are attractive to stay and move in. (Middelfart Kommune, 2017)

Additionally, the municipality argues that sustainable development also is a matter of dialogue and respect for local qualities (Middelfart Kommune, 2017). This focus on dialogue recurs in the municipality's tool for sustainable planning in physical planning processes. The tool is not visualised but consists of five guiding themes: *Process*, *Technique*, *Socio-cultural and functional quality*, *Economy* and *Environment*. The five themes are overall principles for a holistic and sustainable planning approach, and based on the Danish version of DGNB (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Nachhaltiges Bauen)*, called Green Building Council. This tool was not mentioned by Secher (2019), which might be because she is new in the municipality or because the tool not has manged to be anchored in the planning practice. Nevertheless, having a tool like this illustrates, how the municipality is trying to handle the complexity of sustainability on a local scale through five themes. In that manner, they are creating a common point of departure when planning for sustainable development.

Middelfart is articulated as a green growth municipality and the strategy for planning from 2015 revolves around green transition (Middelfart Kommune, 2015). The focus in this strategy for planning is thus very much related to the environmental aspect of sustainability. However, in the municipality's proposal for a new strategy for planning of 2019, all three aspects of sustainability are explicitly mentioned (Middelfart Kommune 2019b), which shows how sustainability is conceptualised in relation to the three sustainability aspects. However, it can be argued that this conception currently is being extended to include the SDGs, as each municipal theme in the strategy is linked to relevant SDGs. Even though the municipality has a definition of sustainability, when Secher (2019) was hired one of the first things she did was to define sustainability in relation to her assigned task. This underlines how sustainability acts like an empty master signifier, that no one really knows what it contains. Secher (2019) explains how she in the beginning of her time in Middelfart Municipality probably had the more academic lenses on regarding sustainability, whereas this often is not how it works in the municipalities, as it is much more hands-on. In the process of defining sustainability more precisely, she had meetings with other public servants from the municipality, and no matter which department these came from, they could all agree that sustainability consists of three and a half aspects: the environmental, the economic and the social/cultural. In that manner, the tripartition of sustainability is enlarged to also include a cultural aspect.

It was needed for Secher (2019) to define sustainability and have discussions with others, as she needs it in the specific project, she is the project leader on. This project is in English called "Sustainable development in all local communities - 2025" and is an example of how the strategy for planning of 2019 is put into practice in local contexts (Middelfart Kommune, 2018). The project mostly engages in the social aspect of sustainability and focuses especially on strong communities as part of what makes a city a good place to live in (Secher, 2019). In the end of the process "Sustainable development in all local communities - 2025" is supposed to result in one local development plan for each of

the 12 local communities. These will be version 2.0, as similar plans have already been conducted a couple of years ago (Secher, 2019). The difference between the two is that the city council and municipal administration will take on a much more apparent role in the new process.

As the social aspects of sustainability is a big focus in the project, Secher (2019) defined the concept in relation to this project. She did this both by reading planning literature and by getting inspiration from the SCP. The definition is not written down in a clear sentence, but she argues that she knows what it means in the specific project and is able to communicate it to others. This is related to her belief that the terminology of social sustainability itself is not crucial in her work with external actors:

> For me it is a coat hook to hang something on, but the coat hook hangs in my office. So even though I go out and say "social sustainability", then as soon as I have said it, I say "but it is not something advanced, it is what connects us, it is that we thrive in and together with our surroundings". (Secher, 2019)

Instead Secher (2019) argues that it is the meaning that the concept of social sustainability holds that is important in practice, but that the theoretical foundation and awareness is still crucial before being able to work with it in practice. She continues by arguing that it is the content and the understanding that the municipality should be better at, as this also would make it easier to work with it in practice. This can be related to how Keirstead and Leach (2008) argue that a theoretical understanding of sustainability is crucial before being able to work with it in practice.

As aforementioned, the coming strategy for planning of 2019 contains a more explicit definition of social sustainability. Here the municipality defines social/cultural sustainability through three principles: 1) 'everyone has good physical and mental living conditions', 2) 'it is possible to enter into meaningful and persistent social communities and participate in the local democracy', and 3) 'there is room for physical and social differences in a diverse community plentiful cultural values' (Middelfart Kommune, 2019b: 6). In that manner, Middelfart Municipality is increasing their focus on social sustainability both theoretically with these guiding principles as well as in practice with the project "Sustainable development in all local communities – 2025". Secher (2019) states that it is new that social sustainability has so much political focus, but she thinks that the municipality has worked with social sustainability for a longer time, but that it to a larger extent has been unconsciously or without referring to it as social sustainability. She mentions that it might has been referred to as 'liveability' and that this can create confusion about the meaning of the words, because when are they then working with social sustainability and when is it allowed to use the term? This is another example of the complexity of social sustainability. Secher (2019) explains that the increased focus on social sustainability also will be reflected in the future municipal plan. This indicates that social sustainability is on its way to become a more conscious aspect in the municipal planning practice.

Overall, Middelfart Municipality conceptualises sustainability through three and a half aspects, namely the environmental, the economic and the social/cultural. This conception originates from the tripartition known from the Brundtland Report. The focus on sustainability has increased since 2009

up until today, just like the focus on social sustainability has increased, so the municipality now has guiding principles for the social aspect. The municipality also has a tool for sustainable urban development, it is however not clear to what extent this is utilised in practice.

6.4 Skive Municipality

Skive Municipality is located in the north-western part of Central Jutland and covers an area of 683 square kilometres composed by both urban, agricultural, costal, nature and forest areas (Region Midtjylland, 2017). In 2019 there are 46.224 citizens living in Skive Municipality, where the majority is in the age range 40-64 (see Table 6.2). As it appears from Table 6.2 Skive Municipality is, compared to the national average and the four other municipalities, in the low end when it comes to the number of citizens under the age of 40, while the municipality is in the high end when it comes to the number of citizens above the age of 40. In their population prognosis up until 2040, Skive Municipality is expecting a decrease in population size, however the number of elderly people is expected to increase (Region Midtjylland, 2017). Furthermore, Skive Municipality has a high amount of private housing and a lower amount of housing associations compared to the national average, see Table 6.3.

Conception and practice regarding sustainability and social sustainability

The strategy for planning from 2009 is the earliest document identified that emphasises sustainability in Skive Municipality (Skive Kommune, 2009). In the strategy, sustainability is related to sustainable energy, which Skive Municipality has a tradition for focusing on. In 2008 the municipality was one of the three first Danish cities that got appointed as 'Energy Cities', thus showing how the municipality prioritises sustainable energy. Additionally, in relation to sustainable energy the municipality focuses on climate and is due to their naming as Energy City, committed to do a special energy and climate effort. The focus on sustainable energy and climate naturally continues in the following strategies for planning from 2013 and 2015 (Skive Kommune, 2013; Skive Kommune, 2015). Besides emphasising sustainable energy, the municipality does not define sustainability in any of these strategies. Danvig (2019) argues that Skive Municipality does not have a definition of sustainability, because the meaning of sustainability is dependent on which department that is working with the concept. In the Department of Plan and Support, where Danvig is located, he states that sustainability is about integrated solutions that produce increased value and quality. In that manner, Danvig (2019) states that 'what really determines if something is sustainable, is if the users love it'. Nevertheless, he explains that sustainability is not a big part of the practice in the urban planning team. The work with sustainability is located in the team called the Energy City, and they work with sustainability and energy from a business perspective, underlining the fact that sustainable growth is a crucial topic. This means that the urban planning team is making the local plans needed to fulfil the visions in the Energy City team. The project GreenLab Skive is especially in focus these years, and the urban planning team makes local plans for this project, amongst others. GreenLab Skive is going to be Europe's biggest test and business park for sustainable energy, and is intended to 'create growth and attract new businesses to Skive' (Skive Kommune, 2016).

The focus on sustainable energy continues in the current municipal plan and the new strategy for planning, however the focus on sustainability is enlarged to not only being about energy. In the municipality's new strategy for planning from 2019, one of the four themes is sustainability (Skive Kommune, 2019). Furthermore, each of the four municipal themes is related to relevant SDGs. The vision of the strategy for planning is i.a. that development is created together, and that the focus on sustainability is enlarged to not just encompass sustainable energy but also sustainable resource utilisation. In the strategy it is further stated that is the time to integrate sustainability in all future policies and strategies, and that they, in relation to sustainability, want to focus more on knowledge sharing between departments (Skive Kommune, 2019). This indicates that the municipality in the coming years will increase their focus on sustainability even more.

Knowledge sharing is an issue in all Danish municipalities, and it also seems essential in Skive Municipality. The strategy for planning's role as a part of the overall framework for the municipal planning practice is not that apparent in Skive Municipality (Danvig, 2019). This is presumably due to the fact that the strategy for planning is made in the Department of Communication, Development and Business and the municipal plan in the Department of Plan and Support, and that these departments do not have a strong history of sharing knowledge. Danvig (2019) explains that the focus on sustainability and the SDGs in the strategy for planning therefore might not be that clearly reflected in the municipal plan, and that the strategy for planning might end up being an isolated document. Nonetheless, in the current municipal plan 2016-2028 sustainability is a focus point, however it is again primarily in relation to sustainable energy and climate. Danvig (2019) states that sustainability likewise will be a theme in the coming audit of the municipal plan.

The social aspect of sustainability seems neglected in Skive Municipality, or at least it is not explicitly emphasised in the municipal plans and strategies. This should be seen in relation to the fact that the municipality does not have a definition of social sustainability, as it is simply not discursively constructed (Danvig, 2019). Consequently, this also means that social sustainability is not something that the Department of Plan and Support is specifically working with. Nevertheless, Danvig (2019) underlines that the social aspect is in a way naturally incorporated in the municipality's practices, as it permeates the Danish welfare system. It can be argued that another reason for the term social sustainability not being highlighted in the urban planning practice, is that there is no strong practice with sustainability in the urban planning team and further that sustainability in Skive Municipality is associated with sustainable energy and climate.

In general, Skive Municipality is named as Energy City and is currently working on Europe's biggest test and business park for sustainable energy. This focus on sustainable energy is also reflected in the municipal planning documents, where sustainability is associated with sustainable energy and climate. The municipality's conception of sustainability seems to be enlarged with the introduction of the SDGs in the new strategy for planning from 2019. However, it is doubtful to what extent this strategy will be implemented in the coming municipal plan, as the collaboration between the Department of Communication, Development and Business and the Department of Plan and Support is not strong. Furthermore, social sustainability is not discursively constructed and thus not a deliberate part of the planning practice.

6.5 Aalborg Municipality

Aalborg Municipality is located in the northern part of Jutland and covers an area of 1.137,40 square kilometres (Aalborg Kommune, 2018), consisting of urban, rural, agricultural, costal and forest areas. There are 215.312 citizens living in the municipality, which makes it the third largest Danish municipality. As Table 6.2 illustrates, Aalborg Municipality stands out in relation to the group of 17-24 years compared to the national average and the four other municipalities. This should be understood in relation to the transformation of Aalborg city in the last 10 years (Aalborg Kommune, 2018), where lots of student housing has been build and the university has grown, making Aalborg attractive for students in particular. In their population prognosis up until 2030, Aalborg Municipality is expecting a continuing population growth (Aalborg Kommune, 2018). The increased number of student housing is also visible on Table 6.3 where is it a part of the category 'Housing associations'. In general, Aalborg Municipality is following the same pattern as the national average.

Conception and planning practice regarding sustainability and social sustainability

Sustainability is a theme that recurs in various strategies, plans and projects in Aalborg Municipality, and the practice with sustainability goes several years back. The first encounter with sustainability can be traced back to 1992, where the municipality approved a Brundtland-plan and thus conceptualised sustainability in relation to the Brundtland Report's tripartition of sustainability (Aalborg Kommune, 2003). Since 1992 Aalborg Municipality has played a crucial role in the network 'European Sustainable Cities and Towns', where the Aalborg Charter and the Aalborg Commitments have been a part of guiding the municipality's work with sustainability (Sustainable Cities Platform, n.d.a; Sustainable Cities Platform, n.d.b). The prioritisation of sustainability since 1992 has created a strong foundation for the municipality's existing practice with sustainability.

The focus on sustainability has naturally been reflected in the municipality's practice. In 2003 Aalborg Municipality published their first strategy for planning that focuses on sustainability, called "Plan and Sustainability Strategy" (Aalborg Kommune, 2003). The visions in this strategy for planning then influenced the municipal plan from 2005, and the following strategies for planning and municipal plans have all focused on sustainability and integrated solutions. Additionally, Aalborg Municipality has not only put focus on sustainability in their strategies for planning and municipal plans but has also formulated specific strategies for sustainability. The first in 2008 and the latest in 2016 (Aalborg Kommune, 2008; Aalborg Kommune, 2016). In the sustainability strategy of 2016, the municipality still conceptualises sustainability through the three aspects from the Brundtland Report. The strategy consists of seven sustainability themes, where six of these are themes from the former sustainability strategy of 2008 and the seventh theme "Citizens and the good life" is new. This shows how the social aspect of sustainability has started to move out of the shadows of the economic and environmental aspects, and instead is understood as important in itself.

The municipality's overall sustainability strategy from 2016 is indented to set the overall framework for the work with sustainability within the various departments. However, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) explain that at least in the planning division, the connection between the overall sustainability strategy and the planning practice probably is not that clear. In the planning department, the sustainability strategy's tripartition has been unfolded to contain five aspects (Aalborg Kommune,

n.d.a). This broader understanding of sustainability is illustrated through the Sustainability Flower (see Figure 6.4). Ladefoged and Malling (2019) explain the development of the flower:

> We also started with the three legs, with economy, environment and the social, those three legs. And we have, I think - actually it is a bit interesting to talk about. In connection with that, when we were investigating methods for urban transformation this Sustainability Flower came up, or actually sustainability as a theme where we found out, that we simply need to get more themes into sustainability in order to be able to even understand the broad concept of sustainability. Then we made our own little homemade flower, which was very much linked to urban transformation. And then it has evolved.

