Planners and Urban Gardening in the Shadow of Hierarchy

Roles, Rationalities and Institutional Processes

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Abstract

This project takes its point of departure in urban gardens as a growing trend in many Western cities. The great interest in this phenomenon has led to that many cities experience a demand from the citizens for spaces where they can grow food and form new relationships across the community.

This has also been the case in Copenhagen that has since 2011 experienced a considerable interest in urban gardens. The implementation of urban gardens was not a straight-forward process, which was mainly related to the institutional settings. Two municipal planners, however, played a major role in actually enabling the implementation under the complex working conditions. This report investigates the planner role they adopted to make it succeed, and how they influenced, and were influenced by, the institutional framework and planning rationalities in their surroundings during the process.

The report first creates a theoretical framework of the reciprocal relationships of influence between planner roles, planning rationalities and institutional frameworks drawing on planning and implementation theory.

The two planners' roles in the implementation process is then analysed to understand how other rationalities as well as the legislations, political visions and administrative structures influenced the planners' role in the process and were influenced by the planners in turn. This is done based on a pilot study consisting of interviews with eight different actors from the local to the ministerial level as well as interviews with the two key planners.

Through the analysis focusing on the pre-, mid- and post-implementation phases of urban gardens, it was found that the planners had managed to influence and co-create the institutional framework to make space for the urban gardens. The success of the gardens was in the end caused by the planners' collaborative and pragmatic approaches, mediation between stakeholders, the planners' creativity, and an activation of a variety of planner roles including the critical pragmatist.

Title Page

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Preface

This report is a master thesis from the Urban, Energy and Environmental Planning programme with specialisation in Urban Planning and Management, belonging under the Department of Development and Planning at Aalborg University, Denmark. The project has been conducted from February 2013 to June 2013.

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We hope you will enjoy our report!
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Chapter 1
Introduction

Temporary use of urban space has the recent years grown in interest in the urban planning context in the western world. Temporary planning can be seen as a new and popular phenomenon in urban planning, and it is seen both in relations to activation of brown fields, areas that are currently on "stand by" and often it is a way of involving the citizens in the urban planning and making them an active part of the development of the city. (Schultz, 2013) One of the major trends among temporary use of space is urban gardens, which has in recent years experienced an increased interest in western cities. It has been an interest coming from below; a citizen demand that has managed to make its way into the cities and metropolises, such as in Berlin, New York and Copenhagen.

Nevertheless, urban gardening is not a new phenomenon and is known under many different names (e.g. urban farming, urban agriculture, community gardening). Food was already produced in cities by the ancient Persians, the Aztecs, Mayans and Incans. The interesting thing about urban gardens today is that it can be found around the world and the motives for developing the gardens are many and not only about providing food for the society. This also shows that there are many types of urban gardens and that "There is no such person as the 'average farmer'."(Smit, Nasr, & Ratta, 2001a, p. 1) Smit, Nasr and Ratta (2001b) categorize urban farming as either something that is connected to historical roots or contemporary developments, Reasons such as social development, urbanization, food insecurity, economic crisis, environmental challenges such as climate change, health, and social trends – or a combination of several motives - have contributed to urban gardens developing all over the world. Besides this, the different gardens differ; some gardens only focus on landscaping the gardens, but the majority of gardens grow food, either on individual plots where people can decide on their own

what to grow, or in larger and more loosely organized groups that grow together. Some gardens grow for own use, and some sell their crops on farmers markets. (Ackerman et al., 2012)

Taking a closer look at some examples of urban garden, Havana in Cuba is being one of the most famous examples of urban gardens in modern times. The urban gardens started as a social movement, developed as a reaction to the political crisis in 1989, when the socialist bloc collapsed and the big state-driven farms suddenly lost the considerable support they had received from the international socialist economy,. Before the crisis, urban farming was not a significant part of Havana's physical environment, and was merely seen as a sign of poverty, but due to the crisis the citizens of Cuba and especially Havana started to produce their own crops in the cities due to the lack of food. (Altieri et al., 1999; Fakta, 1990; Moskow, 1999) The Ministry of Agriculture realised the great potential in using these gardens as a deliberate part of their food strategy: Now laws made it possible for the urban farmers to sell their produce and thereby support the economy of the family, and few years after the collapse, the Ministry of Agriculture created a department of urban agriculture whose focus was to provide and make it possible for the Cubans to grow their own food. The urban gardens received governmental support and are today key component of the food strategy in Cuba. (Altieri et al., 1999) Since then other cities around the world have been inspired by doing urban gardens.

In the U.S urban gardens have also existed for several years and are currently going through a renaissance from being a way of producing food due to need, to having a focus on sustainability and healthy food – due to the increase of obesity rates in the U.S. It has also been used in "shrinking cities" such as Detroit and Philadelphia, where the economy and population are declining, and urban gardens are used as a way of using vacant land and redeveloping the cities. (Ackerman et al., 2012) In New York the urban gardens are mainly established as community gardens placed around the city either on vacant areas, on roof-tops or other alternative places, in areas with low-income people, to support the development in the communities and supply the area with fresh vegetables, which can often be a challenge in deprived neighbourhoods. (Ackerman et al., 2012) Besides being supported by different funds the governmental

level has also raised interest since the gardens can also be a way of creating awareness of the critical public health (New York has a high rate of obesity and diabetes) and set focus on environmental and social issues.

All over the world urban gardens are from the governmental perspective gaining attention as an alternative way of producing food, creating more environmentally friendly cities, better health and education about food and a way of creating better communities. The governments are starting to realise the potentials and demands, which has resulted in that the governments are starting to actively support and incorporate urban gardens in their policies, funding schemes and planning system. This is for example seen in Chicago and Philadelphia where urban gardens have been incorporated into the zoning regulations, which has resulted in that specific areas in these cities are zoned with the possibility of doing urban gardening. (City of Chicago, n.d.; Fried-Cassarola, 2012)

Especially these institutional framework are very interesting, since they in many cases have played a major role; they have either been the reason for that urban gardens have been developed, such as the case of Havana, or have as a part of the urban gardens development recognised the increasing interest and seen it as an advantage for the city to support urban gardens and even transformed it in to a tool of planning. The institutional settings therefore often have an effect on the development of urban gardens just as the gardens can have an effect on the institutional settings. These factors are influential in connection to the development of urban gardens in cities, since these can both be supportive and confounding.

This has also been the case for Copenhagen. As many other Western cities, Copenhagen has in recent years experienced a huge interest in implementing urban gardens, both on former industrial and public areas. Just as in many other cities, urban gardens were not something completely new in Copenhagen; a few enclosed gardens had already been established back in the beginning of the 90's (Friis, 2010). Nevertheless, the interest of implementing urban gardens in the city of Copenhagen grew dramatically with the international trend for urban gardens, and since 2011 where the interest took off, several gardens have been established. Today over twenty schools and urban gardens can be found in Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune, 2013a), who all have different motives and

contribution to the society. Some gardens focus on creating a new place for the community to gather and using cultivation as a way to create new friendships. Others have more focus on growing food locally and are therefore having more focus on the production of food and biodiversity than social aspects, and for some it is about creating an awareness of food production in a society with mass-consumption.

Nevertheless, the process from idea to implementation of these gardens was not a bed on roses; the institutional framework in Copenhagen had a great influence on the implementation process and faced the garden initiatives mainly with limitations and unrealistic requirements. Although the political visions; focusing on creating a greener city, better biodiversity, better places for the citizens as well as supporting citizen driven initiatives, could support the initiatives, different legislations made it almost impossible for the gardens to start and settle down. Very high requirements, which did not fit temporary projects, resulted in that the initiatives were stuck in realising their idea of urban gardens in the city. Furthermore administrative obstacles in the municipality posed challenges for the citizen groups which made it difficult for the urban garden initiatives to approach the municipality, since they did not know who to contact, where to ask and what to do, due to the structure of the municipality.

Despite the institutional framework posing challenges for the implementation of urban gardens in the city of Copenhagen, two municipal planners played a major role in the process that in the end resulted in a the successful implementation of several projects. In an institution and society with many different rationalities and where many opinions and needs must to be considered, the planners had a coordinating role by understanding and coping with these different rationalities within an institutional framework that influences the process.

The planners had a key position in the realisation of urban gardens and their ability to cope with the institutional framework as well as dealing with the different rationalities related to each actor. The working conditions are very complex in a situation where the institutional framework and rationalities are affecting the role of the planner and at the same time being able to influence the political framework and planning rationales. This report is therefore investigating how the planners actually managed to cope with rationalities and the institutional frameworks to realise the

idea of urban gardens, and what roles the planners adopted to do so. It is furthermore also interesting to understand how the institutional framework has influenced the planners work, role and process for the implementation of urban gardens as well as how the different planning rationalities have had an impact on the process. This is not only relevant for how urban gardens can be incorporated in a planning system and how planners can cope with it, but in general how it is possible to work with temporary projects within an institutional framework that does not immediately embrace temporality.

Chapter 2
Methodology

The following chapter presents the scientific considerations and methodological considerations for this project. Firstly, the epistemology underlying this study will be outlined followed by a description of the research strategy including an explanation for the choice of doing a single case study and the research design and research question. The research design is presented as a narrative of the interrelationship between the deliberations and design. Thirdly, the methods used for data collection in the pilot and main study are described, and finally the limitations of the project including the results' validity and reliability will be deliberated.

2.1 Epistemology

This report focuses on social processes in planning and how they are influenced by the planner's actions, the rationalities about what planning is and should do, and the institutional framework the processes take place within. In this section the report's approach to knowledge about such processes and how it can be achieved is presented.

In the report theories about planning as well as other types of knowledge is viewed as fallible and not representative of the actual Truth, but only society's current perception of it. Especially knowledge about social phenomena is viewed as essentially over-simplified explanations since the phenomena they are trying to explain occur in very complex and open systems that humans will never be able to understand in full. Theory must therefore be approached critically and never be accepted as final truth. In this project this has the consequence that not one, but several theories are used in the attempt to explain some of the aspects of the implementation process. However, the results can also not be viewed as final truths, but as the best explanation that can be made based on the knowledge available within the scope of the project.