Figure 6.4: Aalborg Municipality's Sustainability Flower (Aalborg Kommune, n.d.b).

As it appears from Figure 6.4 the five aspects are: social, technique, process, environment and economy. The size of each leaf will change depending on the planning project in question, and in that manner give an overview of the focus points and prioritisation in that specific project. The Sustainability Flower presented on Figure 6.4 is Aalborg Municipality's new version. Compared to the former flower this new version differs first by having the DGNB principles in relation to urban areas integrated and second by having a greater focus on sustainability as a process, which the arrow in the middle of the flower symbolises. The flower functions as both an analytical tool for the planners and as a dialogue tool to facilitate dialogue with other public servants and to some extent with external actors around sustainability (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019). Further, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) stress that the fuzziness of sustainability can be reduced by illustrating it with the flower. This illustrates how, not just SIs, but tools in general are seen as means to handle the complexity of sustainability. By simplifying sustainability's complexity through the Sustainability Flower, is it possible for involved actors in a specific project to create a common point of departure. Moreover, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) state that even though they have the flower, sustainability is also much about common sense and therefore they argue that prior to the flower they had already worked with sustainability,

even though they maybe did not call it sustainability. They continue by saying, that today there is a name for it, sustainability, which has created an awareness, however, this has also made it more complex, as everybody is talking about sustainability, but what is it? Here Gunder and Hillier's (2009: 16) expression 'empty master signifier' comes into its own, as 'sustainability is without explicit meaning in itself', and in that manner means everything and nothing at the same time. Both Ladefoged and Malling (2019) therefore underline the possibilities inherent in the flower, as it helps concretising the fuzzy concept of sustainability.

One of the flower's five aspects is the social, and the content of this social aspect is what represents the planning division understanding of social sustainability (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019). In relation to this, social sustainability in Aalborg Municipality is about key themes like Diversity and structures, Urban qualities, Function and adjustment and Aesthetics. This also means that there is no written or fixed definition of social sustainability, but rather some guiding principles. Ladefoged and Malling (2019) state that the focus points regarding social sustainability in the flower might be broad, but that it still provides a simplification of social sustainability, and thus an understanding for the participants in a process.

Further, social sustainability has become a focus in the municipality's proposal for a new strategy for planning of 2019. This focus shows a change in mindset in the municipality. As argued in Chapter 2, the Brundtland Report's definition of sustainability is largely interlinked with economic growth, which also has been the focus in Aalborg Municipality, especially since 2011 where the municipality introduced their Growth Axis in the City of Aalborg. As indented, Aalborg has grown and transformed into a big city. In the municipality's proposal for the new strategy for planning, the Growth Axis is still a base, but focus has turned more towards creating cities with quality instead of just growth:

> There have been some periods where it was growth, growth, growth. We just need the city to grow, that was the task. Now it shifts a little, now we also have to remember to connect things. That we do not create a development that precludes something. For me, that is how I read it at least right now, that is also what the politicians are concerned about. (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019)

The title for the strategy for planning "We develop cities with quality together", also illustrates a focus on social sustainability, specifically collaboration with various actors (Aalborg Kommune, 2019). The notion of quality is comprised by nine themes, which comprises the strategy for planning. In the strategy it is further described how the strategy relates to UN's SDGs and seven of these are touched upon in the strategy. Hence, for Aalborg Municipality it is the nine identified quality elements which are guiding, but they are supported by global sustainability aspects. Social sustainability is a subtheme in the theme of *Places with identity*, and here it is stated that social sustainability 'revolves around topics such as demographic changes, identity, place specific attachment, social cohesion, community as well as meeting places, services, education and health – just to mention a part' (Aalborg Kommune, 2019: 11). The conception of social sustainability in the strategy for planning is thus elastic and covers fields that is not directly affiliated with the planning department. The focus, on creating

cities together, is also reflected in the municipality's current work with three development plans, as the titles for these plans contain "We develop together". Therefore, social sustainability is an increased focus in both the coming strategy for planning and in concrete projects. In Aalborg Municipality they thus have two understandings of social sustainability – the one in the Sustainability Flower and the other in the strategy for planning of 2019. It is assumed that these two understandings together constitute the conception of social sustainability in Aalborg Municipality.

Overall, Aalborg Municipality has worked with sustainability in more than 20 years and has a sustainability conception that stems from the tripartition in the Brundtland Report. However, the planning division has developed these aspects further and created their own understanding, visualised through the Sustainability Flower. Also, social sustainability has slowly started to be an individual theme and focus point in the municipal practice, and even though it is a fuzzy concept, it seems as this focus only is going to increase based on future strategies and projects. The conception of social sustainability in the municipality stems from the social leaf in the Sustainability Flower as well as the guiding principles in the coming strategy for planning of 2019.

6.6 Summary

Except from Skive Municipality, the municipalities' conceptions of sustainability all originate from the tripartition of sustainability known from the Brundtland Report. In that manner, none of the municipalities have a nature-centred conception of sustainability, but rather an anthropocentric worldview. However, as Table 6.5 below illustrates there are clearly nuances in their conceptions, which also leads to different practices. For example, Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality have added extra aspects to their conception of sustainability, whereas sustainability in Skive Municipality is conceptualised as energy and climate. Nevertheless, there are also similarities between the municipalities that show that the practice with sustainability is based on guiding principles and that sustainability has become a predominant goal in municipal planning. This should be seen in relation to sustainability's ideological power, cf. Section 2.1. However, it can be argued that the municipalities do not just add sustainability to their visions, but actually relate it to practice. Nevertheless, the narratives they are trying to tell are still getting stronger due to the ideological power of sustainability. Furthermore, the focus on sustainable growth and also SDGs is evident in all of the municipalities, especially in Gladsaxe. In that manner, the municipalities have different conceptions and practices with sustainability.

When it comes to social sustainability, the municipalities' conceptions and practice become even more varied, see Table 6.5. Except from Skive Municipality, social sustainability has become a new discourse on sustainable development in the municipalities, and the municipalities are thus focusing on the relationship between urban development and quality of life in practice. However, all the municipalities express the difficulty of conceptualising social sustainability because of its fuzziness. Consequently, the municipalities have seen or see a need to concretise the concept and their work with it. In Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality they have concretised their conception and practice through the use of indicators, which is similar to what the IFHP is suggesting. Nevertheless, they do not work with indicators for social sustainability in the same way. In Gladsaxe Municipality the

indicators are guiding practice, whereas indicators in Frederiksberg Municipality are considered secondary compared to the strategy they are a part of. In Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality social sustainability has started to become a focus in planning documents and in a few projects but has still not institutionalised. Skive Municipality, being the one that differs the most from the others, does not have a conception nor practice of social sustainability. In that manner, we expect that at least in the three last-mentioned municipalities there is potential for the SCP to function as a governance tool and thus concretise and shape the conception and practice of social sustainability. In Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality it seems more doubtful if the SCP will be a governance tool, as their practices and the SCP are quite identical. In the following Chapter 7 we investigate if and how the SCP functions as a governance tool in the five municipalities.

	Conception of sustainability	Conception of social sustainability	Practice of social sustainability
Frederiksberg Municipality	- Economy - Environmental - Social	Definition: - 'A city with room for all through the entire life'	- "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" - Interdisciplinarity - Indicators
Gladsaxe Municipality	- Economy - Environmental - Social	Social balance: - Three dimensions: the physical, the social and the organisational	- "Neighbourhoods in social balance" - "Strategy for Bagsværd in social balance" - Indicators as guiding
Middelfart Municipality	- Economy - Environmental - Social/cultural	Guiding principles: - Life conditions - Diverse communities - Participation	- New strategy for planning of 2019 - Future municipal plan - Project: "Sustainable development in all local communities – 2025"
Skive Municipality	- Sustainable energy - Climate	- Not discursively constructed	- No practice
Aalborg Municipality	- Social - Technique - Process - Environment - Economy	Guiding principles i.a.: - Identity - Social cohesion - Health - Urban qualities - Aesthetics	- Sustainability Flower - New strategy for planning of 2019 - Three development plans

Table 6.5: The five municipalities' conceptions and practices.

7 The SCP as a governance tool

The aim of this chapter is to answer the second sub-question: How has the SCP shaped conception and practice of social sustainability in the political arena and the planning arena in the five Danish municipalities? As argued in Chapter 3, a governance tool has power to influence both policy and planning, and we therefore look into these two arenas when exploring how the SCP functions as a governance tool. The chapter starts by looking into how the SCP seeks to shape conception and practice in both the planning arena as well as the political arena. Subsequently, it looks into the organisation of the SCP and argues that this likewise has an impact in terms of how the SCP is met in the municipalities.

Before delving into the SCP in the two arenas, it is essential to clarify how each municipality is involved in the SCP, see Table 7.1. As the table shows, some municipalities have utilised the SCP in practice, while others have not. This chapter therefore also looks into why the SCP is utilised in some municipalities and why not in others.

	Involvement in the SCP
Frederiksberg Municipality	- Meetings with the IFHP - Attending the conference in January - No utilisation of the SCP in practice
Gladsaxe Municipality	- Meetings with the IFHP in the early stage of the SCP - No utilisation of the SCP in practice
Middelfart Municipality	- Meetings with the IFHP - Attending the conferences in January and April - Tried to organise a workshop day for the other municipalities - Utilising the SCP in the project "Sustainable development in all local communities – 2025" in the form of a survey
Skive Municipality	- Meetings with the IFHP - Attending the conference in January - No utilisation of the SCP in practice
Aalborg Municipality	- Meetings with the IFHP - Attending the conference in January and organising the one in April - Utilising the SCP in the process of three development in the form of a survey

Table 7.1: Involvement of the five municipalities in the SCP.

7.1 The SCP shaping conception and practice in the planning arena

In general, we argue that the SCP is aiming at shaping conception and practice in the planning arena by first of all having a format that can be integrated in existing practice and secondly by having a focus on interdisciplinary collaboration, thus spreading the SCP further out in networks that planners take part in. To what extent the SCP manages to do this in practice varies according to the municipalities' contexts. This will be elaborated in the two following subsections.

Integration of the SCP in practice

As Table 7.1 shows, the only municipalities utilising the SCP are Aalborg and Middelfart. It is therefore interesting to understand why this is the case. The situations in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality are quite similar in several ways. Firstly, both municipalities had slowly started to focus on the concept of social sustainability before they were introduced to the SCP. However, it was not truly clear to them how to integrate social sustainability in their practice, and both municipalities thus saw an opportunity in the SCP. Secondly, both municipalities had just started planning projects where it was relevant to use the SCP as supplement. Secher (2019) from Middelfart Municipality explains:

> ["Sustainable development in all local communities - 2025"] is involved because it is so obvious. That is because the project is called something with sustainability, and there is so much focus on social sustainability. Then Social Cities got introduced and they [the IFHP] asked if we would want to join in, and then it just made sense to use it here. Also, because the tools, or the methods that are part of Social Cities, they are already something we had thought of working with. For example, this about doing surveys. So, I just think it was completely obvious.

In that manner, it was the right time for the municipality to get involved in the SCP. Likewise, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) from Aalborg Municipality explain that the SCP especially became relevant to them, as they had a specific project in progress:

> I think it is really obvious to embrace social sustainability in a neighbourhood, because it becomes understandable. Also, when you are out in the field and can address the citizens directly. I therefore think it has a lot to do with timing. That we are working on something right now where we can catch the ball.

Further, the SCP was relevant to Aalborg Municipality as it could be integrated in their existing Sustainability Flower as a part of the social leaf. This was emphasised by the IFHP at the first meeting with Aalborg Municipality, which shows how the IFHP is trying to make the SCP a part of existing practices and in that manner make it more attractive for the municipality to utilise it, as it is not something completely new to them.

Because the planners in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality have had a burgeoning awareness of social sustainability both conceptually and practically, the SCP likewise has had a great opportunity to shape the conception and practice in the planning arena. Concretely, the index in the SCP has

shaped conception and practice, as it has been used as inspiration for citizen surveys in both municipalities' projects. In that manner, the survey, and thus the index in the SCP, has also been a contribution to Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality's existing practices with public involvement. Ladefoged and Malling (2019) argue that the results they get from the survey are really strong in their work as the results provide an overview. Moreover, they argue that they would not have worked with social sustainability this consciously if it had not been for the SCP. They therefore argue that such surveys could be integrated as a method in their Sustainability Flower. Additionally, the SCP's power to shape practice is already visible in the sense that the survey is mentioned in the new strategy for planning (Aalborg Kommune, 2019). The two examples here clearly underline the SCP's function as a governance tool to shape conception and practice.

In the making of both surveys, the IFHP has assisted the municipalities, which has strengthened the SCP's mark in the planning arena. However, both Secher (2019) and Ladefoged and Malling (2019) express that they naturally had to modify the index so it would be relevant to them and the specific contexts in which the surveys were to be used. An example is how Secher (2019) talks about the homicide indicator not being relevant in her own or even a Danish context. Secher's point is related to the fact the IFHP seeks to globalise the SCP and for that reason has integrated indicators that not are directly relevant in a Danish context. It is therefore not possible for the SCP to shape the conception and practice in the municipalities one to one, nonetheless this is neither the intention of the IFHP, as they argue that the SCP should be flexible (Nielsen, 2019). Additionally, both Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality emphasise the flexibility in the SCP and consider this to be an asset rather than a weakness in terms of conceptional foundation.

Even though the index has concretised social sustainability in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality, the last two steps of the SCP have not been a part of shaping conception and practice as they have not been realised. The timing has not been right to host the Ideation Labs in the two municipalities, however neither Secher (2019) nor Ladefoged and Malling (2019) deny that the second step in the SCP can be used in their practice later on. On the other hand, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) stress that they somehow have had Ideation Labs prior to the survey, only they have not called it that. Therefore, it is clear that some of the processes the IFHP is suggesting with the SCP already are a part of practice in the municipalities. However, the SCP can help making these processes more focused on social sustainability. In relation to this, Secher (2019) explains that besides timing, the IFHP's description of the second step has not been clear to her and therefore she has not put it into practice. It can thus be argued that focus to a great extent has been the index and the two remaining steps have been a bit in the shadow of this. This weakens the argument of the SCP as a dialogue tool, as the quantification tool is most prominent.

Overall then, the first step in the SCP has managed to influence the planning arena in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality, thus concretising and shaping conception and practice of social sustainability in relation to the index. However, as stated this has not been the case in the three other municipalities. The situations in these municipalities have been quite different from the ones in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality. In Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipalities the situations have been quite

alike, as both municipalities already had developed their own approach for working with social sustainability when the IFHP introduced the SCP. The situation in Skive Municipality, on the other hand, stands out from all of the other four municipalities.

Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality both work with social sustainability in a quantitative way by using indices. In that manner, the SCP seems relevant to both municipalities, however, none of the municipalities have really been engaged in the process. The main reason to this is, as Green (2019) and Müller (2019) argue, that they each have their own useful approach, and that this generally speaking is the same as the one the IFHP is suggesting. For example, Green (2019) states:

> The reason why we chose to say, that we go somewhere else, was in fact because we have been working with it [social sustainability] for very long and were far in the process of developing an approach to work with it. So, given the energy we should put into that tool [the SCP], there was a little fear that we would work too much with that tool instead of getting our own approach entrenched in the municipality. […] Therefore, we would rather focus on our own instead of going a step back and devise new tools again. But we share the overall thinking.

The timing was not right for introducing the SCP in Gladsaxe Municipality, just as it was not on point in Frederiksberg Municipality. However, the overall thinking and role of indices are shared between the IFHP and Gladsaxe Municipality, as both support the role of indices as guiding in practice. Frederiksberg Municipality, on the other hand, considers the role a bit differently. Müller (2019) explains:

> This is maybe here we look at it a bit differently than the IFHP index, where the index is used very actively to evaluate. We do not do that here. We use our index or our indicators to provide a snapshot, so they are not driving us in any way. For us, it is the strategy ["Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city"] that is the driving force in practice. Consequently, it is the strategy that must be put into practice, it is the directions or focus points that the strategy points out, that are the ones that are important to us. They are the ones that have to influence practice and how we develop and plan the city.

The quote above underlines that even though the overall approach is index-based, this approach still gives rise to various practices and thus different roles of indices. In relation to this it can be argued that there also are differences in how both the IFHP and the municipalities relate to the role of indices in the practice with social sustainability. Müller (2019) continues by arguing that there also are similarities between their approach and the SCP i.a. the focus on scale. She explains that the three scales in the SCP (city, neighbourhood and household) are similar to Frederiksberg Municipality's three focus points in their "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city". Another similarity between the IFHP and both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality is the use of heat maps in communicating the results from the indices (Green, 2019; Müller, 2019; Nielsen, 2019). Since both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality already have their own approaches quite identical to the SCP, the SCP has not managed to shape conception and practice in these municipalities. Nevertheless, both Green (2019) and Müller (2019) explain that they might take the SCP into consideration later on.

As aforementioned, the situation in Skive Municipality differs from the four other municipalities, as social sustainability is not discursively constructed and thus not integrated in their practice (Danvig, 2019). Therefore, it at first seems like the SCP could be useful in Skive Municipality to concretise social sustainability and initiate a practice with the concept, however, this has not been the case. The difference between conception and practice has been too large, resulting in Skive Municipality not being able to integrate the SCP in existing practice nor launching new practice. Nevertheless, when Danvig (2019) heard about the SCP he was interested in utilising the SCP as means to put focus on social sustainability in the planning practice. He further underlines that there is a need to put more focus on the social aspect of planning, a need shared by both the planning division and the housing associations in the municipality. However, the challenge in Skive Municipality is how to put more focus on it. In relation to this, Danvig (2019) expresses:

> I think at some point there will be a greater focus on this [social sustainability], because the problems will get bigger and bigger. It is just a matter of time. It is not certain that I will experience it, but in a not so distant future, one will say "why on earth were you not more alert in Skive? Why did you not do anything about it? Did you take a nap or what happened?".

Based on the quote from Danvig (2019) it can seem paradoxical that the municipality does not engage more in the SCP, just as it can seem paradoxical that the SCP does not to a greater extent manage to shape conception and practice in Skive Municipality when there is a need. The main explanation for this can be found in the political prioritisation in the municipality, and to some extent in the organisation of the SCP. These points will be further elaborated in the following sections 7.2 and 7.3. Nevertheless, Danvig (2019) explains that the SCP somehow has inspired his own mindset. It can therefore be argued that the SCP to a lesser extent still has managed to initiate a focus on social sustainability in the planning arena in Skive Municipality. Whether this will become a clear focus in the future planning is rather questionable.

Strengthening interdisciplinary collaboration through the SCP
We argue that another way in which the SCP seeks to shape conception and practice in the planning arena is by focusing on strengthening interdisciplinary collaboration in municipalities both internally and externally, so the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP will be diffused to other actors as well. This can be linked to how Rydin (2007) brings focus to responsibilisation of various actors in the work with sustainability, as the SCP can be used in network facilitation thus shaping networks and discussions around its particular framing. The second step in the SCP specifically underlines how the SCP is indented to shape conception and practice beyond the planning arena. Likewise, the third step related to a global network of actors sharing experiences of the work with the SCP underlines how the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP should be diffused. However, as aforementioned none of the five municipalities have realised the last two steps in the SCP, and therefore it cannot truly be assessed how the SCP manages to strengthen interdisciplinarity in neither a local nor global context.

Nonetheless, as interdisciplinary collaboration is an issue in the five municipalities, the SCP seems relevant in that connection. According to Holman (2009) indicators alter governance, which makes it interesting to explore if and how the SCP facilitates governance networks in the municipalities. However, while the SCP has not really ended up strengthening interdisciplinarity in the municipalities, we argue that it has potential to do so in some of the municipalities. For example, in Aalborg Municipality they are already using the Sustainability Flower to both sharpen the focus on sustainability but also to gather actors together and create consensus about the themes within the Sustainability Flower (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019). In that manner, if Aalborg Municipality chooses to integrate the survey as a part of their flower, the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP can be disseminated beyond the planning arena. It is probably especially the results from the survey that can facilitate a network of actors who need to collaborate in order to solve the challenges identified through the survey. The process with the Sustainability Flower is currently a process that mostly takes place across municipal departments and only rarely with external actors. The need to put sustainability up front is hence realised within the administration in Aalborg Municipality, but this mindset is not necessarily present in e.g. developers and corporations. This justifies Rydin's (2007) argument that sustainable indicators (SIs) cannot on their own induce responsibilisation of any given actor. However, it can be argued that the quantitative results from the survey to a great extent suit at least developers' mindset and then possibly can responsibilise developers to integrate social sustainability in their businesses, if they see the relevance of doing so. A challenge here though is that the actors' conceptions of sustainability are not necessarily the same because the survey is made by the planners, based on the Social Cities Index, and therefore has a particular framing representing their conception. In that manner, if the actors do not share the same conception or understanding of the results it will be challenging to align practice. This is not just the case in external collaborations as there are different conceptions of social sustainability internally in Aalborg Municipality. Therefore, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) had hoped that they in the making of the survey had time to host meetings with other departments in the municipality:

> I can see that there are some common areas of interest with some of the other departments. If we had had a bit more time, I would have dreamt of a conversation about how they could contribute, how we could get a kind of common conception of social sustainability across the departments. Because I think that we are at different places in that relation. […] And there is a kind of confusion of concepts. I actually think this could be a rather good time to establish a dialogue about our understandings, because we have some very distinct conceptions.

Ladefoged and Malling here articulate the need to create some sort of consensus on the conception of social sustainability within the municipality, which aligns with the IFHP's interpretation of the needs in the municipalities, cf. Chapter 5. This is however contrary to Rydin's (2007) findings on indices' lack of ability to alter actors' subjective conception of sustainability, due to the subjectively constructed nature of the concept. The same points can be made in relation to Middelfart Municipality who also produced a survey inspired by the index in the SCP. For now, Secher (2019) is the only person in the municipality working upfront with social sustainability though, however she explains:

I think that if we as municipality did more to spread this out in the municipality, simply conveying that we are a part of this project, but also what social sustainability actually is, then I think it would do something about the mindset and maybe in the end about the practice as well.

In that manner, it can be argued that the SCP has potential to function as a governance tool by shaping conception and practice beyond the planning arena in both Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality. However, before being able to do so, the SCP first has to function as a governance tool in the planning arena. When integrated in the planners' mindset and practice, it can be diffused to larger networks of both internal and external actors and hence function as a governance tool in these. This is the case with the surveys made for the citizens in both Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality, as the results of these surveys will be the basis for further prioritisation.

Another challenge related to interdisciplinary collaboration is the fact that social sustainability is often associated with social policy where focus is on i.a. vulnerable people. The situation in Skive Municipality is an example of this, as social sustainability is not integrated in the planning division but is a natural part of the Department of Social Services and Labour Market only without referring to that specific word (Danvig, 2019). When Danvig presented the SCP to the Department of Social Services and Labour Market as well as the Department of Culture and Family, their enthusiasm was not profound. They did not see the relevance and indicated that he had to propose his ideas to the directorate. This first of all underlines the relevance of the IFHP's strategy of implementing the SCP at a decision-making level. Secondly, it underlines that the departments are wearing different glasses, so to speak, which can be a barrier for the SCP as a governance tool. This is exemplified by the fact that the index has not been able to facilitate a network-creation across the departments in Skive Municipality. The association with vulnerable people was also evident at the conference held in April, which indicates that social sustainability still is new in a housing and planning context. However, it can be argued that by utilising the SCP in interdisciplinary collaborations, other actors' conception of social sustainability potentially can be enlarged. Consequently, the SCP would function as a governance tool and create a common language that also puts social sustainability in a housing and planning context. The IFHP exactly argues that the SCP is a common language for speaking about social sustainability, which indeed is a fruitful feature for the networks to thrive, cf. Section 3.2. Even though Gladsaxe Municipality is not using the SCP, Green (2019) sees a potential in the utilisation of sustainability indices in general 'because it becomes a language that you develop'.

The use of indices in both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality has created a common language both internally in the municipality as well as with external actors such as housing associations and business communities. This shows how the use of indices in these municipalities has strengthened interdisciplinary collaboration. Müller (2019) underlines that before the "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city", Frederiksberg Municipality of course did not work alone, but the strategy has created 'explicitness and visibility and also an understanding that this [cooperation] is a good way to develop the city'. The cooperation with external actors has specifically resulted in reflections in the administration on how to best work with social sustainability and has enabled local actors to put their mark on the initiatives. Another example is how the use of indicators in the project

"Bagsværd in social balance" in Gladsaxe Municipality resulted in the planners discovering missing physical settings in the neighbourhood as well as a need to integrate the local school and child care centres. In both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality their respective indices hence compose a foundation of facilitating networks united by the social sustainability agenda. As this is the situation in both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality, it underlines the facilitating role of indices and how they can be a part of responsibilising actors beyond both the planning arena and the municipal administration. In that manner, it can be argued that the SCP also has potential to be used in network facilitation, however because the SCP is still new in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality it is not truly clear how it manages to do so in practice.

Overall then, the SCP has been able to shape conception and practice of social sustainability in the planning arena at least in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality. For the three other municipalities it can be debated to what extent the SCP later on will be used as inspiration. One thing standing clear is the importance of the planning arena being in its early phase of working with social sustainability, just as having a specific project in progress is important. In that manner, timing is crucial for how the SCP manages to shape conception and practice. Haughton and Allmendinger (2016) likewise underline that exactly timing is a crucial factor for interest organisations' ability to influence. However, timing is not the only factor that determines the IFHP's success of introducing the SCP. As Levesque et al. (2017) argue, interest organisation's success also depends on institutional settings, in this case within the specific municipality. Thus, how the SCP manages to influence the political arena in the municipality. As we argue in our theoretical framework, cf. Section 3.3, planning practice is to a great extent a result of policy and decisions in the political arena. However, we also argue that an interrelationship exists between planners and politicians, meaning that planners also are able to influence the political arena. It is therefore relevant to explore if and how the conception and practice in the political arena have been shaped by the SCP, and how the planners have played a role in this. The following section looks into the political arena and the role of SCP within it.

7.2 The SCP shaping conception and practice in the political arena

In general, we argue that the SCP as a governance tool is seeking to shape the conception and practice of social sustainability in the political arena by first of all having a methodology that talks into an economic mindset as well as by providing a quick overview. Secondly, due to its format, more specifically the second step, which talks into the debate of public involvement, which always is a motif in Danish municipalities. To what extent the SCP manages to do this in practice varies according to the municipalities' contexts.