To gain a deep understanding of social phenomena such as planning processes, it is perceived to be favourable to address the individuals who have participated in and thus co-created the phenomenon, since they are able to articulate their rationalities in and perception of the course of events in the social situation – their internal rationales for behaviour is for example not visible just by observing them in the process. The more social beings that can be addressed, the more comprehensive the understanding is perceived to become. In adopting this view, the hermeneutic theory of science is used as an inspiration, since this is a 'theory of interpretation', where the researcher uses empathy to understand the situation of a subject and interpret the subjective meaning. The researcher brings her pre-understanding of a problem into a dialogue with the subject, in this way gaining a new input that she can interpret and seek to understand to reach a new understanding of the problem through a 'merging of horizons' between the researcher and the subject. This process of inquiry, interpretation and merging horizons into a new understanding can be repeated as many times and with as many subjects as deemed necessary by the researcher (see Figure 1). It should be added that the source of information to be interpreted does not necessarily have to be a person, but can be many kinds of qualitative materials such as documents or pictures. (Hansen & Simonsen, 2004)

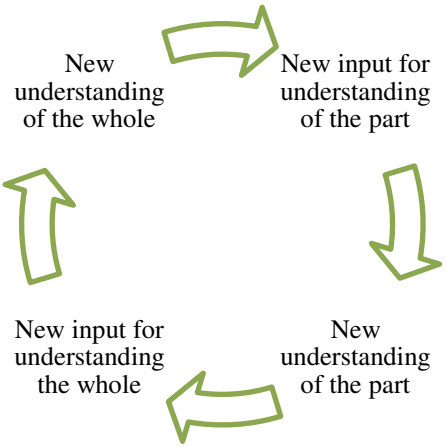

Figure 1 - The hermeneutic circle (own figure based on Hansen & Simonsen, 2004)

Giddens (Giddens, 1976) expanded the theory of hermeneutics to a so-called *double hermeneutics*, arguing that in order to understand the societal phenomena behind the subject, it had to be acknowledged that the account given by the subject had already been interpreted once by this subject, and that the researcher would have to 'interpret the information twice'; first understanding what the subject was saying, and then trying to reconstruct the phenomenon behind that interpretation by relating it to theory. In this way research of social phenomena becomes a "double translation process" (translated from Hansen & Simonsen, 2004, p. 124). This entails that information provided cannot be uncritically accepted, but must be scrutinized in relation to other sources of knowledge. In this report that is visible in that the account of the individuals is triangulated with other sources of knowledge.

2.2 Research strategy

In this subchapter, the research strategy of the project is presented. First, the research question is presented and explained in relation to the problem of implementation of urban gardens presented in the introduction. Next, it is explained why a single case study is chosen as the overall research method. Finally, the research design and course of events is presented and explained in a narrative account of the pragmatic approach in the project.

2.2.1 Research question

The main aim of the master thesis is to investigate the role of the planners in connection to the implementation of urban gardens, and how they have influenced the process and outcome of the case of urban gardens in Copenhagen. It is furthermore the wish to understand the institutional framework and different planning rationalities the planners work within, and understand how this is influencing them, their role and the outcome – but also how they might influence the institutional framework and the planning rationalities in turn. This approach is relevant because planners today work in complex and open systems where many different factors influence the implementation of ideas, and planners must adapt when external factors change. It is therefore in the interest in this project to investigate:

How did planners influence the implementation of urban gardens in the City of Copenhagen, and to what extent were the planners in turn influenced by the institutional framework and planning rationalities related to the projects?

1. *How are planner roles related to and influenced by planning rationalities and institutional frameworks?*
2. *How can the planners' role and significance in the process of establishing urban gardens in Copenhagen be explained in relation to the institutional framework they worked within and the planning rationalities they were faced with during the process?*
3. *How suitable is the institutional framework in relation to current planning rationalities in Danish society, and how important is the profession and personality of the urban planner in the attempt to make ends meet?*

To answer the main research question it has been chosen to operationalise the research question with three sub-questions focusing on the theoretical perspective, the empirical study of the urban gardens in Copenhagen and a more normative reflection, respectively. The aim of the first sub question is to create a theoretical understanding of planner roles and how these have in theory been linked to planning rationalities and institutional frameworks. This involves a study of each of the tree concepts (roles, rationalities and institutional framework) and the relationships between them. The role of the planner is defined as the actions and legitimacy of the planner in planning processes. The institutional framework is defined as the legislative, political and administrative elements of a municipality that can influence planning issues, and the planning rationalities are understood as systems of thought that encompassing what planning is, can do and should do. This creates a theoretical and conceptual framework to draw upon in the empirical analysis.

The empirical element of the study is framed in the second sub-question, that has the aim of using the specific case of urban gardens in Copenhagen to investigate what role planners have played in the implementation process of urban gardens, and how much the planners have actually contributed to the success of the implementation. In connection to this it is the objective to understand how the institutional framework and different planning rationalities that emerged in the process have influenced the role of the planner.

Finally, it will be discussed how well the institutional framework that the planners worked within respond to the present planning rationalities in Danish society, including that of temporary activation of spaces, and what role planners can and should play in relation to make projects match the framework and vice versa.

The strategy for answering this research question is presented in the following sections.

2.2.2 Single case study

Based on the presentation of the research question in the previous section it is clear that this study is interested in a deep understanding of one single phenomenon; the processes that enabled the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen Municipality, and the planner's role within it. The overall research strategy has been designed as a single case study; a research method that can be defined as follows:

> *Case studies are scientific studies of concrete phenomena with the purpose of achieving detailed knowledge about these phenomena – the science of the concrete (Ramian, 2012, p. 11) (Own translation)*

First of all a single case study has been selected because it is a good method to answer explanatory 'how' or 'why' type questions about contemporary events *"over which the investigator has little or no control"* (Yin, 2009), which the explanation of the process of the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen can easily be defined as.

To understand the phenomenon it is necessary to understand the context the phenomenon is happening within. (Ramian, 2012) One strength of case studies is that a variety of different information, such as documents, interviews, field observations etc. can be used to establish a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon (Yin, 2009), including the context it is happening within.

Sayer (2000) argues that single case studies are very usable and reliable ways of doing studies depending on what is supposed to be studied, even though they are not good for generating generalisable knowledge. This project, focusing on only one case, can be defined as an intensive

research project which is "strong on causal explanation and interpreting meanings in context" (Sayer, 2000, p. 21). By using an intensive research method it is possible to go deeper into the issue, but it demands a limited number of cases. The interest in this project as well as single case studies in general, is not to find regularities between several cases by conducting an extensive multiple case and thereby describing a common phenomenon.

Another benefit of dealing with only one case in this project is that the time-factor for the project would have made it impossible to study the implementation process deeply enough to actually be able to produce satisfactory explanations about the phenomenon if multiple cases should have been covered.

2.2.3 Research design

Within the case study method it has been chosen to use a pragmatic approach to the research to be able to commute back and forth between theoretical and empirical findings and constantly revise the course of the research based on new and increasingly detailed knowledge to end up with results that describe and explain the reality as precisely as possible. During the project period this has entailed that the problem formulation and research question has been revised twice.

Having one specific theory or research question from the start can have the disadvantage that the reliability and validity of the project may suffer if the initial understanding of the problem did not correspond with reality, whereas by first only defining a subject and then commuting between gaining new knowledge and revising the research strategy through e.g. preliminary desk studies and pilot studies it is possible to find the most pressing and interesting problems that would otherwise maybe not have been found before it was too late. Furthermore a pragmatic approach opens up the possibility of revising the structure of the project and makes it possible to remove some (unnecessary) information because new data has identified a new and more relevant perspective. Hence, it is possible to keep revising the research design and create the best theoretical and analytical framework for the case in question. This opportunity to commute back and forth between the theory and empirical data was used greatly in this project, as the following account for the steps in the pro-

cess will show. This ensured that the pre-understanding of the problem, which was not representative of reality, did not entail that a phenomenon was studied based on a theoretical understanding that did not fit it and was not capable of explaining it.

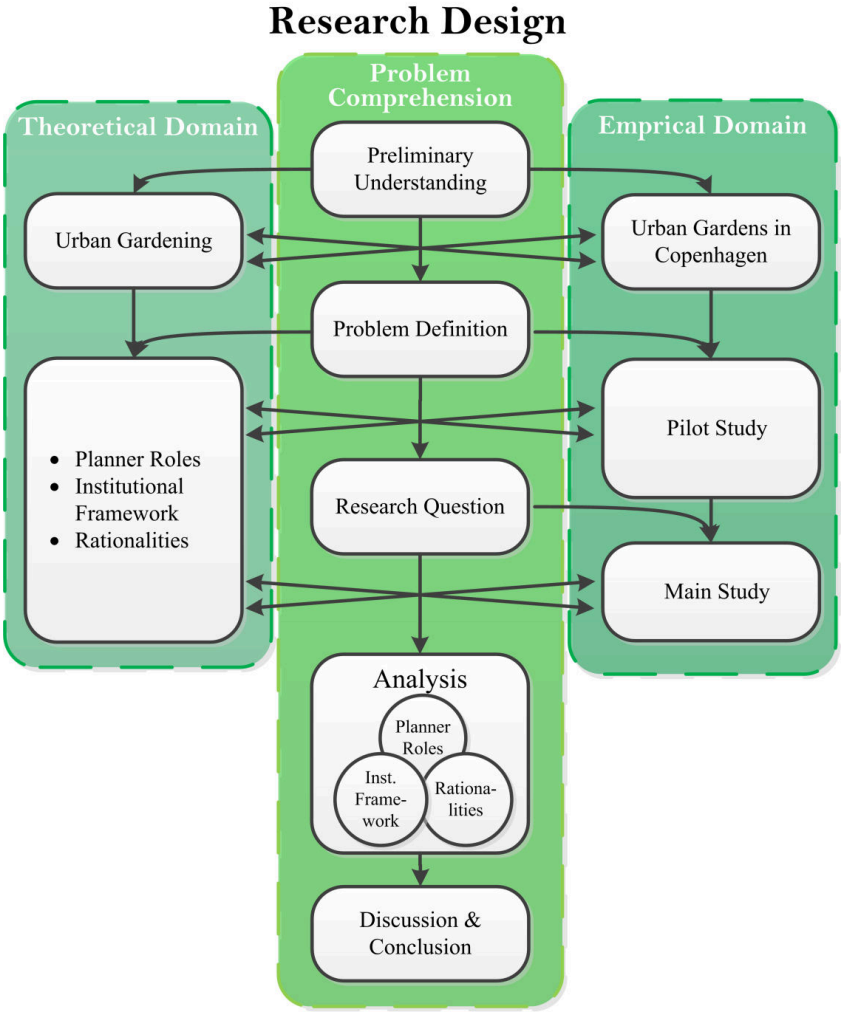

Figure 2 - Research design (own figure)

As the research design in Figure 2 shows, the process started with a project idea and preliminary understanding of urban gardens. This included the knowledge that urban gardens was currently an issue for planning in an international context and becoming a trend in Western countries, involving a global social movement growing food in cities and cases of public agencies using urban gardens as a tool to improve social sustainability. It was also known that urban gardens had been established in Copenhagen, but had not yet gained the same attention in the rest of Denmark.