As stated in Chapter 5, the IFHP is aiming specifically to influence the political arena, as the municipal planning practice to a great extent is a result of political decisions and policy. The IFHP also acknowledges the planning arena and its importance, however the focus is mainly on the political arena, because if the SCP is shaping conception and practice in the political arena this will penetrate the general conception and practice of social sustainability in the municipal practice. In other words, a municipality is a politically governed organisation and a clear political articulation of working with social sustainability can thus shape the administration's practice. The methodology in the SCP,

namely the index approach, is reducing the complexity of social sustainability by translating soft values into quantitative results. This means that social sustainability is concretised, thus making it easier for decision-makers to have discussions based on concrete numbers instead of decisions based on feelings and beliefs. This methodology selected by the IFPH underlines how the SCP as a governance tool is supposed to shape the political arena. Additionally, Nielsen (2019) argues 'that there is a need to make the political discussion about the social more concrete and more human, so the social is not just an aid problem, but actually an opportunity to get some quality of life'. This is related to how the IFHP is trying to bring social sustainability into a planning and housing context, hence bringing this part of social sustainability into the existing discourse of sustainable development to a greater extent. The intention of bringing social sustainability into the discourse is relevant and indeed needed. However, when suggesting an index-based approach to do this there is a risk that the strong economic and growth-oriented narrative is maintained, as the results from the index fits into a rational mindset as well as promoting benchmarking. This argument will be further explored in Chapter 8.

Economic growth is a buzzword in at least one of the analysed planning documents of all the municipalities, meaning that the SCP has potential to talk into this narrative. Sustainable growth is likewise a recurring motif in the five municipalities which, as argued in Section 2.1, is a widespread conception of sustainability. Consequently, political organisations, like municipalities, bound by an economic bottom line, are naturally framing their work within a growth-oriented narrative. This has implications for the way in which social sustainability is perceived:

> Money rules the world. There are some really powerful forces in it. And there is as well in social sustainability, but it is in a way just squeezed into it all. It is much more difficult to define and much harder to get that to be the driving force in urban development. (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019)

The notion of social sustainability as something that is 'squeezed into' the existing planning practice resonates with Davidson's (2009) argument about sustainability in general being applied to existing policy within the urban and social field. Social sustainability can be the 'whipped cream on the layer cake […] but you cannot start by building something socially sustainable, or sustainable, and then add on the economic aspect' (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019). In that manner, articulating a project as socially sustainable can thus reinforce the existing hegemony of the economic growth narrative. The SCP is not going to break with this economic growth-oriented narrative, however it can still bring in a new focus or strengthen the focus on social sustainability by making it more tangible in political decisions. The situation in Aalborg Municipality is an example of this. Here social sustainability is integrated in the new strategy for planning as a part of telling the story of Aalborg not only focusing on their Growth Axis but also at cities with quality. The focus on quality existed in the municipality before the SCP was introduced, but since the survey inspired by the index in the SCP is mentioned in the strategy for planning, it can be argued that the SCP has strengthened this focus. This is related to how Ladefoged and Malling (2019) explain that the politicians have supported the idea of the survey as a contribution in the work of involving the public:

> In fact, when we have conveyed it further up in the system here, they have been very
> positive towards it. Also, because it is so concrete. We say, "we have sent the survey out
> to this number of people, we have received this number of responses, and this is what
> they have said", that is something everyone can relate to. In that manner, this is a super
> nice instrument, which I also believe that we will use in the future.

The political arena in Aalborg Municipality has been open towards the SCP and its manageable format, which has made the SCP appealing to the politicians because it is easy to understand. The simplicity in the SCP is hence an asset for the political dissemination of it. The situation in Aalborg Municipality further shows the interrelationship between the planning arena and the political arena. It is the planners who have introduced the SCP to the political arena, thus influencing political conception and practice. A way in which this is evident is that the alderman of the Department of Urban and Spatial Planning welcomed the participants at the social sustainability conference held in April by Aalborg Municipality. In that manner, as Ladefoged and Malling (2019) argue the SCP is relevant for both the planners and the politicians in Aalborg Municipality, however in two different ways:

> I think the results are what you present to the political level. Because when developing a
> tool that you want the managers and politicians to use in decision-making and you come
> up with something as concrete as indicators that need to be measured, however this is not
> at all what they are working with. It [indices] precisely applies to us. In that way there is
> a small paradox in it. So, I would rather think you should say, that it is the recapitulation
> that articulates that we work with it and thus what puts it on the agenda.

The point here made by Ladefoged and Malling (2019) is shared by the planners in the remaining four municipalities (Danvig, 2019; Green, 2019; Müller, 2019; Secher, 2019). Therefore, the IFHP's attention towards the political arena is met with some scepticism from the planners. Not because the planners argue that the SCP not is relevant in the political arena, but because the SCP should be incorporated in the planning division first, as it is the planners who should be able to utilise the SCP in practice.

The experience of Middelfart Municipality echoes that of Aalborg Municipality in relation to their involvement in the SCP, in that the SCP has also managed to reach the political arena. Again, because Secher (2019) as a planner has introduced the SCP to the politicians. However, the political foundation for the project involved in the SCP was shaped prior to the collaboration with the IFHP. As stated in Chapter 6, the politicians take a much more active role in the project "Sustainable development in all local communities - 2025" than they did some years ago, where the local communities mainly on their own made development plans. This shows a growing focus and prioritisation of social sustainability already before the SCP. The results of the survey are at the time of writing being analysed by Secher (2019) and there has thus not yet been any action taken following the survey. However, during the winter 2018 and spring 2019, several meetings about the project have been held, in which Secher and politicians among others have participated. Secher (2019) assesses that this has had an impact on the decision-makers' conception:

> Because I work with it [social sustainability] and I am so close to both the city council,
> the mayor and our directorate, I think that maybe this [social sustainability] is something
> that gets more into their consciousness, because now they hear me say it all the time.

Due to the current phase of the process, it is not possible to truly assess whether the results from the survey and thus the SCP has influenced the policy-making in the political arena in Middelfart Municipality. However, we assume that the change of the decision-makers' consciousness is partly owing to Secher's attendance in the SCP and her interaction with the decision-makers.

As stated in the previous section, the SCP has not managed to shape conception and practice of social sustainability in the planning arena in Frederiksberg or Gladsaxe Municipality. Nor has it managed to do so in the political arena. It seems like the SCP has not even been discussed in the political arena, as it in the planning arena has been decided not to implement the SCP. However, the situation in both Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality can still bring perspectives into the role of indices in the political arena. In Gladsaxe Municipality, Green (2019) argues that there definitely is an increasing awareness politically on social sustainability, partly due to their commitment to the SDGs. Concurrently with Gladsaxe Municipality's work with indicators, the refined data used, thanks to technology, has caused insight on new matters, which has heightened the awareness (Green, 2019). This is for instance the case in relation to housing size and ownership, which is directly related to planning. Green (2019) agrees that the use of indicators has indeed formed the basis for a common point of reference within the administration and sees the same potential with their collaboration with the politicians. She highlights:

> I think the same will happen politically. It is a little bit new still and we do not have a
> long history of measuring and looking at a development for that and so on, but it does
> give rise to some political discussion like will they [the indicators] explain the develop-
> ment that is happening. Does it call for a different political prioritisation or what? (Green,
> 2019)

Although this is a rather new work procedure to them, Green sees an impact already. Political discussions are taking place following results of measurements and the application of index results thus takes part in shaping decision-making within the political arena in Gladsaxe Municipality. This is however a point of concern in relation to the index only consisting of existing available data, hence the framework for social sustainability policy is restricted. Furthermore, it can be argued that it is vital to set policy goals and subsequently monitor the development with indicators and not the other way around as in Gladsaxe Municipality. This is done in Frederiksberg Municipality, where the indicators are not guiding, rather it is the vision in the "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city" of 2018 which is guiding. The focus on social sustainability, that later turned into this strategy, started about 10 years ago when the former municipal council was established in 2009. This shows that Frederiksberg Municipality has worked with the theme for a relatively long time and that the work with social sustainability therefore takes quite some time to mature. The political commitment to working with social sustainability in a planning context is strong in Frederiksberg Municipality:

> It is also a demand from the politicians or there is an expectation from the political part, that we of course involve the city's actors, because they have after all taken part in carrying the motion for the strategy for the socially sustainable city. In that manner, it is both politically that this expectation is evident and then it is also within the directorate that this expectation exists. […] I experience attention from the top, that this is what they want and then it trickles fairly fine down in the organisation, also in the part of the administration where there perhaps is not much sensitivity towards this. (Müller, 2019)

As the experiences from Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality show, indices can shape conception and practice in the political arena. In Frederiksberg Municipality it is clear that it is the political arena that has influenced the planning arena, as the strategy is general for the entire municipality and contains themes that is not directly related to planning. In that manner, the work with indices in relation to social sustainability can be initiated from the political arena.

What we can see until now is that the SCP's or other indices' ability to shape conception and practice in the political arena has depended on the extent to which the politicians already are prioritising social sustainability. In Skive Municipality, where sustainability is associated with sustainable energy and climate, the focus on the social aspect of sustainability in urban planning is therefore neglected. As mentioned in the previous section, this is also the main reason why the SCP has not managed to be implemented in the planning arena. Danvig (2019) explains that even though he could see the relevance of working with social sustainability himself, the politicians must be able to see the relevance as well:

> You have to, the one way or the other, in relation to the politicians and the managerial level, you have to have a 'burning platform'. You need to have a reason why we are doing this. The politicians must be able to see that it saves us from a lot, that it provides us some opportunities, that it actually causes a better and richer city in every possible way.

As there has been no 'burning platform' in the political arena in Skive Municipality the SCP has not been able to find its way into neither the political arena nor the planning arena. The 'burning platforms' in the other municipalities is thus needed in Skive Municipality if the SCP should have a change to shape conception and practice in both arenas. The situation in Skive Municipality underlines Eikard's (2019) point about that the planning division's practice stems from the political arena. However, as explained by Danvig (2019), even though the municipality has not utilised the SCP in practice, it somehow still has taught the planners that they, in the dialogue with the politicians, should be better at arguing for why social sustainability is crucial in urban planning.

7.3 Organisation of the SCP

The SCP's ability to shape conception and practice of social sustainability, hence functioning as a governance tool, is also determined by the organisation of the SCP. This section therefore delves into the organisation of the SCP, and how the IFHP and the municipalities have experienced the process. The section first investigates the network between the IFHP and the five municipalities. Subsequently

the expectations from both the IFHP and the municipalities to the involvement in the SCP are analysed into.

The network between the IFHP and municipalities

From the beginning, the IFHP has aimed at creating a network with municipalities that would be able to test the SCP. Overall, it can be argued that the network between the IFHP and the five municipalities is small and elitist, as it consists of few actors and is closed because only the municipalities who are testing the SCP are included. The network has currently started to expand a bit as Copenhagen Municipality and Amsterdam Municipality are getting involved in the SCP. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the network has consisted of too few municipalities in relation to the aim of testing a potentially global programme, especially because Skive, Frederiksberg and Gladsaxe Municipality have not utilised the SCP. This is also pointed out by Skive and Aalborg Municipality. For example, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) argue:

> I think it is too few municipalities. […] I think that it [the SCP] needs a larger network before it really leaves a mark. What I think is positive is that they come up with a specific programme. How to measure this [social sustainability]. Instead of just talking. […] It is super fine, and it is a good place to start at least, and then I think that it must evolve over time, so more will be ready to grab it […]. In this way, at least I see the work with social sustainability in the early start, where people are fumbling a little – "what is it, how should we do it?".

It is of importance to remember that the IFHP has asked the municipalities to test and co-develop their SCP, which means that the programme was not fully developed at the time the five municipalities got involved. Hence, it is sound that the IFHP did not aim at creating a large network from the beginning. Rather, the expansion of the network is supposed to start from now on. Eikard (2019) refers to another interest organisation that after almost 10 years has managed to globalise their agenda and argues that it takes a long time before an initiative or debate influences agendas and more actors get involved in the network. Additionally, she underlines that the pressure of busyness in Danish municipalities makes it challenging to bring a new debate like social sustainability on the agenda. Secher (2019) emphasises that it is really strong for the SCP that Realdania and the Rambøll are involved, as it has a great signalling effect and thus shows a change of mindset in a broader Danish planning network. The involvement of Realdania and Rambøll, as well as the LSE could presumably be a crucial factor for the expansion of the network. However, in both Gladsaxe and Skive Municipality they argue that the involvement of the LSE and the Rambøll has made the process a bit too academic. For example, Danvig (2019) expresses:

> I think it is better if you take a look at the challenges in a local community than if you say "now we must have the London School of Economics involved". Here, we municipalities have seen ourselves very much on the sideline […]. So, it has become a little bit too academic in a way.

However, Keirstead and Leach (2008) specifically argue that before indicators can be used in practice it is crucial to have theoretical understanding of sustainability. In that manner, the IFHP's approach might be academic, but it is necessary for the future use of the SCP, especially because they do not possess theoretical skills on the matter themselves. In relation to Danvig's (2019) notion of the SCP as being a bit too academic, he explains that because some meetings and the conference held in January were in English, it has resulted in that 'the participants say what they are able to say instead of what they actually want to say'. In the case of Skive Municipality this has affected their engagement in the SCP, hence also reduced the SCP's role as a governance tool. Therefore, it is essential that the frames for the involvement are agreed on in the beginning. This argument is further elaborated in the following subsection.

Secher (2019) raises the concern of what happens when more municipalities are involved in the network and the IFHP is not the facilitator in the daily work anymore (Secher, 2019). She is asking that because it for her has been important that she could be in contact with the IFHP and get guidance during the process. Secher's (2019) point has somehow been a focus point for the IFHP, as they as mentioned currently are developing manuals for how to use the first and the second step in the SCP. Nevertheless, the concern raised by Secher is relevant to keep in mind for the IFHP, as it is crucial that new municipalities have a foundation for their use of the SCP, otherwise the SCP will have a hard time gaining currency as well as functioning as a governance tool.

Matching of expectations
As mentioned, it has been challenging for some of the municipalities to get an understanding of what they were supposed to do in relation to the SCP. This is presumably related to the fact, that there have not been any written agreements or documents explaining the frames and expectations from both the IFHP and the specific municipality. Eikard (2019) explains that there has not been any documents or conversations about expectations, as the IFHP has started the process viewing the municipalities as equal collaborators that work and share knowledge about the SCP. This shows how the IFHP attaches importance to the elements that Sehested (2009) highlights, namely interdependency, trust and flexibility. On the other hand, Eikard (2019) raises the question that maybe some of the municipalities had expected the IFHP to be consultants that would do the work. In Skive Municipality, Danvig (2019) expresses they 'have not gotten a tool that could be utilised', which can be understood as Skive Municipality expecting the IFHP to give them a fully developed tool or helping them more in the process. In Aalborg Municipality, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) explain that they also would have liked if the IFHP had been more facilitating as well as if the network to a greater extent had been characterised by knowledge sharing and interdependency. These examples from Aalborg and Skive Municipality indicate that it would have been appropriate if there had been a match of expectations at an initial phase. Ladefoged and Malling (2019) suggest that there should have been a programme for how to collaborate, and that there could for example be some secretaries in the IFHP scheduling meetings and making sure that the actors in the network were updated and shared knowledge with each other. Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality, being the most active in the process, have shared knowledge with each other which has been fruitful, and therefore more focus should be given to that. On the

other hand, it can be argued that the IFHP has tried to organise working days and conferences, but not many of the five municipalities have been interested.

All of the municipalities, except from Gladsaxe, state that they would have liked to have an agreement or, as Ladefoged and Malling (2019) state, at least have knowledge about each other's agendas. Ladefoged and Malling further argue, that this would have given more openness between the actors in the network. It here becomes relevant to talk about responsibilisation – who is responsible of doing what and how as well as what do the actors expect from each other. For example, Müller (2019) from Frederiksberg Municipality explains that she thinks the IFHP expected to have five municipalities ready to test their programme. However, this was not what Frederiksberg Municipality wanted, because they have their own approach to work with social sustainability. In Aalborg Municipality they state that because the SCP is a package consisting of three steps it is difficult to simply integrate all steps in current processes because of timing, and therefore it would have been good to know how much the IFHP expected them to test. On the other hand, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) express that the flexibility also has been good, because they then have been able to modify the SCP to their current processes. The flexibility in the SCP has been a crucial factor for Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality utilising the SCP in practice. Related to this is how Eikard (2019) expresses that she had hoped for the municipalities to test the second step in the SCP, namely the Ideation Labs, which again shows that it should have been clearer what the actors in the network expected from each other. In relation to the second step, it seems that Middelfart Municipality and maybe Aalborg Municipality could be interested in testing the second step later on, however Secher (2019) argues that the written material from the IFHP has not given her enough knowledge about the second step. This is presumably also due to the fact that the IFHP still is working on specifying the second step. Nevertheless, this indicates that even though a not fully developed programme like the SCP is supposed to be tested, the programme still has to be developed to a certain point where the municipalities actually can test it. This is a balance between flexibility on the one side and clarity about what the programme can do on the other side. Eikard (2019) talks about pros and cons of having a more flexible approach like the IFHP has had in this process and concludes that after all, the IFHP also learns something about what it takes for a municipality to start testing a programme like the SCP. Nevertheless, it is clear that if the process had been clearer from the beginning, a greater part of the SCP could have been tested and the municipalities could have been more engaged.

7.4 Part-conclusion

In Section 3.3 we construct our theoretical framework arguing that theoretically, indices as a governance tool operate in both a planning arena and a political arena. In practice we likewise see this happening, as the SCP as a governance tool is seeking to shape conception and practice of social sustainability in the five municipalities' planning arena as well as political arena. How the SCP is seeking to influence the two arenas is quite alike. In the planning arena the SCP seeks to influence firstly by having a format that can be integrated in the planning arena's existing practice. This being both the index aiming at reducing the planners' complexity of working with social sustainability, as well as the Ideation Labs supporting existing involvement of actors. Secondly, by having interdisciplinary collaboration as a focus in its second step, the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP are

spread out in networks. In the political arena, the SCP seeks to influence by firstly consisting of an index that reduces the complexity of social sustainability and provides politicians with quantitative results. These results give a quick overview, and fit to the existing practice in political decision-making. Secondly, by having the second step focusing on involvement of the public, the SCP is made attractive in the political arena, as this is a crucial and legal part of urban planning. Moreover, the interrelationship between the two arenas is of importance for the SCP's ability to function as a governance tool. The points here are that the SCP theoretically has potential to fulfil, however practice in the five municipalities show that the extent to which the SCP functions as a governance tool varies a lot. Ultimately, the way in which the SCP functions as a governance tool is by its capability to disseminate its methodology rather than its content. The following Table 7.2 shows how the SCP has functioned as a governance tool in each municipality. One thing standing clear is that a municipality must be ready to integrate the SCP in their existing conception and practice, it is thus both a matter of timing and institutional settings. Additionally, the organisation of the SCP has affected how engaged some of the municipalities have ended up being. It is thus crucial to design a process with matching expectations.

	The role of the SCP as a governance tool
Frederiksberg Municipality	The SCP has not shaped conception or practice in either the planning arena nor the political arena. The explanation to this is that the municipality's own approach is almost identical to the SCP. In that manner, Frederiksberg has their own type of governance tool. The initiative of using indices comes from the political arena.
Gladsaxe Municipality	The SCP has not shaped conception or practice in either the planning arena nor the political arena. The explanation to this is that the municipality's own approach is identical to the SCP. In that manner, Gladsaxe has their own type of governance tool.
Middelfart Municipality	The SCP has shaped conception and practice in the planning arena and to some extent in the political arena, as the survey has increased the focus on social sustainability. The initiative of utilising the SCP comes from the planning arena.
Skive Municipality	The SCP has not shaped conception or practice in either the planning arena nor the political arena. The main explanation to this is the municipality's existing conception and practice of sustainability that is related to sustainable energy and climate. Therefore, the SCP does not fit in. Further, the organisation of the SCP has also reduced the municipality's engagement.
Aalborg Municipality	The SCP has shaped conception and practice in the planning arena as well as in the political arena, as the survey has increased the focus on social sustainability and made it more tangible for actors in both arenas. The initiative of using the SCP comes from the planning arena. The SCP is specifically implemented in Aalborg Municipality, because the survey is named in writing in the new strategy for planning, which is supported by the political arena.

Table 7.2: The SCP's role as a governance tool in the five municipalities.

8 Discussion

The aim of this chapter is to answer the third sub-question: What are the implications of indexifying social sustainability for urban planning? The chapter thus broadens the perspective of the former chapters from the empirical cases of the SCP's impact in the municipalities to a more generalised discussion upon the implications of working index-based with social sustainability in urban planning. As presented in Chapter 3, the application of indices in a planning for sustainability context is not a novelty, however the number of indices and their extent have increased recently, possibly following the dissemination of UN's SDGs. A reflexive discussion about the implications hereof is thus highly topical, and such a discussion might very well take point of departure in the SCP.

8.1 Quantifying qualitative features

The first point of concern in applying an index approach to the work with social sustainability is the fact that indices per se are quantitative and rest on a notion of measurability and maximisation of seemingly beneficial features, which contradicts a socially constructed conception of the world. This is especially the case, when the matter in question is 'the social' which is comprised by intangible features like relationships, identity and subjective perceptions on quality of life (Stender and Walter, 2019). In a rational planning theory, these elements are neglected, but in today's conception of the urban planning profession, the soft values have gained legitimacy. According to Danvig (2019) 'it is somehow the way in which our spatial planning truly shows its proficiency if we create societies where people feel good'. The notion of a society where people feel good can be said to be an ideal for urban planning to strive for, just as sustainability is today's planning ideal. In Section 2.1 we argue that the ideal of planning is fleeting, because 'ideals come from ethics and values, and they are, indeed, non-quantifiable' (Bagheri and Hjort, 2007: 84). With the understanding of sustainability and social sustainability as socially constructed concepts, we therefore contest the call for quantifying the qualitative features of the two concepts. However, this does not imply that the 'softer' values should be ignored (Holman, 2009).

All five municipalities embed their work within the sustainability agenda, and four of the municipalities are engaged in working with social sustainability. Ladefoged and Malling (2019) emphasise the expedience and support of quantitative facts in their work, because it has a stronger influence in the current political climate compared to feelings and opinions. This point resonates with the IFHP's argument on the tendency to neglect social aspects in policy making, because these are typically based on beliefs and opinions. However, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) also point to the concern of quantifying social sustainability:

> There are many of the things that social sustainability embraces which are difficult to measure. […] This is the thing with qualitative matters, there is not just one truth, there are simply so many that they are difficult to put forward in an index. And then it is anyway important when working with an index that you say yes, it is an index based on these

things, but it is not the complete knowledge we are presenting here, because there is also some knowledge within this subject that is not measurable.

In Section 2.2 we highlight the theoretical difficulty of measuring social sustainability, and in the above quote Ladefoged and Malling acknowledge the practical difficulty as well. In essence, it comes down to the fact that social sustainability covers features that per se are non-quantifiable, such as quality of life and well-functioning of communities. As Keirstead and Leach (2008) argue this means that a social sustainability index is socially constructed and reflects no more than the relational processes that have taken place in the creation of the index. An index can therefore never reflect the absolute truth about the social sustainability of a city, because there is not only one truth when it comes to social matters. In the case of the SCP this becomes clear, when Nielsen (2019) argues that the IFHP looks into social sustainability in a housing and planning context. Because of the restricted picture, an index can reveal, it is to Müller (2019) therefore necessary that one knows 'what it is you accentuate and what it then is you do not put forward', and this must of course be conveyed clearly in any context an index potentially could be part of. Overall, an index frames problems in a certain way, just like other planning analyses do, yet the main concern with indices is their ability to communicate results as unambiguous.

The risk of implementing inexpedient initiatives became evident on the conference held in January by the IFHP. Anticipated results of the planned surveys in three neighbourhoods in Aalborg were presented to form point of departure for discussions about the way in which results are best communicated. One of the neighbourhoods clearly appeared as more run down and unsafe, which would point to a need to transform the area. However, from other analyses the municipality knows that the neighbourhood in question in fact is very popular, and that its residents do not demand changes of the kind the Social Cities Index points to (Ladefoged and Malling, 2019). In a power perspective, this means that the results from an index can be used in a manipulative manner to induce a certain kind of decision-making, e.g. by referring to a neighbourhood as 'unsustainable'. Furthermore, it indicates that the neighbourhood embeds qualities that are not part of the index, either because they are not included or because they are of a non-quantitative nature. Therefore, an index can never stand alone, but must be considered as one side of the story only. Additionally, this means that initiatives taken on the basis of an index with a selection of indicators pertaining to social sustainability in a housing and planning context cannot by themselves induce a more socially sustainable city or neighbourhood.

This brings us to a point about assessing what an index of this kind ultimately can be used to in relation to urban planning. We have just argued, that it cannot reflect social sustainability of a city per se, and that it therefore only can supplement other analyses, but the included indicators might have an analytical validity anyway. Secher (2019) states the potential of using the Social Cities Index as checklist when discussing the social sustainability of one's city, although it does not ensure you the perfect city if you follow it. Furthermore, Secher (2019) highlights the issue of becoming paralysed as a planner, if you are working on the basis of something too complex, and it therefore is necessary to 'sometimes just go out and do something'. This point resonates with an answer we received from senior researcher at the Danish Building Research Institute, Marie Stender (2019), on our inquiry on the assets and drawbacks of working index-based:

> [One should] nonetheless attempt to create tools that can make social sustainability visible and rank it in diverse contexts, because it from a pragmatic point of view probably is needed to put it on the agenda of the actors from construction and urban development fields. But you must not get blocked on the quantitative dimension, this is inevitably a field that also requires qualitative methods, even though that makes it harder to rank it and hand out medals.

We approve this pragmatic point of view as it allows for action. In terms of working on an index basis, we therefore argue that the theoretical ambiguity of social sustainability should be kept in mind in the practical work, but not function as a barrier for action. Thereby, we concur with a critical pragmatic approach to the issue of social sustainability, in which an index can be informative but not absolute.

8.2 Simplifying the world

In Chapter 2 we establish the social sustainability concept as context dependent. This is true in both a geographical and timewise manner, because the conception of social sustainability is contingent upon our conception of the world and our ethical and ideological stance upon the development of our society. The presentation of a range of indicators as an absolute in terms of social sustainability is thus unjustifiable. Ultimately, 'the point is [...] that it is people this is about and there is therefore not a one size fits all' (Secher, 2019). This points to the somewhat inherent premise of the SCP as a global initiative as a utopia. Green (2019) sees a risk due to this premise in making an index too general, because it has to embrace a lot of different realities, which results in an index that is not on point in any local context. We argue that in cases like this, the index might lose its action-guiding power or at worst initiate undesirable implementations, as pointed out in the section above with the hypothetical example from Aalborg Municipality. The global aim of the SCP is also linked to a pursuit of creating a common language and conception of social sustainability. As seen in Section 3.2, Rydin (2007) argue against the idea of indices' ability to alter local actors' subjectivities, because social sustainability is context dependent. Meanwhile, Keirstead and Leach (2008) argue that a theoretical foundation is necessary in the work with indices to avoid strong policy voices to gain primacy in the selection of indicators. This reflects a paradox in the work with social sustainability indices.