The first step in the process was to research urban gardening as a concept and planning tool as well as gathering knowledge of how urban gardening was handled in Copenhagen specifically, commuting back and forth between new theoretical and empirical knowledge and finally formulating an initial problem definition concerning how the citizen groups in Copenhagen had managed to find their way through the institutional framework to be accepted and therefore able to establish gardens. The understanding was that the urban gardening initiatives were part of a social movement on a quest to promote and enable urban gardening in the city, but knowledge was lacking on how the process had been handled by the gardens and Copenhagen Municipality, since such information was not immediately available by conducting a desk study based on literature reviews.

Before the main study for the project was designed, it was decided to perform a pilot study to narrow the scope and find a specific and relevant problem related to the process and challenges faced by the garden initiatives. Essentially, this was done to understand the context around the phenomenon of implementation of urban gardens to be able to design and perform a valid case study. An actor analysis was performed by mapping relevant stakeholders at the national, municipal and local level that through a pilot study could be targeted and provide an insight into the processes and challenges related to the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen. This led to a revised, but still preliminary problem definition concerning how urban gardens had managed to develop and the barriers and windows of opportunity that had been experienced in the process. A pilot study was thereafter undertaken in the beginning of March involving a trip to Copenhagen, where interviews were conducted with

four urban gardens, a planner from the Danish Nature Agency (Naturstyrelsen), a project manager from an urban area renewal project and a worker from an environmental NGO and a field trip to different urban gardens in Copenhagen was conducted. The interviews focused on the role of the stakeholder in the project, their motivations in the process, the overall process and the collaboration between stakeholders, issues of legitimacy and the barriers and opportunities they had encountered, and the field trip provided an understanding of the urban gardens' physical form and effect on the physical environment. Reaching across all levels from the national to the local, this pilot study represents a quite comprehensive investigation of the process, barriers and solutions.

Through the pilot study with the different actors that in one way or another were connected to the implementation of urban gardens, it was found that the stakeholders had experienced several difficulties in realising the gardening projects due to especially the institutional structure of Copenhagen Municipality and the legislation. Almost all of the different interviewees who had had an active role in the establishment of the gardens independently from each other mentioned as a part of their narrative of their struggles that two municipal planners specifically had been playing a key role for the realisation and implementation of the gardens. Since the pilot study was quite comprehensive in terms of encompassing seven different representatives of four different types of stakeholders in four different levels and roles within the Danish planning system, who did not contradict each other's individual statements but rather all pointed towards the same challenges and solution, it was considered suitably reliable that this was where the main issue in the phenomenon of urban gardening in Copenhagen was to be found.

In this way the pilot study had outlined the key challenges that the urban garden initiatives had faced (that is, the institutional framework), and argued that the inflexibility of the institution in regards of implementing temporary projects was a considerable challenge. At the same time several of the interviewees had pointed out the key instrument to overcome their challenges; the two planners who had made the realisation of urban gardens possible. The planners had managed to incorporate the urban gardens in the institution and given the gardens an accessible entry point to the organisation that had otherwise appeared too complex and difficult

to approach and manage. It was furthermore identified that the initial understanding of the urban gardens as a somewhat radical social movement that had the aim of creating a political statement towards the urban development was not a realistic description. With this realisation the focus shifted from the gardens and social movement's theory towards the role of the planners in the process. In this way the pilot study and pragmatic approach adopted in the research strategy ensured that an incorrect initial perception of the project did not affect the validity of the project's final results, since a new research question and revised theoretical framework could be formulated that were responsive to the reality the stakeholders were faced with.

Because of their key role in the process, the two planners from Copenhagen Municipality who had managed to realise the citizens' ideas of urban gardens were chosen as the unit to research in the case study. The fact that the institutional framework had seemingly created all the main barriers in the implementation meant that this too was given great significance in the research question. Finally, rationalities of planning was included, both to be able to take into account the different perceptions and understandings of the role of gardens in the city (which the pilot study had shown varied significantly between e.g. the gardeners, the local community members and public agencies), and because rationalities are inseparably linked with the creation of planner roles according to theory.

In line with the epistemology of the project presented in chapter 2.1., the best way to understand the planners' actions and role in the process and reasons for putting so much energy into implementing the projects in spite of the struggles to do so was to engage in dialogue with them and interpret their contribution to understand their story, rationality and reasons for acting in certain ways. For this reason it was chosen to perform interviews with the two planners after reviewing new theory. These interviews were performed in late April, after which theory was again revised to match the new empirical understanding of the problem after having merged horizons into a new understanding. New empirical sources such as policies were also brought in to expand the understanding of their role and challenges as well as triangulate the information provided by the planners. The research question that all these methods were used to answer in the final analysis (drawing on all information gathered throughout

the process, both theoretical and empirical), is presented and explained in the next section.

2.3 Data collection

The following sections will present the methods that were used to answer the research questions. As mentioned before, this study has used a pragmatic approach towards analysing the case, and this has meant that before doing the main study a desk-study and pilot study were conducted to understand the context of the study. Afterwards a main study was conducted, involving targeted interviews with two planners who were defined in the pilot study to be central in the implementation of urban garden in Copenhagen.

2.3.1 Desk-Study

During the project a variety of literature has been collected in order to create a greater understanding of how the case of urban gardens in Copenhagen can be understood. Document analysis was undertaken to understand the structure of the municipality as an organisation as well as the different political visions where the urban gardens were implemented. Furthermore different webpages with information about the different urban gardens were visited to gain information about the gardens.

Scientific articles and scientific books either found on the libraries or article databases have been used to obtain knowledge within different urban planning theories. This was done to create an understanding of the different roles the urban planner has had during the development of urban planning but also to understand what kind of roles the planners can adopt in certain planning connections. It is for this project relevant to notice that the point of departure is not only taken in one single planning theory, since it is of our belief that no planning theory will be capable of framing completely the role that the planners in the case of urban gardens have undertaken. This is, as introduced in section 2.1 related to that no single theory can be seen as a representative of a human perception of the world, and not actual reality. The results of research can therefore be made more valid by using several supplementing perspectives through a combination of different theories and data; however, it will still only be a better explanation, but not the truth. Next to creating a theoretical framework focus-

ing on urban planner roles it was also taken a look at the institutional conditions that planners working in a public agency are facing. This knowledge was gained due to the belief that there are many other factors that have an influence on the planners' role in the end, when standing in a situation where decisions have been made and that many different variables are effecting the decisions. Also an understanding of the different planning rationalities was created, since the planners are faced with many different stakeholders, which have different world views, that has an influence on the decisions planners make.

Furthermore it was found that a bachelor student project at Aalborg University in the programme Urban, Environmental and Energy Planning, about the social aspect of producing food in cities had been made, where different actors related to urban gardens in Copenhagen had been interviewed. The project and recordings of their interviews were received and were used to create an overview over the different actors as well as general information about the development of the gardens in Copenhagen.

Besides using theories and document studies to gain information about the context of the urban gardens, different planning theories, institutional frameworks and rationalities, it was used to triangulate knowledge obtained in interviews to increase validity and perform a 'double hermeneutic circle'.

2.3.2 Contextual interviews

The desk study resulted in a mapping of relevant stakeholders at the ministerial, municipal and local level that through a pilot study could give an inside of the urban gardens in Copenhagen and point out some of the challenges in the implementation of urban gardens. Based on the mapping eight interviews with different stakeholders, representing the different levels of planning (see Figure 3), who in one way or another was connected to urban gardens or the planning of temporary projects, a number of interviews were conducted.