In Chapter 5 it is stated that Nielsen (2019), considers the SCP to be a 'fast track to making socially sustainable cities' based on the hypothesis that challenges in every place have the same nature and that differences only pertains to different magnitudes. Following the argument on context dependency we highly contend this notion of a 'fast track' to social sustainability. The urban planning profession was formed in the wake of major social crises in the industrial city. For many years there was a deep belief in a rational, technoscientific approach which resulted in new kinds of urban and social challenges. Historically, urban planning does not have a good experience with an instrumentalised conception of the city and its citizens. The seemingly easy way to solve issues is therefore rarely the best suited, although scholars have aimed at simplifying planning in many years, e.g. Le Corbusier and his Radiant City (Hall, 2014). An aside in this relation is the critique Jane Jacobs (1961) put forward on scientific rationality's influence on planning, in which she condemns among others Ebenezer

Howard's Garden City, which paradoxically is the foundation of the IFHP. Furthermore, a fast and easy way to social sustainability implies a neglect of the differences and diversity inherent in our social lives. Stender (2019) sees here a risk of a depoliticisation because 'real conflicts of interest and dilemmas fade in the attempt of presenting something as the universally good-social sustainable'. This is in line with arguments by Gunder and Hillier (2009) on the concept of sustainability being only a 'good thing' and thereby ideological in its nature.

This brings about a discussion about the ethical foundation of the urban planning profession which, despite the engineering feature that planning likewise encompasses, indeed differs from a purely natural scientific codex. In connection with the SCP it is highly interesting that Nielsen (2019) has a background as a biologist, because this naturally has influenced the SCP. It can be argued that the SCP, which contains an index made for social sustainability, therefore has its roots in approaches typically pertaining to environmental sustainability. Davidson (2009) raises a concern for this transmission of ecological principles to social matters, because they connote stability rather than justice or equity. He further argues that a work with social sustainability should be based on a political reflection upon the nature of 'the social' in a specific place. In relation to our case, we find that Frederiksberg Municipality's work with social sustainability aligns the most with Davidson's (2009) arguments, as the indicators do not function as guiding, rather their practice stem from the politically decided focus points. We concur with the premise of a value-based context dependent discussion as guiding for planning action, rather than a set of numbers, which should form the basis for a policy framework consisting of a diagnosis of the current situation, specified objectives and directions for change (Mega and Pedersen, 1998). An index can contribute in diagnosing the state, but not set the objectives for where the social is to be taken. Planning is not simple, because it deals with the frames for our complex, intricate and diverse lives, and planning will therefore 'always be a question of a specific place and some specific people […]. That is not something you can simply 'instrumentise' your way out of' (Green, 2019).

8.3 Index as an ideal for planning?

One of the features of indices that is highlighted as an asset is the possibility of comparison, also called benchmarking. As elaborated in Section 3.2, this makes indices a valuable tool for decision-makers, which plays a part in explaining the increased popularity of indices. Comparisons can be in the shape of external benchmarking, where two or more cities are compared to each other on a number of indicators. Such analyses are especially popular to mayors and other city leaders who wish to attract both people and businesses by accentuating their city's assets over other cities'. On a smaller scale, such numbers can likewise be used by real estate agents in their marketing strategies. This can be fruitful in terms of launching development, but it can also add fuel to the competitive flames among cities. However, if cities are able to collaborate on their shared challenges following results from an index, the network facilitating asset of indices is evident. An index can further be used in internal benchmarking where e.g. a city's development over a period of time is analysed. This can be helpful for the planners and urban leaders, because they can monitor and evaluate their implementations and make adjustments regularly. However, due to the lack of causal relations in social sciences in general,

one can rarely be certain of the reason for changes in an index. Once again, a planning process cannot be solely based on a list of indicators.

Typically, in benchmarking analyses a higher number connotes a more desirable status, in connection with the SCP a more desirable neighbourhood or city. The aim therefore becomes to maximise the indicators, as this will attract more people and businesses. Going beyond the argument on non-quantitative qualities, a city's pursuit of maximising a certain kind of indicators has two implications. Firstly, the citizens to whom the index is consistent in terms of reflecting their worldview are given preferential treatment, while the opposite is the case for citizens aligning their quality of life with other matters. A planning based solely on enhancing a specific index therefore might result in inequality and segregation. Secondly, maximising a certain range of indicators at any given place will dilute neighbourhoods' and cities' identity, diversity and distinctive qualities. This is unfortunate both from a notion of diversity as stimulating growth and from the perspective of a heterogenous city as a democratic and inclusive city.

The abovementioned articulation of the SCP as a 'fast track to social sustainability' connotes with the idea of an index ideal. As argued in Chapter 3, this follows a perspective on policy-making as technoscientific and linear, which by both Holman (2009) as well as Keirstead and Leach (2008) are rejected. Policy-making is filled with different forms of power and since decisions often follows a scientific rationale in which an index is suitable, we argue for a need to clarify the power structures inherent in policy and a need to reconsider the foundation on which policy is based. Secher (2019) contest the rational mentality's primacy in policy in the following:

> As soon as it is about people and it is about experiences and sense of security and all the things that are feelings, and which cannot always be put into a table, well then I do not think that you should try. I do not think you can continue aiming at quantifying everything, but I do think we can quantify part of social sustainability, and that is fine. It does not have to be everything. It can support each other.

Here Secher (2019) breaks with the index ideal in the sense that not everything in social sustainability can be quantified, and furthermore because she suggests that we try 'using words and peoples' experiences instead of just using numbers' in policy-making. What she here suggests is an adjustment to the institutionalised policy processes in which a more nuanced picture of reality can be painted to inform decision-makers. Although this is not as far-reaching as Davidson's (2009) call for institutional changes, where social ethics must be placed at the forefront of the debate, it is after all challenging the 'business as usual' train of thought. In the case of Middelfart Municipality, this is attainable as Secher is close to the politicians and the political attention on the specific project is high. In Aalborg Municipality, Ladefoged and Malling (2019) likewise emphasise the assets of qualitative assessments:

> After all, we do also have a professional competency and an experience which entails that we must dare to bring forward some suggestions on what we are dealing with. Not that it

is easy, but I think one must dare to do it. It is interesting to deal with the things that cannot be measured just like that, but that we also dare to go closer to the matter in a way.

Planning deals with complex and difficult matters which cannot be instrumentalised. Planners' expertise should therefore not be limited to collecting, processing and conveying objective numbers. Disseminating this premise does, however, require an acceptance of qualitative assessments in the political arena. Planning is embedded in institutional structures of which the political landscape plays a big part, as it charts the course for the planning practice. Meanwhile, as also argued in Section 3.3, planning and policy form a relationship of interaction, which means planning practice likewise can shape policy, e.g. through discourses and storytelling. Green (2019) talks about the political nature of planning in light of measurable indicators in the following:

> What an indicator can do is to give rise to wonderment and decision-making in terms of should we act on this. And then there is also the thing, when we are talking about urban development, that it is chock-full of dilemmas, and we can only use the space once. You might be able to measure, that on a specific place there is a great potential for climate proofing, so we should use it for percolation, but what if there are also other challenges simultaneously, which actually call for building a new kind of housing or we need to locate a child care centre or whatever. You can never get a quantifiable approach to decide that. Planning is politics first and foremost, because it is about prioritisation.

Planning is a political activity, because it ultimately is about prioritising the employment of physical space. Sound prioritisation requires critical reflections on the issues at hand. In the quote above, Green (2019) highlights that indicators are valuable in this connection, as she stresses that 'it is not the indicator per se that is the answer, it is just a way to foster reflection and wonderment'. Müller (2019) approves this argument and emphasises that the deliberation on an index' potentials and barriers has to be made explicit, so they do not disappear in a political process. Secher (2019) articulates it as 'awareness', while Malling and Ladefoged (2019) expresses it as 'consciousness and respect'. In Skive the social sustainability agenda is as argued not present, however Danvig (2019) expresses the relevance of planners having 'an acute angle on what kind of world we are building for'. Hence, all of the interviewees express a need for some kind of critical reflection, and two of them explicitly state that it is the reflections behind the indicators that are the essence in the data-driven approach. This urges us to bring about points about the reflective practitioner, as put forward by Donald Schön (1983). Due to the conflicting matters inherent in planning, reflective planning practice is crucial. Engaging in a question of social sustainability pertains to moral issues and ethical dilemmas, because of its socially constructed nature. Consequently, when the IFHP and others delve into the concept, they really dive into the 'swampy lowlands' (Schön, 1983) of planning practice in which the index ideal can drown.

8.4 Part-conclusion

The coming process of institutionalising the concept of social sustainability in urban planning might very well take place through the deployment of indices such as the Social Cities Index. In this case,

we presage a loss of some of the significant parts of the deeper meaning of the concept. Indeed, the rational technoscientific perspective proved its capability in simplifying the planning profession, as seen with similar approaches in early planning history. Meanwhile, this perspective also received tremendous critique of outdistancing of the people that the profession really was brought into the world to serve. We claim that an index-based approach inserts itself in a similar technical rationality and thereby causes a concern for yet a loss of public sensitivity in urban planning both as an academic discipline and as a practicing profession. A potential strengthening of the technical rationality in urban planning through indexifying social sustainability is therefore paradoxical.

The political nature inherent in the socially constructed concept of social sustainability is neutralised through a discourse on the SCP as a 'fast track' to socially sustainable cities, because the approach embedded in the SCP is based on quantitative, measurable indicators, that only constitute a selection of the very much subjective and relative concept of social sustainability. We argue this can be framed as a depoliticisation of the social matters of life in cities, which we consider an impairment of urban planning as a modern, inclusive and relevant profession. Social sustainability cannot merely be a word that is added to existing policy and practice. In connection to the SCP or other similar social sustainability indices, this means that such indices may not be blindly adopted to the planning practice, nor may they be rigid in their content or be the underlying guidance for planning policy and practice.

If social sustainability is to be taken seriously, it implies that putting the concept on the agenda induces a value-based political discussion in which e.g. social equity and other qualitative matters are considered for what they are and not squeezed into some sort of spreadsheet. This must be applied to the urban planning profession in the shape of reflective planning. Meanwhile, we acknowledge the informative feature of indices and do not call for a complete rejection of the data-driven approach. As seen in our case, the SCP can enhance the focus on social sustainability due to its 'edible' shape, however it cannot on its own enhance the social sustainability of a city. As long as this premise is explicit and accepted, indices may still have a relevance to urban planning.

9 Conclusion

This chapter synthesises the findings of the research and presents a conclusion to the research question. The point of departure for the research is the SCP, which is a tool from the IFHP aiming at simplifying the complexity of social sustainability in a housing and planning context with an index-based approach. A problem thus arises with the conception and methodology inherent in the SCP. The SCP is firstly intended as a tool for Danish municipalities, who are to test and enhance the qualifications of the SCP before it is to be globalised. Another problem thereby lies in the meeting between the SCP and the five Danish municipalities that were appointed test municipalities for the tool. Ultimately, this research has delved into the issue of what happens in the meeting between different ways of doing planning within the complexity of working with social sustainability in urban planning. This is articulated in the following research question and appertaining sub-questions, which have guided the research:

> *How is the IFHP's Social Cities Programme (SCP) functioning as a governance tool to shape Danish municipal conception and practice of social sustainability?*

1. Why is the IFHP developing the SCP as a tool for municipalities to work with social sustainability in urban planning?
2. How has the SCP shaped conception and practice of social sustainability in the political arena and the planning arena in the five Danish municipalities?
3. What are the implications of indexifying social sustainability for urban planning?

In order to answer the research question, we have carried out a case study of the SCP in which the meeting between the SCP and the five municipalities has been the focus. Following our social constructivist stance, semi-structured interviews have been conducted to elucidate the life world of the main actors of the case. Due to the relationship between the IFHP and the municipalities, the first being sender and the latter being recipients in relation to the SCP, we consider the SCP as embedding a certain conception and methodology of social sustainability, which the IFHP through the SCP seeks to transmit to the Danish municipalities. Drawing on a literature review of the concepts of sustainability, social sustainability, network governance and indicators, we have constructed a theoretical framework for a governance tool, which (socially) sustainable indices, like the Social Cities Index, can function as if they have the capability to influence the user of an index. Specifically, this is a matter of question for a governance tool to shape the conception and practice of social sustainability, in this case in the Danish municipalities. This influence takes place in two arenas; the planning arena and the political arena of which an interrelationship exists, because planning is political in its nature. Therefore, it is of importance to study the SCP's influence in both arenas.

The SCP is launched by the IFHP, who is an NGO currently located in Copenhagen, but with international members and activities. Through our analysis on their rationalities behind the SCP, their

purposes with it and their role in the development of it, we find that there under the visible aim of enhancing the social aspect of sustainability in relation to cities' development are some underlying agendas. Through their structure and content of the SCP, the IFHP intends to disseminate a quantification tool with a particular conception and methodology of social sustainability to Danish planning practice and policy-making. This is a conception and methodology which we argue fits into the prevailing neoliberal imperative. Later on, the tool is to be globalised, which has led the IFHP to compromise the analytical validity and Danish relevance. Furthermore, the SCP is just as much an emergency solution to an internal crisis within the IFHP as it is an answer to their members' call for an approach to deal with social sustainability. There is thus a bias in the purpose of the SCP.

The SCP is as a governance tool shaping conception and practice in Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality in the planning arena, because these municipalities have conducted citizen surveys based on the Social Cities Index. Aalborg Municipality moreover mentions the citizen survey in their coming strategy for planning, and the SCP has therefore also influenced the political arena there. Although the surveys are modified to fit the specific context in each of the municipalities, they both follow the index methodology as found in the SCP. Therefore, their practice pertains to a conception that aligns with the conception in the SCP of social sustainability as a concept that can be quantified. However, it is important to emphasise that both Aalborg and Middelfart Municipality considers the citizen surveys as only one of the analyses they perform in relation to their respective projects.

In Gladsaxe and Frederiksberg Municipality, the SCP has not shaped conception nor practice. Both municipalities are already working data-driven with social sustainability and were therefore not interested in allocating resources to implement the SCP. However, their approaches are quite identical to the methodology in the SCP, and the SCP's lack of influence can here be assigned to bad timing. In Skive Municipality, the existing conception and practice of sustainability in both the planning arena and the political arena is not engaged with social sustainability, and this is the main reason why the SCP is not shaping conception and practice here. Overall then, we argue that the IFHP's SCP functions as a governance tool in two of the five municipalities by disseminating its methodology in order to shape conception and practice of social sustainability. However, we find that the SCP has the potential to function as governance tool in other municipalities as well, this depends on factors such as timing, political landscape, interdisciplinary collaboration and existing planning practice.

We have found four planning authorities moving towards an index-based approach in their work with social sustainability, two of them thanks to the IFHP's SCP. The SCP has the potential to function as a governance tool in the Danish municipalities, as it inhabits the features of a governance tool. Furthermore, the discovery of an existing utilisation of the index approach in two of the five municipalities underlines the role of which sustainable indicators can play. We find that quantitative indices on qualitative matters, in this case social sustainability, can simplify and undermine the essence of the concept. Consequently, there is a risk of repeating some of the mistakes that early planning did in the name of technical rationality. To avoid an outdistancing of the public and a depoliticisation of the unfolding of social life in cities, indices such as the one in the SCP must not function as guiding for planning policy and practice. Maximising a range of indicators cannot in itself increase the social sustainability of a city, however they can, if utilised properly, support planners and policy-makers in

their daily work of enhancing the quality of social life in cities. Our main argument is therefore, that indices despite their drawbacks and because of their assets must be informative rather than guiding for urban planning.

Derived from the analyses, discussion and main argument, we argue that our research contributes to both academia and practice in various ways. The critical reflections on potentials and barriers of a data-driven approach to social sustainability contributes to the complexity of the urban planning field and encourages academia to continue exploring the nuances of the dynamics and peculiarities especially in the unfolding of social life in urban settings. It likewise highlights the importance of a reflective planning practice that dares to engage in the social matters of cities, because it fosters a continuation of the developing planning profession. Moreover, this Master's thesis contributes to a perspective that highlights the political dimension of indices as well as urban social sustainability. This is a point that can urge practice to acknowledge the fact that quantitative indices with seemingly objective numbers are an expression of power, not only in the way they are used to justify action or lack thereof but also in their content and methodology. In light of this, it is for academia of interest to expand the awareness to such issues as well as to evaluate the way in which these expressions of power are both acknowledged and handled in practice.

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Appendix A

Appendix A contains the interview guides used in the conducted interviews. First, the standard questions for the municipalities are listed, then the individual questions for the municipalities and lastly, the interview guides used for the interviews with the IFHP.

Interview guide for municipalities – standard questions
Introduktion
- Kan du fortælle lidt om dig selv – hvad er du uddannet som, hvad har du arbejdet som tidligere og hvad er din nuværende stilling?
- Hvad er din rolle ift. arbejdet med social bæredygtighed i kommunen?

Bæredygtighed
- Hvordan defineres bæredygtighed i jeres kommune?
- Hvordan arbejder I med bæredygtighed i praksis?

Social bæredygtighed
- Hvordan defineres social bæredygtighed i jeres kommune?
- Hvordan arbejder I med social bæredygtighed i kommunen?
  o Hvilke udfordringer giver det anledning til?
- I arbejdet med social bæredygtighed, samarbejder I så med andre aktører?
  o Hvilke?
- Hvordan forholder det politiske niveau sig til social bæredygtighed?

Social Cities værktøjet - IFHP
- Hvordan er IFHPs Social Cities Programme relevant for jeres kommune?
  o Hvorfor indgår I i udviklingen af Social Cities?
- På hvilken måde har I bidraget til IFHPs Social Cities Programme?
- Hvem er værktøjet relevant for i jeres kommune? (planlæggere, ledere, politikere)
- Hvilke styrker og svagheder er der ved værktøjet?
- På hvilken måde kan værktøjet bidrage ift. jeres eksisterende praksis? På hvilken måde kan det ikke?
  o Kan værktøjet give anledning til ny, relevant praksis?
- Fører Social Cities Indexet til mere social bæredygtighed?
- Hvilke muligheder og/eller udfordringer ser I ved at kvantificere og simplificere noget subjektivt og kvalitativt som social bæredygtighed? (index som metode)
- Hvilken tilgang skal man have, for at lægge vægt på social bæredygtighed? Hvordan ser du som fagperson, at man skal tilgå opgaven med at øge den sociale bæredygtighed?

Samarbejde ml. Kommune og IFHP
- Hvordan vil du beskrive samarbejdet med IFHP?
  o Hvor ofte har I kontakt?
  o Er samarbejdet som I havde forventet? Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- Hvilke udfordringer oplever I ift. samarbejdet?

Interview guide for municipalities – individual questions

Frederiksberg Municipality

Spørgsmål til "Strategi og indikatorer for socialt bæredygtig by"

- I indledningen til strategien står der, at I sætter fokus på emner fremfor opgaver - kan du uddybe dette? (s. 2)
- I beskrivelsen af del 2 står der, at "Indikatorerne går på tværs af de fire sigtepunkter, traditionelle fagområder og livssituationer, og er et første bud på, hvordan der kan gives et anderledes sammenhængende billede på bæredygtighed på baggrund af forskellige indikatorer." På hvilken måde er det her anderledes? Og hvad er det anderledes end? (s. 2)
    o "... turde at udfordre vanen." Hvad er vanen? (s. 7)
- Vi har læst os frem til, at I arbejder med fire sigtepunkter i strategien fx indretning af byen. Kan du forklare lidt om, hvorfor I arbejder med netop disse fire sigtepunkter? (s. 3)
- I skriver, at "Det interessante er her at se indikatorerne i en anderledes sammenhæng, fremfor den dynamiske udvikling." Hvad betyder det? (s. 8)
- I skriver, at indikatorer kan give et andet perspektiv end andre former for opfølgninger og dermed vise sammenhænge på en anden måde (s. 8) - hvilke andre former for opfølgninger har I før gjort brug af? På hvilken måde kan dette give et andet perspektiv?
- Hvordan er temaerne på side 9 udvalgt?
    o Hvordan er indikatorerne udvalgt?
    o Hvordan defineres en indikator?
- Hvordan har brugen af indikatorerne i denne strategi været med til at ændre jeres praksisser – samt den virkelig verden?
- Har denne strategi været medvirkende til, at i på tværs i kommunens forvaltninger samt politisk taler samme sprog, når i snakker om social bæredygtighed? Altså har strategien og indikatorerne kunne konkretisere jeres arbejde?

Gladsaxe Municipality

Spørgsmål til "Gladsaxestrategien"

- Vi kan læse af jeres strategi, at bæredygtighed forudsættes af vækst. Kan du uddybe det?
- I tillæg nævner I, at for at opnå denne vækst er der behov for nye samarbejdsmåder? Kan du uddybe det?
- Vi kan se, at I anvender indikatorer til at følge op på jeres seks Gladsaxemål. Vi er interesserede i det mål, der omhandler en grøn og levende by.
    o Hvordan er indikatorerne udvalgt?
    o Hvordan bruges indikatorerne? Hvordan har brugen af dem været med til at ændre jeres praksis?
- Har denne strategi været medvirkende til, at i på tværs i kommunens forvaltninger samt politisk taler samme sprog, når i snakker om social bæredygtighed? Altså har strategien og indikatorerne kunne konkretisere jeres arbejde?

Middelfart Municipality

Spørgsmål til "Bæredygtig byudvikling i alle lokalsamfund 2025"
- Vil du kort introducere indsatsen?
- Hvorfor er det netop dette projekt, der indgår som en del af IFHPs SCP?
- I det projekt, du arbejder på "Bæredygtig byudvikling i alle lokalsamfund 2025", hvordan defineres bæredygtighed da? (Fra filmen får vi det indtryk, at det bæredygtige ligger i, at processer og indsatser laves i samskabelse med borgerne)
  o Rammer vs. arbejdsmetode
- Telefoninterviews med tilfældigt udvalgte borgere – hvad handler de om? Link til IFHP?
- Vi kan ud fra indsatsbeskrivelsen læse, at der er kort afstand mellem beslutningstagere og borgere. Hvilken betydning har dette for processerne?
- Politikernes engagement i indsatsen indikerer for os, at projektet er stærkt forankret hos dem. Hvorfor er der så stor politisk opbakning til det her?

Skive Municipality

Spørgsmål til Skive Kommunes planer og strategier
- Hvilken definition rummer temaet bæredygtighed i jeres planstrategi?
- I Planstrategien har i et tema, der hedder Bosætning - Skive et godt sted at bo. Under dette tema bruger I forskellige buzzwords såsom fællesskab, adgang til natur og attraktive levevilkår, som i princippet alle kunne placeres under begrebet social bæredygtighed. Kan du kommentere på dette? Er det bevidst, at I bruger ord som disse i stedet for social bæredygtighed?
- Bæredygtighed og de 17 verdensmål er centrale elementer i jeres planstrategi. Kan du sætte et par ord på dette? Er der sket en udvikling her og hvorfor?

Aalborg Municipality

Spørgsmål til Bæredygtighedsstrategien og Bæredygtighedsblomsten
- Vi har læst i Bæredygtighedsstrategien 2016-2020 og kan se, at "Borgerne og det gode liv" er et nyt bæredygtighedstema i denne sammenhæng. Kan I sætte et par ord på, hvad dette viser og hvorfor dette tema også er kommet i fokus?
- Vi har jo kendskab til, at I er ved at lave en ny Bæredygtighedsblomst. Denne er dog ikke offentliggjort på kommunens hjemmeside endnu. Så kan I sætte lidt ord på, hvorfor I har haft behov for at udvikle den gamle? Hvordan adskiller de to versioner sig fra hinanden? Er der kommet mere fokus på nogle ting?
- Hvorfor definerer I bæredygtighed netop gennem blomstens fem aspekter/blade?
- Hvor betydelig er brugen af Bæredygtighedsblomsten i jeres arbejde? Hvilke kvaliteter og udfordringer ligger der i brugen af den?
- Har Bæredygtighedsblomsten skabt en fælles forståelse og fælles sprog for bæredygtighed? Hvad er betydningen af dette?
  o Nemmere at have dialog både internt og eksternt?

Interview guide for Morten Nielsen

Introduktion
- Hvilken type organisation er IFHP?
  - o Hvad er IFHPs rolle som organisation?
  - o Hvorfor ønsker I at sætte dagsordenen inden for social bæredygtighed? Og hvorfor netop på denne måde? Hvorfor skal det være et værktøj som tilgang?
- Hvornår startede arbejdet med Social Cities?
- Hvad kickstartede projektet?
- Kan du give nogle nedslag i processen indtil nu, som illustrerer nogle konkrete udfordringer eller muligheder og hvordan I har håndteret disse?
- Hvem har været involveret i udviklingen af Social Cities?
  - o Hvad har din rolle været?
  - o Hvor mange er med fra IFHP?
  - o Er der krav eller forventninger til programmet fra Realdania og Rambøll? (nu når de giver økonomisk støtte)
  - o Hvordan er jeres rolle ift. de andre involverede aktører (kommuner, Realdania, LSE), og adskiller det sig ift. andre processer?
    - ▪ Hvis ja: hvordan?
- Hvad er formålet med Social Cities?
  - o Hvilket type værktøj er Social Cities?
  - o Hvad håber I, at programmet kan bidrage med?
  - o Hvem er målgruppen? Hvem er værktøjet til?
- Hvorfor består programmet af de tre steps?
  - o Hvordan relaterer de sig til hinanden?
  - o Hvem skal 'gennemføre' de tre steps? Er det IFHPs proces eller er det de enkelte kommuners?
- Hvor langt er I med udviklingen af Social Cities?
- I har tidligere omtalt, at Social Cities programmet skulle blive et globalt værktøj, er dette stadig jeres mål?
  - o Hvis ja: hvorfor ønsker I dette?

Baggrund – ontologi
- Hvad betyder bæredygtighed helt grundlæggende for IFHP? Hvilke principper hviler de på?
- Hvordan definerer IFHP social bæredygtighed?
- Hvorfor er der behov for at udvikle et program/værktøj med fokus på social bæredygtighed?
  - o For hvem er det et behov?
  - o Hvad er IFHPs rolle heri?
- Har I i processen overvejet andre måder at arbejde med social bæredygtighed på? Altså ikke gennem et index, men på anden vis?
- Har I i udviklingen af Social Cities haft en diskussion om, hvad det betyder at tage noget så komplekst som bæredygtighed og forsimple det vha. et index?
  - o Hvilke fordele og ulemper/udfordringer ser I ved dette?

- På hvilken måde bliver det økonomiske og miljømæssige integreret i de konkrete løsninger, som skal udspringe af indexet?

Baggrund – metode
- Hvordan er forskning udvalgt til at forme indexet, som det ser ud?
  - o Hvor meget? Hvor bredt? Temaer?
- Hvem har styret forskningen? LSE?
- Hvordan adskiller Social Cities Indexet sig fra andre (social) bæredygtigheds indexes?
- Hvordan relaterer Social Cities sig til Lokal Agenda 21, FNs SDGs og New Urban Agenda?
- Hvordan er de 5 kommuner udvalgt?
  - o Hvilke muligheder giver det, at det er så forskellige kommuner, der er med?
  - o Arbejder I forskelligt med de forskellige kommuner? På hvilken måde?

Interview guide for Ulla Eikard
Introduktion
- Kan du fortælle lidt om dig selv – hvad er du uddannet som, hvad har du arbejdet med tidligere og hvad er din nuværende stilling?
- Hvad er din rolle ift. SCP?