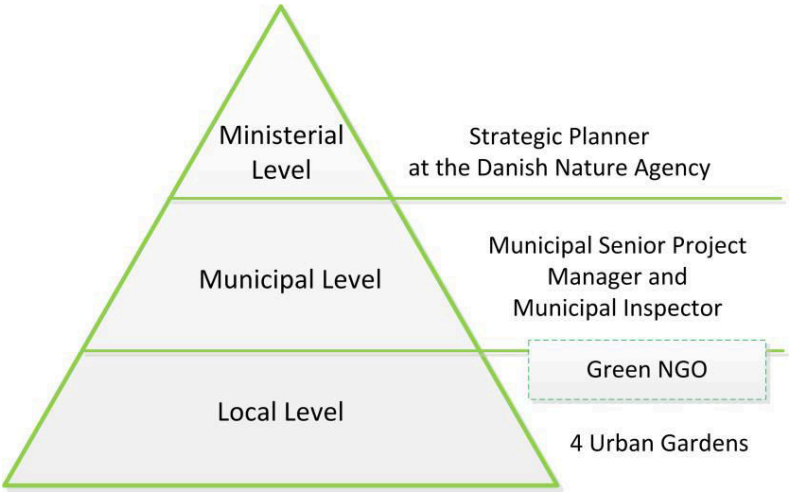

Figure 3 - Illustrating the different actors interviewed and their position in the planning hierarchy (own figure)

It was chosen to do semi-structured interviews as there were some general subjects that had to be uncovered, the semi-structured form made it possible to explore new knowledge brought up in the interviews. The information that was explored was in relations to:

- Defining the stakeholder's role in the planning hierarchy
- Understanding their motivation in relation to urban gardens or citizen driven initiatives
- Working methods and collaboration with others
- Legitimacy
- Opportunities and barriers faced in connection to the implementation of urban gardens or citizen driven initiatives

The people who were interviewed are:

- Sandra Villumsen, one of the founders of the urban garden initiative Byhaven 2200, the first urban garden in a public park

- Tina Jensen, Jann Kuusisaari and Natasja from Verdenshaven, a small urban garden connected to a public staffed playground on Nørrebro
- Pernille Pedersen, one of the initiators behind Prags have, an urban garden placed on a former industrial area
- Charlotte Lund, project leader at the urban gardening initiative ByOasen, an urban garden combined with a mini-farm placed on Nørrebro
- Mads Uldall, project leader for the Skt. Kjelds urban renewal project on Østerbro, who has great experience in urban renewal projects, citizen-driven initiatives and temporary projects.
- Lise Nygaard Christensen from Miljøpunkt Amager, an environmental NGO supporting green citizen-driven initiatives including urban gardens
- Line Thorup Schultz, strategic urban planner at the Danish Nature Agency (Naturstyrelsen) belonging under the Ministry of Environment
- Birgit Konring, Environmental Inspector at Centre for Environment in Copenhagen Municipality, working with the Act of Contaminated Soil

Through the interviews with the different stakeholders, knowledge about their rationalities and perspectives in connection to urban gardens and citizen driven initiatives, as well as what challenges and opportunities they saw or had faced was gained. Furthermore it was identified that municipal planners in connection to the urban garden had played a major role in the realisation of the projects.

2.3.3 "Targeted" interviews

In the main study two interviews with the two municipal planners at Centre from Park and Nature in Copenhagen municipality were conducted. The reason why these two municipal planners were interviewed was due to that they were the two planners who managed to implement the urban gardens, and their knowledge, thoughts and opinions were therefore crucial in order to answer the research question. The aim of these two

interviews where to create an understanding of how the municipal planners had managed to implement the urban gardens in Copenhagen, what barriers they had experienced and why they had decided to help realising the initiatives interests in having an urban garden and what planner roles they had adopted. Information about this could clarify how they had dealt with the institutional system they are working within but also clarify why and how some projects can be implemented and what factors are influencing and playing a crucial role during the implementation process. The two planners interviewed were:

- Lærke Knudsen a landscape architect employed in the Centre of Park and Nature. This interview was conducted in Copenhagen April 30th 2013. Lærke Knudsen has played a key role in the implementation of urban gardens since the beginning. She has been employed in the municipality for several years, where she primarily has worked with enabling and realising projects based on volunteers, and has therefore experience in working with establishing new projects as well as how to deal with the institutional framework. She is furthermore the more experience planner among the two planners interviewed. Lærke Knudsen will during this project be referred to as Planner 1. The recorded and transcribed interview can be found in appendix C and E.
- Anton Mikkel Thorsen was interviewed April the 29th 2013 in Copenhagen. Anton has been employed by the municipality since fall 2011 in the Centre for Park and Nature – and has therefore not been a part of the urban garden projects since it started in winter 2010-2011. Anton has an education in International Development and Geography, and has worked with urban renewal projects before employed in the Centre for Park and Nature. Just as Lærke Knudsen Anton Thorsen is primarily working with voluntary projects. Anton will be referred to as Planner 2 in this report. The recorded and transcribed interview can be found in appendix D and F.

The interviews were held separately to avoid the planners to affect each other's answers but also to give them the possibility to reflect over their own tasks and personal relations to this project without being influenced by each other. Both interviews were unstructured, this was decided based on that the aim of the interview was to hear the planners telling *their* story and influence them as little as possible while doing so. By doing an unstructured interview it was possible to get the planners personal story of their tasks and challenges in their work towards implementing the urban gardens in Copenhagen. Furthermore it was important to create an understanding of their worldview and to ensure an as realistic view as possible it was crucial that the interviewers did not affect the interviewees. Doing unstructured interviews do have the risk of that the outcome of the interview may not be as planned, because it can be difficult to keep the interviewed on the right path. Both interviews were held in Danish, recorded and transcribed. Only the used quotes have been translated into English by the authors. The reason for conducting the interviews in Danish was due to that both the interviewers and the interviewees had Danish as their mother tongue and this would therefore increase the quality of the interviews compared to if they were held in English.

2.4 Limitations of the study

This study of course has some limitations based on the scope of research and the research strategy. First of all, the researchers behind this report are aware of that there are many different factors that have an influence on planning outcomes, but nevertheless the scope has been narrowed to only encompass roles, rationalities and the institutional framework in order to look deeper into this particular relationship, although it is just one perspective on planning. Furthermore, the design of the case study takes the role of the planner as its point of departure, and is therefore quite strong on the empirical investigation of the relationships between this and planning rationalities and institutional frameworks, respectively. However, the research design entails that the understanding of the relationship between the rationalities and the institutional framework in the case of Copenhagen is much more shallow. Another research design would have to cover this.

A criticism that is often directed to single case studies is that their results cannot be generalised as easily as other types of studies, and there are still some who believe that case studies are less scientific than other research methods. (Ramian, 2012) Nevertheless, this study is not aiming at creating statistically reliable models or universal theories, but instead a deep understanding of a phenomenon. Bent Flyvbjerg furthermore argues that in connection to research of social science, generalisation of theories is not the most important or the most preferable type of knowledge since the context of each problem is always different and changes the reactions to our action. He promotes instead *phronesis* or the practical wisdom based on having encountered many different cases and understood each in detail, accumulating the knowledge into what becomes common sense. (Flyvbjerg, 2011) In this way the researchers hope that this study will be seen as an addition to the existing body of knowledge on planner roles, that may add new perspectives, inspire new research and identify new mechanisms.

Chapter 3
Planner roles, planning rationalities and institutional frameworks

This chapter presents the report's theoretical understanding of planner roles, planning rationalities and the institutional framework that planners work within, as well as the relationships between them. The objective is to build a theoretical and conceptual framework to use in the later analysis of the roles the planners in Copenhagen assume when engaging with urban gardening movements and other relevant actors, why they choose or take on these roles, and what influence the fact that they work within a political institution might have on their behaviour and underlying rationales.

The planner role is here defined as the actual behaviour the planner displays in action, which tasks she engages with and how she goes about it. The planning rationalities are defined as holistic constructions of reasoning, sense-making and logic about what planning is, should do and is capable of, in this way encompassing the ontology, epistemology, norms and prescriptions for planning, which *could* be articulated in planning theories but can also exist in the minds of individuals or groups. This should not be confused with rationales, which are here understood as the application of rationalities to the real world to justify or explain reasons for taking specific actions. Finally, the institutional framework is defined as factors that are connected to institutions such as Danish municipalities and regulate the behaviour of planners and society, such as legislation, political goals and organisational structure.

The understanding at the outset of this chapter is that the three main concepts of planner roles, planning rationalities and institutional frameworks are interconnected and have reciprocal influence on each other (see Figure 4). The influence of planning rationalities on planner roles is broadly accepted, as planning theories have been describing for decades

how the idea of what planning is and should be influences how the planner should act and what she should engage with. We argue that the planner's behaviour can in turn affect rationalities about what planning should engage with, since they are functional ambassadors for planning and may co-construct new perceptions, theories and ideas for planning through their practice and experimentation. The role is also affected by the institutional framework in the sense that the planner's actions are regulated by rules, culture etc. when working within an institution, and reciprocally the planner may as a part of this institution be able to reinvent and co-construct the framework. Finally, rationalities about planning can influence the institutional framework it is perceived necessary to construct around planners, and reciprocally institutional changes may change the perception of what planning should do.

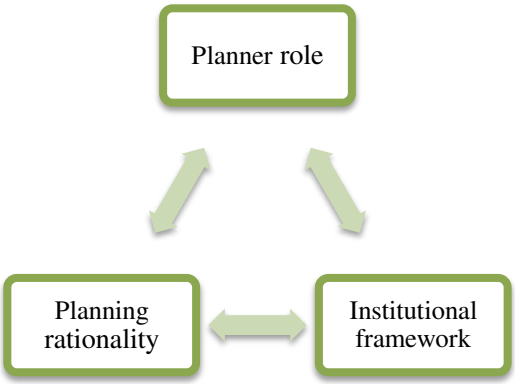

Figure 4 – Theoretical framework: The interdependency of planner roles, rationalities and the institutional framework (own figure)

The interplay between planner roles and planning rationalities are as mentioned above very strong in literature, so due to their intertwined development it would not make sense for the purposes of this chapter, nor for the intelligibility, to separate them. As the chapter will show, also reforms in public management and public institutions have had great influence on the rationalities and roles. The most suitable way to provide an understanding of the concepts and their interplay is therefore perceived

to be through a historical account that presents rationalities, roles and institutional frameworks in the order that they have actually emerged, and illustrate the underlying reasons for this emergence and the influence and consequences the changes in one aspect have had on the two others. The point of departure in the chapter is in the mid-20th century, when rationalities and roles in planning were strong and the institution had little influence. Through time, as the public agencies' power grew through the 1970's, the institutions' influence on roles and rationalities, and somewhat overpowered them during public reforms in the 1980's, suddenly forcing planners and theories to include and commit to network governance practices and project planning. This historical development still leaves traces in how planning is thought about, practiced and regulated today, which is where this chapter comes to its end.

3.1 Roles and rationalities in a predictable world – a matter for planning experts

In the mid-20th century planning was perceived as a scientific profession that could solve the spatial problems of society when the right approach and theory was chosen. Most problems in planning in the post-war years were related to quite simple or *"tame"* (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 160) problems such as providing housing and building infrastructure to modernize society. This rationality and the societal conditions allowed the planner to act as an expert and address problems with entirely rational methods. (Sandercock, 1998)

Traditional or modernist planning, here understood as a collective term for comprehensive, rational and systems planning, finds its roots in the Enlightenment and the belief in progress directed by scientific and instrumental rationality. (Sandercock, 1998) Andreas Faludi, one of the main proponents of rational approaches in planning, has described it as *"the application of scientific method – however crude – to policy making"* (Faludi, 1973, p. 1). Planners were perceived to be experts holding special knowledge about what is good for people, and should be able to decide the development of spatial planning autonomously and without the interference of politics. (Allmendinger, 2009) Some were guided by utopian models created by people such as Ebenezer Howard or Le Corbusier, others by systems such as Christaller's Central Place Theory, and it was

believed that the best solutions to planning problems could be calculated rationally. If the solutions implemented by planners failed, it was perceived to be caused by external forces and had nothing to do with shortcomings of either planners or their theories. (Allmendinger, 2009; Sandercock, 1998)

When in the mid-1960's, different movements such as the black communities started a wave of major revolts in the United States, some planners acknowledged the existence of pluralist interests in society that had been ignored in what they perceived as the rationalist obsession with means, not ends. (Sandercock, 1998) They turned their focus from planning models to the poor and suppressed communities and insisted on their right and duty to promote specific interests in society; those of the impoverished. When Paul Davidoff (Davidoff, 1965) published his article *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning* in 1965, the advocate planner role was born. The model prescribed planners to "*work* on behalf *of poor communities*" (Sandercock, 1998, p. 82) by consulting the communities on what they wanted and needed, create a plan based on that drawing on their skills as planning experts, and take it back to the public agency to express the community's views and advocate their case in the system. Davidoff (1965) used the analogy of a legal advocate, and proposed that planners should create plans for each community, resulting in a pluralism of different plans and documents that should have some characteristics of a legal brief to win their case by *"presenting the facts and reasons for supporting one set of proposals, and facts and reasons indicating the inferiority of counter-proposals"* (Davidoff, 1965, p. 333). Although this model of planning incorporated interests of the neglected, it did not give them a voice of their own in planning or challenge existing unequal structures of power (Sandercock, 1998), since the planner and not the communities worked actively to promote their case, and all planning still happened top-down within the existing institutional framework.

In the 1960's and 70's strategic planning grew forward, where planning was viewed as a tool to work towards a *politically defined* future for a city rather than a preconceived theoretical utopia as in the rational-comprehensive approaches. Political visions were translated into spatial plans that would point out the strategic development of cities, for example by pointing out growth areas and major infrastructure projects to sup-

port them. It was anticipated that this defined goal could be reached in linear and unproblematic implementation processes of the plans. (Healey, 2010) This led to the emergence of so-called framework planning, a way for institutions to frame ground-level actions through a hierarchy of overarching policies and increasingly detailed plans, designed to ensure that the strategic visions of superiors would be implemented at the local level. Framework planning has since become the customary way of planning. (Albrechts, 2004) The strategic planner played the role of both advising the politicians who formulated the visions and strategies (to increase legitimacy and quality of decisions), and as an interpreter of visions into plans and actions. The planner however still was perceived to hold expert knowledge on desired spatial development. (Albrechts, 2004; Healey, 2010)

These three different rationalities for planning define planning problems as easily addressed and implementation processes as linear and simple, and the planner as an expert who knew better than anyone else in planning matters (although the strategic planner was somewhat more oriented towards the visions of political leaders than the two others). The rational and advocacy planners will henceforth be viewed as symbols of the autonomous and self-confident planner, guided by their own professional opinion in an institutional framework that allowed them to do so. The strategic planner is also an expert on planning matters, who subordinates to but still seeks to influence the political frameworks that regulate her, and uses her knowledge to convert political visions into concrete actions based on hierarchical policies and plans.

3.2 Roles and rationalities in a wicked world – the rise of pragmatic approaches

In the 1970's, a fundamental shift happened in planning rationality when living standards had risen and the 'tame' planning problems were not as urgent anymore (Rittel & Webber, 1973). The scope of planning shifted to be more socially oriented and value-based, and such problems could not be solved with simple, rational and technical solutions. It was realised that factors shaping the world were interconnected, so that the implementation of a planning solution one place could create new and even more severe problems somewhere else, so that planners were now

forced to *"expand the boundaries of the systems we deal with, trying to internalize those externalities"* (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 159). Essentially, the realisation was that planning involves great uncertainty, complexity and normativity. (Hartmann, 2012)

This led planning theorists to state that *"Planning problems are inherently wicked"* (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 160) – not because they have evil-minded intentions, but because they are tricky and potentially aggressive. The implications of the wickedness of planning problems are include that it is not possible to conclusively define the problem that is to be solved because its causes and consequences are equally intangible, nor to define a conclusive catalogue of possible solutions or which action will best solve the problem. It can never be unambiguously judged whether the implemented solution produces the results it was supposed to, whether it was the best solution or when the planner has done enough and can stop working on the solution. Planners only have one shot at a solution, they have no way of knowing whether they have done their job good enough, they cannot directly transfer knowledge and experience from one problem to a similar one because every problem is unique, and there is no tolerance of mistakes because people's lives are affected. Furthermore, each case where the problem occurs will need to be handled differently, since the context always changes the conditions for solving the problem and the methods that are necessary to use. (Rittel & Webber, 1973)

The realisation of the wickedness of planning problems marked a new era for planning; the rug was pulled out from under the simplistic rationalities. Planning theory splintered into many different orientations, trying to provide answers and solutions to the complexity that it was now confronted with and had no way of managing. Comprehensive planning, focus on one single interest and planning from an 'ivory tower' was no longer an option. Since planners suddenly had no way of knowing the consequences of their actions or what would be the best solution, one response in planning theory was to turn to pragmatism and a focus on the everyday actions of the planner and reflective learning-in-action – not because it could solve wicked problems, but because they could only cope with the small-scale level in planning and try to do their best in the face of the complexity and uncertainty of the greater societal problems. Many began to take their point of departure in the stakeholders influenced

by planning problems to try to understand and respond to their needs – and not the whole of society – in each project, and a more deliberative, democratic and pragmatic generation of planners emerged.

The pragmatist tradition, mainly influential in the United States and with John Dewey as one of its main inspirations, thought that planning had *"become too preoccupied with abstracted conceptions while the worlds of practice have been reduced to rule-following behaviour devoid of transformative potential"* (Healey, 2008, p. 278) Instead of focusing on the good intentions of actors in planning, they turned their focus to the actual consequences and outcomes of planning (Forester, 2012), and the social micro-practices that produce them. The truth was not to be found in prescriptive theories, since they were now all viewed as fallible. Knowledge would have to be created and refined instead in a constant process of open-minded inquiry into the issue, trial of the best suggestion for a solution and re-evaluation of theory and practice – the method of working for the pragmatic, '*Reflective Practitioner'* (Schön, 1983). In this way the development of knowledge and practical action were inseparably linked; *"developing knowledge of the world and acting in the world were all part of the same process of learning and discovering through experience."* (Healey, 2008, p. 280) This emphasised the role of the planner in a new way; as someone who had to listen closely to others and constantly exercise judgement in concrete practical situations in the search for the best outcomes, learning through pragmatic intervention in everyday life – as someone, whose practical actions and attitude made a world of a difference!

3.2.1 Radical planning – empowering social movements to fight their own battles in planning

The new focus of planning rationalities on social micro-practices has inspired an array of theorists and new theories over the years, including the 'communicative turn' in planning (see collaborative planning in section 3.3). Also John Friedmann found inspiration in pragmatism for his theorisations on planning as social mobilization for collective transformative action supported by the so-called *radical* planner. Radical planning has its roots in ideas on anarchism and communist revolution from the 19th century and belongs under the planning tradition of social mobiliza-

tion and *"is not what most would consider mainstream planning practice"* (Beard, 2003, p. 16). Friedman being among the best known theoretician addressing radical planning describes social mobilization as *"an ideology of the dispossessed, whose strength derives from social solidarity, from the seriousness of their political analysis, and from their unflinching determination to change the status quo."* (Friedmann, 1987, p. 83)

Radical planning takes as its point of departure social movements such as citizen groups and small organisations that are somehow oppressed in the existing society: *"Radical planning begins with a critique of the present situation"* (Friedmann, 1987, p. 303). Socially transformative action (maybe even revolutionary) is exercised by the groups themselves, and radical planning in this way is a bottom-up process and not top-down. To be able to do this, the social movements have to be *mobilized*, i.e. standing strong together and understanding how to navigate within the system. This is where the radical planner comes in.

In his normative model for radical planning, Friedmann (1987) outlines the role of the planner as aiding the social movements in understanding and analysing the problem they experience and the barriers they might encounter when taking action, as well as aiding them in preparing strategies for how to challenge the oppressive structures and change their situation. She may also help them establish good internal group dynamics to ensure that they stand strong and united. Throughout this process, the radical planner puts her analytical skills, planning experience and insider knowledge about institutional structures to the movement's disposal, advises them and builds their capacity for taking action themselves by teaching them the 'rules of the game' and jargon in the planning world and institutional framework. She *can* mediate between them and the state to build legitimacy around their proposed solutions (Friedmann, 1987), but leaves all decision-making and actual action to the movement itself and only helps when asked (Sandercock, 1998) to never work *on behalf* of the community group like the advocacy planner, but *with* them (Leavitt, 1994).