Status
- Hvor langt er I i processen og hvad arbejder I med lige nu?

Samarbejde med kommunerne
- Hvad er IFHPs rolle i samarbejdet med kommunerne?
- Udgangspunktet var, at de fem kommuner skulle agere testkommuner – hvilke forventninger havde I til kommunernes arbejde?
- Er den måde, som Aalborg og Middelfart vælger at arbejde med værktøjet på, overensstemmende med det, I ønskede?
- I hvilken grad er der overensstemmelse mellem de forestillinger I havde om samarbejdet med kommunerne og så det faktiske samarbejde?
- Hvilke årsager ser du til, at nogle af kommunerne ikke deltager så aktivt?
  - o Har I kendskab til nogle udfordringer, som kommunerne støder på i deres arbejde med Social Cities?

SCP
- Hvordan er indikatorerne udvalgt? Hvilke præmisser er de udvalgt på?
- Hvornår slutter projektet? Er der en udløbsdato? Hvad skal være færdigt inden da? Og hvad sker der så derefter?
- Hvorfor er jeres mål at tale ind i direktionsniveauet fremfor den enkelte planlægger?
  - o Hvad er formålet med SCP?)
- Hvilke muligheder og/eller udfordringer ser du ved at kvantificere og simplificere noget subjektivt og kvalitativt som social bæredygtighed? (index som metode)

Appendix B

This appendix contains the questions for Marie Stender from The Danish Building Research Institute.

Questions for Marie Stender
- Ud fra din eksisterende viden om IFHP's Social Cities Programme, hvad er da dine umiddelbare tanker om projektet?
- Hvilke udfordringer/barrierer støder man på (både som forsker og praktiker) i forsøget på at kvantificere og simplificere social bæredygtighed i en planlægningskontekst? Og omvendt, hvilke muligheder/fordele ligger der i en sådan øvelse?
- Hvilken tilgang skal man have for at lægge vægt på social bæredygtighed? Hvordan ser du som fagperson, at man skal tilgå opgaven med at øge den sociale bæredygtighed?
- Hvilken betydning har det, at det er en interesseorganisation, der igangsætter en systematiseret metodik for arbejdet med social bæredygtighed i de danske kommuner? (her tænker vi ift. praksis og/eller forståelse af social bæredygtighed i kommunerne, bl.a. gennemslagskraft, ændring i magtstrukturer, nye (tværfaglige) samarbejder, fælles sprog...)

Appendix C

Appendix C contains the Social Cities Index, which is the first step in the SCP.

Index key

Scale	Category	Subcategory	Indicator	Definition	Source
1.0 Household	**1.1 Affordability**	1.1.1 Affordability	1.1.1.1 Price per m^2	The average price per m^2 in a municipality based on property for sale	Boliga
			1.1.1.2 Rental costs per m^2 per year	Average yearly rent per m^2 for Social Housing	LBF**
			1.1.1.3 Housing burden	The average price per m^2 divided by average household income	DST**
	1.2 Availability	1.2.1 Capacity	1.2.1.1 Homelessness	Percentage of homeless relative to total amount of citizens	VIVE***
			1.2.1.2 Surplus capacity	Percentage of unused property or property without registered inhabitants	DST
		1.2.2 Diversity	1.2.2.1 Diversity	Diversity across different types of housing	DST
	1.3 Quality	1.2.3 Comfort	1.3.1.1 Satisfaction with housing	The degree to which citizens would move elsewhere if possible	Survey
			1.3.1.2 Quality of property	Perceived quality of property	Survey
			1.3.1.3 Average m^2 per person	Average m^2 per person	DST
		1.3.1 In-door environment	1.3.2.1 Noise pollution	Experienced level of noise pollution	Survey
			1.3.2.2 Daylight	Experienced level of access to daylight in homes	Survey
2.0 Neighbourhood	**2.1 Safety**	2.1.1 Violence	2.1.1.1 Homicide	Percentage of homicides per capita in municipalities	DST
			2.1.1.2 Assaults	Percentage of people declaring assaults over the previous 12 months	DST
			2.1.1.3 Traffic deaths	Total amount of traffic deaths per capita in municipality	DST
		2.1.2 Trust	2.1.2.1 Trust in others	Perceived level of trust to neighbours	Survey
			2.1.2.2 Perceived safety	Extent to which citizens feel safe	Survey
	2.2 Services	2.2.1 Access to services	2.2.1.1. Public service	Experienced level of public service	Survey
			2.2.1.2 Waste handling	Experienced level of waste handling	Survey
		2.2.2 Access to amenities	2.2.2.1 Meeting places	Satisfaction with availability of public meeting places	Survey
			2.2.2.2 Recreation	Satisfaction with availability of recreational opportunities	Survey
	2.3 Social Capital	2.3.1 Social relations	2.3.1.1 Degree of relationships	Citizens' relations with their neighbours, family, friends etc.	Survey
			2.3.1.2 Perceived lack of social relations	Degree of being alone when wanting to be with others	Survey
		2.3.2 Participation in local communities	2.3.2.1 Day care	Percentage of children 0-5 years in day care	DST
			2.3.2.2 After-school care	Percentage of children 6-18 years in after-school programmes	DST
			2.3.2.3 Without job or education	Percentage of youth (16-24 years) who do not work or study	DST
			2.3.2.4 Voluntariness	Participation of citizens in voluntary activities	Survey
			2.3.2.5 Public debate	Participation of citizens in the public debate	Survey
3.0 City	**3.1 Jobs and education**	3.1.1 Jobs and education	3.1.1.1 Employment	Percentage of employed in a municipality	DST
			3.1.1.2 Leisure time	Perceived amount of leisure time	N/A
			3.1.1.3 Primary school	Percentage of 15-18-year-olds who complete primary school	DST
			3.1.1.4 Secondary school	Percentage of 16-24-year-olds who complete secondary school	DST
			3.1.1.5 Tertiary education	Percentage of +25-year-olds who complete tertiary education	DST
	3.2 Mobility	3.2.1 Commute	3.2.1.1 Commuting distance	Average commuting distance from home (in km)	DST
			3.2.1.2 Commuting time	Amount of time spent on commuting	N/A
		3.2.2 Price	3.2.2.1 Affordability of public transportation	Transport spending as percentage of household income	N/A
	3.3 Citizenship	3.3.1 Citizenship	3.3.1.1 Perception of participation	Citizens' perception of participation in local activities	Survey
			3.3.1.2 Perception of having a say	To what extent citizens feel that they have a say in local matters	Survey
			3.1.1.1 National elections	Percentage of votes at national election	DST

* Landsbyggefonden ** Danmarks Statistik ***Annual VIVE Scores Report ****Data not available as off right now

Figure C.1: The Social Cities Index (received at the conference in January).

Appendix D

Appendix D contains examples of how first Gladsaxe Municipality and second Frederiksberg Municipality uses indices in their work with social sustainability.

Example from Gladsaxe Municipality

The following Figure C.1 is an example of how Gladsaxe Municipality uses indices in their work with social sustainability. The example is from their strategy for planning of 2018 "The Gladsaxe Strategy".

Figure D.1: Example of how Gladsaxe Municipality uses indices (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2018a: 20).

Example from Frederiksberg Municipality

The following Figure C.2 is an example of how Frederiksberg Municipality uses indices in their work with social sustainability. The example is from their "Strategy and indicators for the socially sustainable city"

Beskæftigelsesfaktor

- Forholdsmæssig overvægt af selvstændige eller lønmodtagere på højt niveau
- Forholdsmæssig overvægt af personer uden for arbejdsmarkedet
- Forholdsmæssig overvægt af lønmodtagere på lavt/mellem niveau
- ● Områder med boligsocial indsats

FOREBYGGELSE FOR EN TRYG BY

En social bæredygtig by er både tryg og rummelig overfor borgerne. Der skal være plads til alle på tværs af generationer, kulturer og livsvalg, så alle oplever at være en del af byens trygge rum. Det handler om, hvordan vi med forskellige greb udvikler en mangfoldig og samlet by og dermed forebygger en negativ udvikling i dele af byen. Det handler om kriminalitet og tryghed – og om hvordan vi forebygger. Det handler også om, hvordan vi som by står sammen og finder løsninger på udfordringer, der ikke kan løses af en enkelt aktør alene.

TRYGGE UNGE

81 pct. af de unge svarer ja til, at Frederiksberg er et trygt sted at leve.

TRYGHED PÅ CYKEL
- 74 pct. af cyklisterne føler sig trygge
- 46 pct. af forældrene føler sig trygge ved at deres børn cykler på Frederiksberg
- 68 pct. af de ældre føler sig trygge/sikre i trafikken

OMRÅDER MED BOLIGSOCIAL INDSATS

Der er syv boligområder med boligsociale indsatser i Frederiksberg Kommune.

FLYGTNINGE
- 72 pct. af flygtninge og familiesammenførte ankommet siden 2014 bor i permanente boliger.
- 53 pct. er i beskæftigelse (ankommet 2015)

Eksempler på data og initiativer

Forebyggelse handler om bæredygtighed i hele byen. Nogle områder har dog særlige udfordringer, og derfor gøres der en særlig indsats i de syv områder med boligsocial indsats. Det er med til at skabe lige muligheder for alle og styrke de lokale fællesskaber.

Et andet eksempel er modtagelsen af flygtninge og opgaven med at finde boliger til de nye borgere. Her er det hele byen, der sammen løfter opgaven. Det er forskellige løsninger og greb, der har været med til at give indtil videre 72 pct. af flygtningene permanente boliger. Almensektoren er en væsentlig samarbejdspartner, men også private og nye strategier for kommunale boliger bidrager.

Tryghed handler også om, hvordan vi oplever at komme rundt i byen. Det sker ofte på cykel, og grundlæggende er der generelt en stor oplevelse af tryghed blandt byens cyklister, med en opmærksomhed på, at forældrenes oplevelse af tryghed for deres børn kan forbedres.
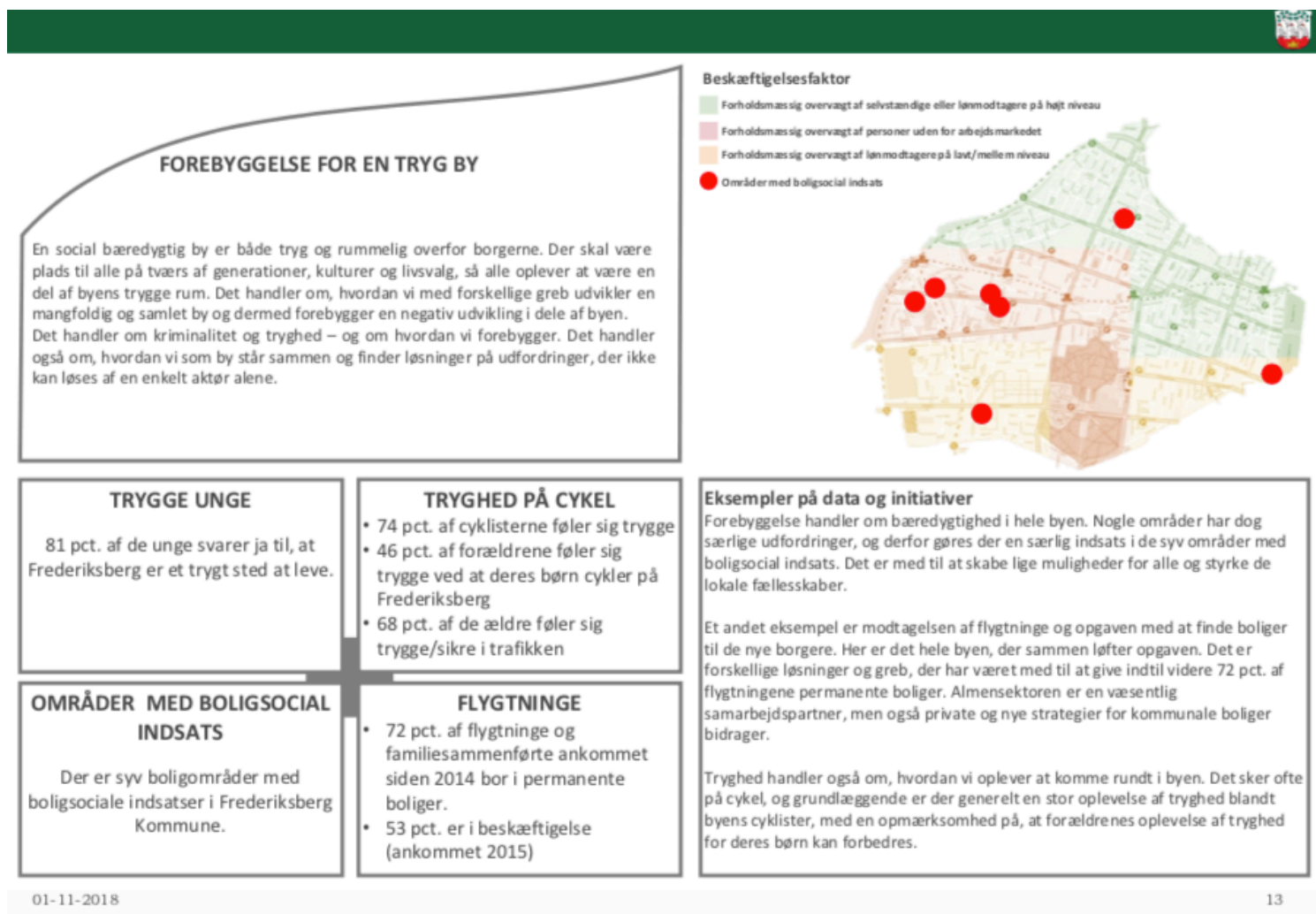
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Figure D.2: Example of how Frederiksberg Municipality uses indices (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2018a: 13).