The role for the radical planner is not to fight for what she perceives as the group's challenge or to promote or advocate their cause to the government bodies, and is therefore not the same as advocacy planning (de-

spite several radical planners being involved in the advocacy movement in the 1960's (Sandercock, 1998, p. 98)). What fundamentally distinguishes the radical planner from the advocacy planner could thus be said to be that the radical planner is not actively fighting the battle of an interest group like the advocacy planner does, but merely acting as an instrument of empowerment to help interest groups fight their own battles. Hence, a radical planner *"must walk the thin line between standing apart from the group's practice and being consumed by it."* (Beard, 2003, p. 17) Radical planning should also not be confused with other *planner-driven* planning styles incorporating bottom-up processes such as community planning and collaborative planning, despite some similarities such as the planner being a neutral facilitator of processes between other actors (see collaborative planning later in this chapter). This is because the process is *not* invited from above, but initiated and driven from below.

Working as a radical planner is identified with working together with a group or society that is struggling in the current situation that is often established by the institutions or public agencies. This naturally creates tension if at the same time the planner is working in the same public agency that the social movements she is helping is fighting, and it can seem impossible for the planner to serve both with her integrity intact. When choosing to work with the community, the radical planner can according to Sandercock (1998) be identified with someone gone 'Absent Without Official Leave' (AWOL) in his or her profession.

The planner role is contended in radical planning literature; the one presented here is based on Friedmann's more neutral contribution. Others, such as Leavitt, do not maintain the same critical distance between the planner and social movement, but allows the planner to do things *with* the community, although still never on behalf of them. This marks a contention over the degree of activism of the individual radical planner that literature has not yet agreed on, and there are in this way small possibilities for variations in how 'radical' a planner can and should be herself to be defined as a 'radical planner'. (Sandercock, 1998)

The role of the radical planner is to enable the process by empowering the movement with knowledge and skills to fight their own battles against the institutional framework, but the planner does not initiate or decide

actions; she is a midwife of planning processes rather than an active actor. In this way the radical planner must sympathise with the cause of the social movement, but cannot fight their battles *on behalf* of them. The extent to which she can be actively engaged in the movement's work without doing it for them is however contested. Finally, the rationality of radical planning relate to processes and an emancipatory quest rather than an exact physical outcome.

A critique that could be directed towards radical planning literature is that the communities may be romanticized while the state is viewed as evil, excluding and oppressive. However, cases are also known where community groups too have excluded other groups such as gays, religious groups or cultures[1], and pure bottom-up planning may in that way also produce exclusion and oppression. (Sandercock, 1998) This opens up a discussion of the right of individual groups vs. the public good, and calls for a critical judgment in the planner; one that may be responded to through critical pragmatism, which is presented in the next section.

3.2.2 Critical pragmatism

The concept of critical pragmatism was developed by John Forester, who was greatly inspired by Schön and other pragmatists. He maintains the understanding of pragmatism as a reflective process of learning-in-action, but couples the pragmatic method of working with Critical Theory's critical explorations of the contextual structures and practices that shape actions, policies etc. in society. The result is the 'critical pragmatist'; a pragmatist who constantly seeks to uncover and question structures and norms that produce inequity in society. This puts a focus on the micro-politics of planning; how planners perform in planning situations, and how this influences and is influenced by governance cultures and power structures exercised. (Healey, 2008) Through his research Forester has concluded that *"planning is, more than anything, an interactive, communicative activity"* (Sandercock, 2003, p. 67), and he therefore puts great emphasis on the communicative practices of planners.

[1] This indirectly shows Sandercock's own opinion on planning for diversity.

Forester presents five characteristics of the mode of action and analysis within critical pragmatism. First of all, the critical pragmatist attends to both the process and outcome of planning because the planning practice is viewed as co-constructed, co-generated or negotiated. Secondly, critical pragmatists do not only treat theories as fallible; they anticipate them to be, and also to be distorted by systematic or structural framing that they aid to reproduce. Instead knowledge should be gathered through listening open-mindedly, perceptively, sensitively yet critically to sources of information no matter of their source. Thirdly, critical pragmatists engaging in deliberative processes distinguish sharply between the acts of facilitating dialogues, moderating debates and mediating negotiations, and understand that it is the stakeholders, not the intermediary, who ultimately produce the results. Fourthly, the critical pragmatist does not naively reduce 'conflicts' to 'debates', since they understand that problems are not always just about arguments, but also about hidden issues. Instead she views agonism and ambiguity as constructive and informative, and addresses conflicts through inventive and creative processes. Finally, critical pragmatism promotes reconstructive imagination over deconstructive scepticism; explorations of possibility over presumptions of impossibility; and creative cogenerated win-win solutions responsive to diverse interests over adversarial bargaining. (Forester, 2012)

The critical pragmatist is always eager to discover how she can do better. Forester (2012) describes her as never being arrogant, callous, apolitically technocratic, exclusive, condescending, conservative and blindly obedient to political and professional power. Instead she strives to listen and understand, to look behind actions and arguments to uncover exclusive or unjust structures and norms (in her surroundings as well as in herself (Sandercock, 2003)) that she can challenge instead of reproduce through her actions, and to use her critical judgment to never succumb to neither naive dreaming nor defeatist cynicism and facile resignation. (Forester, 2012)

To summarise, the rationality of critical pragmatism is that nothing or no one can be trusted naively (be they theories, people etc.), which demands critical judgment but must not lead to paralysis in planning. The belief in perfect solutions is discarded, and the planner then plays an essential role as the midwife of solutions, attending to both processes and

outcomes. The planner includes stakeholders in the planning process, looks beyond their articulated opinions to understand their essential needs, and uses her social skills, creativity and critical sense to facilitate, moderate or mediate processes between the stakeholders (depending on how antagonistic they are) to create win-win solutions. Since no theory can be trusted, the planner essentially only has herself to trust, and is learning in action by reflecting on experiences.

3.3 Roles and rationalities in a world of governance and less planner autonomy

While planners as professionals had been allowed a fair amount of autonomy since the birth of the profession, they were in for a rude awakening when major reforms in the public sector in the 1980's and 1990's completely changed the faith in and perspective on the bureaucracy and its professionals. The New Public Management wave crashed through Western Europe and flooded public agencies, washing away trust and leaving a paradigm of efficiency and minimal interference as driftwood in its wake. Since New Public Management hit different countries with different severities, the focus will now shift to a more Danish context to keep the relevance for Danish planning.

In Denmark, the public reforms started in the early 1980's when a modernisation programme was issued by the new right-wing government. This programme included a shift from government to governance, and from top-down regulation to market mechanisms, more engagement with stakeholders and 'users' of planning outcomes, and the decentralisation of responsibility and agency. (Bogason, 2008) The decentralisation of New Public Management entailed fragmentation of comprehensive institutional bodies into isolated autonomous units to increase efficiency, making it harder to coordinate actions. (Ferlie, Ashburner, Fitzgerald, & Pettigrew, 1996) This caused a change in the institutional framework, where the comprehensive planning tasks were transferred upwards in the system to the political level to be managed by development units close to the mayors, leaving only the very local planning tasks to the urban planners. This signifies a general shift in urban planning conditions from comprehensive planning towards project planning, and made it more likely that

project ideas would cause plans to be changed than the opposite. (Sehested, 2009)

The planner role within the New Public Management framework is in this way mainly engaged in projects at the local level and has little power in the planning hierarchy. The rationality is performance, efficiency and economy, and much of the neo-liberal planners' focus is on establishing evaluation criteria and procedures to assess the performance of implemented solutions (Healey, 2006). The overriding argument in neo-liberal planning is the economic one; the cost-effectiveness of decisions. (Sager, 2009) Planners in this way apply economic rationales to spatial issues.

The shift towards governance rather than government furthermore opened up the planning process to a fragmented system of policy networks including both public and private actors and stretching horizontally and vertically in the civic and political hierarchy. Such governance networks can either be closed and elitist, or open and inclusive of a plurality of interests and people. (Sehested, 2009) Including external public and private actors such as interest organisations is not a new thing in Danish planning, as for example mandatory hearings were established in the Planning Act in 1970. However, it was a new thing that also developers, entrepreneurs and the broader public should suddenly have access to decision-making in planning. (Sehested, 2003)

In line with the shift towards more democratic and user-oriented governance processes caused by the public reforms in Denmark (Bogason, 2008), inclusive planning processes have also been encouraged especially up through the 1990's by politicians who wish to secure broad support for planning outcomes. (Sehested, 2003) Planning theory responded to this with the development of the communicative or collaborative planning theories inspired by Habermas' theory of Communicative Action, Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation and the pragmatist tradition. The rationality focuses on democracy, inclusion and allowing stakeholders to design their desired outcomes in collaboration, and the planner's job is to facilitate processes in which different stakeholders can work out solutions together. In her purest form, the collaborative planner only participates in planning processes as a process manager, ensuring that all relevant stakeholders are included, that communication between the stakeholders is

constructive and limiting distortions of power, and working with stakeholders to ensure that consensus is reached in the end. (Innes, 1996)

Altogether, the public reforms meant that a considerable pressure from the political hierarchy came to overshadow all the planner's actions, while the planner through the shift to network governance and project planning maintained some autonomy but had to collaborate with and include new actors in planning processes. This ambiguity of freedom and political control has by Scharpf (1994, p. 41) been denominated governance *"under the shadow of hierarchical authority"*. This creates a challenging working environment for the planner, because any decisions made by networks on the ground level can ultimately be dismissed by politicians, while the multiple rationalities of external stakeholders must be acknowledged and incorporated in the process. This polyrationality in planning, stemming from politicians and the public, poses new challenges for planners and how to embrace them all at the same time in planning processes.

3.3.1 Finding reason in polyrationality – a case for clumsy solutions?

Even though planning rationalities have since the acknowledgment of wicked problems in the early 1970's acknowledged the existence of polyrationality in planning, planning theories have not yet agreed on a foolproof way of incorporating them in planning. Instead, many tend to prefer monorational approaches to avoid having to deal with the chaos and complexity of embracing polyrationality in planning. Polyrationality is one of the main reasons why planning problems are wicked; this is what causes the ambiguousness of the quality of applied solutions, since that quality is subjectively judged by numerous different individuals with different perceptions of the problem and desirable outcome. Although monorationality is easier to work with for planners, it is not representative of and does not fit the real world. (Davy, 2008) As Davy (2008, p. 309) puts it: *"Although the real estate developer, the city planner, and the community activist walk the same streets, they might as well live on different planets. Not their unity, but rather their diversity is the key to successful city building"* – and accordingly, planners must address it to apply the best possible solution to their wicked problems. Sadly, an indefinite number of ration-

alities are virtually impossible to cope with for a human being, and a simpler model of polyrationality is needed. A suggestion to how to deal with it is the application of the 'Clumsy Solutions' concept from Cultural Theory. This concept simplifies the many different planning rationalities and groups them into four categories, enabling planners to understand and cope with them all at the same time and look into the future through only four different lenses.

The four groups of rationalities are *egalitarianism, individualism, hierarchism* and *fatalism*. Each focuses on and acknowledges different aspects of the world while ignoring others, and arguments based on the three other rationality groups seem completely irrational to each. Egalitarianism views the world as interconnected, fragile and balancing on a knife's edge; even the smallest human disturbance may produce an avalanche of severe consequences that will lead to ultimate destruction, and hence the Precautionary Principle rules in all actions. Individualism views the world as robust and resilient; no human action can push it over the precipice, and if humans experiment in search of fortune the world will always find its balance eventually. Hierarchism views the world as robust within limits; humans can experiment within limits calculated by experts and guarded by institutional frameworks, but moving beyond those limits will as in egalitarianism have boundless consequences. Finally, fatalism views the world as completely insusceptible to human actions; no matter what humans do, nothing can essentially be changed, which leads to a feeling of paralysing powerlessness, which must however not be confused with indifference. (Hartmann, 2012; Verweij et al., 2006) The four rationalities can exist in different graduations, but subdivision into more categories would increase the complexity, which would counteract the original objective of grouping them into a comprehensible amount of categories. (Hartmann, 2012)

After this division of plural rationalities into four, it becomes possible to facilitate dialogue between each of them because their essential contradicting motives and world views are uncovered. Cultural Theory explains that each of the rationalities will somehow be existing in every social situation (this is known as the impossibility theorem) and will each have their own description of a situation, but none of them will be able to describe the reality in full, since the other rationalities have different but

equally rational descriptions that the first rationality cannot acknowledge without contradicting itself. If one is not represented at a given time, it may just be hidden and capable of emerging later on. This leads to a dynamic imbalance of rationalities, where the dominant rationality at a given time will be surprised and overtaken by another rationality when its ability to explain a situation becomes inadequate. Hence, neglecting one of the rationalities in a proposed solution to a problem will make that solution vulnerable to attacks from the rationalities that are not represented. (Hartmann, 2012) To avoid this, every solution must be designed to satisfy each of the four rationalities enough for them to accept it. This type of solution is known as a so-called 'clumsy solution'; a proposal that is supported enough to actually be recognised as a solution, but which can never be perfect or ideal due to the contradictory rationalities it has to hold. (Hartmann, 2012)

To summarise, the collation of the plural rationalities of the world into four categories and incorporating each of them into one clumsy solution may be a way to address and provide durable solutions to planning problems today. This presents a planning rationality embracing and operationalising polyrationality, but does not address how the planner role should be shaped to be capable of responding to polyrationality in the surroundings, even though it seems imperative in a wicked world shaped through network governance.

3.3.2 The hybrid planner – one role, several rationalities

A suggestion for a way for planners to practice in a world containing several rationalities about planning has been proposed with the notion of the *hybrid* planner. This framework of hybridity in planner roles was introduced by Howe (1980) in the late 1970's when she discovered that some planners incorporated features of both a technical and political planner role into one, allowing them to sympathize with and act based on two different planning rationalities. The hybrid framework allowed them to *"see advantages to both orientations and engage in either a constant process of choice or in an attempt to balance the inconsistencies"* (Howe, 1980, p. 400) when shifting back and forth between the two rationalities. However, the development both in planning rationalities and institutional frameworks powered by New Public Management reforms in the public

sector has since then also expanded the amount of rationalities the planner must relate to and complicated her working conditions with great implications for the role of the planner.

Through research conducted in Danish municipalities in the 1990's it was discovered that Danish planners still assume hybrid roles in their everyday practice, however in an altered form. This more contemporary hybrid planner has not only two, but four role variants to choose from, each representing and also capable of responding to different rationalities for planning and the actors who are prescribed to participate in the governance processes they involve (see overview in Appendix B). The role variants have been denominated by the researcher as the *professional strategist*, the *manager*, the *market planner* and the *process planner,* respectively (Sehested, 2009), but carry planning rationalities traceable to previously reviewed planning theories even though the context around some of them have changed because of the development in the institutional framework to 'governance in the shadow of hierarchy'.

The professional strategist holds the rationality of the rational-comprehensive planner and is mainly collaborating with other professional planners, but has had to adapt to the stronger political control by developing a stronger loyalty towards the politicians. The implications of this is that they accept political authority to a greater extent than the rational planner, and will follow their professional opinion until a political decision tells them otherwise, which they will accept even though it might conflict with their professional beliefs. The manager holds the rationality of the strategic planner and is therefore engaged with translating political visions into concrete projects in formalised and efficient processes within closed elitist networks. The market planner holds the rationality of the neoliberal planner and collaborates with investors and developers to create economic profit for the city as well as the stakeholders. And finally the process planner holds the rationality of the collaborative planner and facilitates democratic and inclusive processes between citizens, groups and organisations in the broader public without imposing her own opinion on the outcome. (Sehested, 2009)

Sehested's framework for the role of the contemporary Danish municipal planner suggests that they must be able to take on each of the above described four planner role variants to be able to respond satisfactorily to

different situations in the complex planning conditions of today. Since the orientations of each role variant is quite different, having to assume all role variants at once would *"produce an almost schizophrenic result for the urban planner in question"* (Sehested, 2009, p. 257). Instead the planner manages the necessary hybridity of her role by assuming the role variant that is most appropriate in the given situation; a decision that can be made either consciously or unconsciously. (Sehested, 2009) It is worth noting, however, that just because this type of planner is capable of shifting between different roles and rationalities, it does not mean that it necessarily produces comprehensive, polyrationally acceptable or 'clumsy' solutions.

Although Sehested's hybrid planner theory sets up a framework for the contemporary Danish planner, it does not present much explanation of *how* the individual planner chooses which role variant to assume when. This is just explained as something that is decided by the individual planner, allowing her quite a lot of freedom to shape her own individual planner role within the hybrid planner framework; *"a fairly wide and open "construction site" for urban planners to improvise"* (Sehested, 2009, p. 257). Some role variants could be completely left out, and the remaining variants combined and balanced in different ways so that one or a few might be dominant. Ultimately, this means that there is no single recipe for what a hybrid planner is; the possibilities for combining the four role variants are endless. Furthermore, according to Sehested the role of the planner is constantly created and recreated through adaptation to the surroundings and choices of the individual planner. Since society (and with it the rationalities and institutional frameworks for planning) is constantly developing, the hybrid planner framework could have changed since Sehested first formulated it, depending on contextual factors. It is possible that a new role variant could have emerged, or that the characteristics of the four role variants in Sehested's framework have changed to adapt themselves to new conditions and demands in the planning world.

In summary, the hybrid planner framework implies that planners can adapt to polyrationality in their surroundings by assuming different rationalities and roles at different times. The planner role is created in an interplay between the institutional framework, the society's rationalities about planning and the planner's choices of how to act when. However,

Sehested neglects evaluating the implications for planning outcomes, and considerably simplifies the trouble of dealing with the polyrationality and potentially conflicting expectations of the entire general public. The hybrid planner theory also does not present normative or prescriptive guidance as to when to act in line with which rationality or how to balance and combine the roles in practice. This calls for a further understanding of the way planners determine which role and rationality to assume when – which in accordance with the hybrid framework both relates to the individual choices of the planner and the institution's regulation of employee behaviour.

3.4 Implementation directed by institutional restraints and individual choices

In a world of network governance in the shadow of hierarchy, the planner plays a key role in managing planning and implementation processes and ensuring that they correspond with political visions, since she is working 'in the field' where the projects are given shape and has great power to influence the final outcome. She may even in some cases have the power to decide whether the implementation of a political vision will be succeed depending on if she chooses to work, shirk or sabotage during the implementation process (Brehm & Gates, 1997). This role is not only tied to the planner, but all professionals employed in public agencies, and has in literature been studied as the concepts of street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980) frontline workers and field workers. Since they are employed in public institutions, they are however not completely free to make decisions on-the-go; they have to adapt to an institutional framework. Winter and Nielsen (2008) have proposed that institutional factors affecting the field worker's freedom to choose methods can be divided into three; the *legislative*, *political* and *administrative* frameworks.

First of all, planners must abide by the legislation, but how to apply it to concrete projects is not prescribed in the laws. Such detailed regulation of procedures would not make sense, among other reasons because processes are strongly influenced by the other internal and external actors and stakeholders that planners must engage with during the implementation processes, and the cooperation and challenges that this involves; a phenomenon known as '*joint production*' (Hasenfeld, 1992) of outcomes.

The lack of detailed regulation entails that fieldworkers must use their judgement (act on their own discretion) to evaluate what is possible within the legislative framework. The fieldworkers in this way have a possibility to use (or misuse) their position to influence how and if certain projects should be realised. (Lipsky, 1980) However, due to joint-production, it will no matter what be impossible for the field worker – or in this case the municipal planner – to decide everything independently based on her own discretion.

Secondly, the political visions and leaders also have an influence on the field workers freedom of method choice and the tasks she engages with. The agenda for the field worker in public agencies is decided by the political visions defined by the politicians. In some cases the work tasks in connection to realisation of political vision are fixed for the field worker, but just as in the case with the legislation some field workers have more freedom of method choice than others who work within more strict frames depending on how precise directions the political leaders and visions give for the projects. In this way, the stronger and more detailed the political framework is articulated by the political leaders, the less freedom of method choice the field worker will typically have. (Winter & Nielsen, 2008)

Finally, the administrative framework of the public agency has an influence on the freedom of the field worker. This can be in relation to administrative structure and general tasks in the department, but also the personality of the administrative leader is important. Here factors such as trust in the field worker's capability to manage her task responsibly by herself can also have an influence on how much freedom the field worker is given. (Winter & Nielsen, 2008) The public agency can also be rewarded for allowing the fieldworker room to experiment and possibly make mistakes, since this promotes a culture of innovation in the institution and may help to optimise the institutional framework i.e. by developing new procedures or drawing attention to organisational barriers (Torfing, 2012), in this way allowing the field worker to co-construct the framework she works within.

The legislative, political and administrative frameworks can be viewed as placed in a hierarchy (see Figure 5) where the legislative framework also regulates the political and administrative frameworks

(since also political and administrative leaders must obey the law), and the political also influences the administrative framework (since administrative leaders, just like field workers, must also obey the politicians). Together they form the form the institutional framework that outlines the space the field worker works within by allowing her more or less freedom to use her own discretion to choose methods and interpret visions into outcomes.

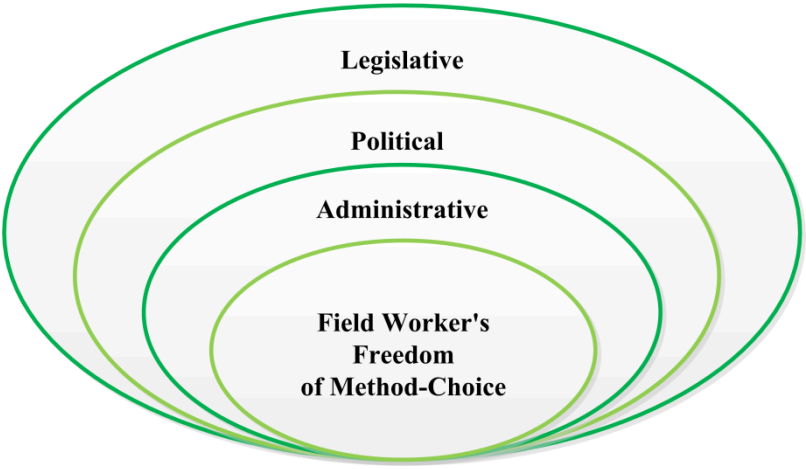

Figure 5 – Factors influencing the field workers freedom of method choice (own figure)

The way the planner chooses to fill in this space of freedom is dependent on herself. The personal factors influencing her behaviour are connected to her personal characteristics; both her ability (her cognitive capacity (Simon, 1947)) to implement projects and visions, and her will to do so (Winter & Nielsen, 2008). Especially her will is tricky and intangible, since it involves many psychological factors, and would be too complex a subject to account for in depth in this chapter. However, it could i.a. be related to her relationship to the organisation (Anderson & Schalk, 1998) or the amount of time she has worked within the organisation and been subjected to a socialization process (Schein, 1971). Also her personal motivation (related to i.a. interest, sympathy, autonomy, self-realisation, feeling of competence, social interaction, witnessing the fruit of one's labour etc. (Gagné & Deci, 2005)) influences her will – and mo-

tivation has even been proposed to be able to act as a *"surrogate for [...] the meaning of work"* (Sievers, 1986, p. 335). Literature has discussed how much the individual's behaviour is actually affected by these factors determining will to work on specific tasks, and a continuum has been proposed to exist between two roles extremes; the 'organisation without humans' employee, where the fieldworker is devoid of personality in relation to work tasks and only the institution influences the behaviour, and the 'human without organisation', where the individual acts only based on own rationality and is not affected by the institutional framework at all. (Lægreid & Olsen, 1978) However, in practice it is most likely to find fieldworkers somewhere in-between the two extremes (Winter & Nielsen, 2008).

To summarise, the legislative, political and administrative framework, outlines the space in which the planner can choose her own methods, i.e. when planning through network governance in social processes 'in the field'. The framework leaves more or less room for individual decision-making based on the planners own discretion, which entails that the planner's personal characteristics will influence the outcomes in planning in different directions depending on her knowledge and skills as well as her will to either work, shirk or sabotage implementation processes, which is determined by a wide array of psychological factors.

3.5 The dynamics of planning rationalities, planner roles and institutional frameworks – A summary

Through this chapter the interplay between planning rationalities, planner roles and institutional frameworks and some of their qualities, contents and characteristics have been presented. The mutual influence between the planning rationalities and institutional frameworks were visible, for example in how the political rationality of strategic planning induced a new way of framing planning actions with hierarchies of visions and increasingly detailed plans, and conversely how New Public Management reforms in the public sector caused new rationalities of planning to emerge including neoliberal and collaborative planning. The interplay between planning rationalities and planner roles was also demonstrated, for example in how the new rationality about wickedness in planning problems caused planners to adopt pragmatic approaches, and

how the development of hybrid planner roles caused a new understanding of planning to be described in academia. Also the institutional framework's legislative, political and administrative influence on the planner's behaviour was presented, as well as how planners may co-construct institutional frameworks in innovative institutions.

Planning during the second half of the 20th century moved away from rational and linear planning processes and adopted more pragmatic and democratic approaches due to the realisation that planning was uncertain and complex. The need for pragmatism and inclusion of stakeholders was consolidated with the shift from governing to network governance and project planning. The pragmatic approaches allowed planners to address wicked problems through reflective learning-in-action, and were necessary when multiple rationalities about planning were suddenly welcomed into the joint production of outcomes. Hybrid roles grew forward to allow planners to respond to the polyrational working environment, but the role is not necessarily producing outcomes that are sanctioned by all rationalities. The way to include the interests of the broader community in planning outcomes are as different as advocacy planning, radical planning and critical pragmatism – should the planner work on behalf of communities, enable oppressed social movements to fight for themselves or facilitate dialogue, moderate debates and mediate negotiations between stakeholders drawing on her creativity and critical judgment?

The actions of the planner is crucial in the implementation of planning decisions no matter what role or rationality she carries, since her position to work, shirk or sabotage processes shapes the outcomes considerably. Even though the institutional framework regulates her behaviour, she will always be required to act on her sole discretion to some extent and hence set her personal mark on planning projects related to her ability and will to implement solutions. Her crucial influence on the outcome has entailed the addition of the 'outcome' into the figure of the interrelationships between roles, rationalities and institutional frameworks (see Figure 6). The outcome is influenced and shaped by rationalities, roles and the institutional framework too, but also influences them in return; the planner role through the feedback for the pragmatic planner to reflect and adjust behaviour, the rationality through a new shaping of opinions based on the perceived quality of the outcome, and the institutional framework through

feedback that can be used to adjust the legislation, political goals or administrative procedures. The central role of the planner in implementation processes is represented by placing the role in the centre, and the importance of the individual planner's personal influence on the role she plays symbolized by placing a person in that same box.

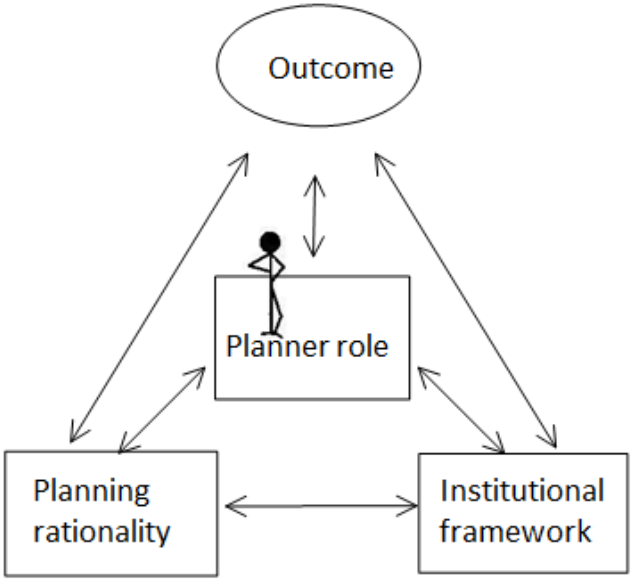

Figure 6 – Graphic presentation of the summarised theoretical framework (own figure)

Chapter 4
Implementing urban gardens under the institutional framework of Copenhagen Municipality

After introducing the theoretical framework, this chapter will describe how urban gardens have emerged in Copenhagen and the institutional framework it happened within. The objective is to introduce the case as well as outline the different legislative, political and administrative factors that are influencing the establishment of gardens and thereby also influencing the planners, their freedom of method-choice and the planning roles they assume. This will create an understanding of the case, which is important for the following analysis of planner roles and rationalities within the institutional setting of Copenhagen Municipality.

First, a case description of the development of urban gardens in Copenhagen will be presented. Here it will be described how it started, what challenges they have been and are still facing, and which actors (internal and external to the organisation) are involved in the development and implementation of the urban gardens. Afterwards, the institutional framework is presented in terms of legislation and policies that influence urban gardens, and the administrative environment that the planners work in. In this way each of the three frameworks influencing the planner's freedom of method-choice are displayed; the legislative, the political and the administrative factors. This framework is finally summarised before moving on to the analysis of planner roles, rationalities and the influence of the institutional framework in the consecutive chapter.

4.1 Urban Gardening – The case of Copenhagen

As introduced in Chapter 1 there are many different motives around the world for establishing urban gardens and many different types of

urban gardens. This is also the case in Copenhagen, where a variety of gardens have been established especially since 2011. The urban gardens in Copenhagen have in general mainly been established due to the citizens' interest in either growing their own food locally or creating a meeting space for the local community, where people can form relationships as a side-effect of cultivating the gardens. Currently, there are approximately 13 registered urban gardens and 10 school gardens in Copenhagen. (Københavns Kommune, 2013a) When the first garden initiatives started to show interest in creating a garden in Copenhagen, neither the citizens nor the municipality had any experience with that kind of temporary gardening projects in. This proved to be a challenge for both the citizen groups and the planners.

4.1.1 How it all started: Prags Have…

The first urban garden in Copenhagen was Prags Have ("Prag's-Garden") and was established by a group of students on a former industrial area, who wanted to study how urban gardens affect the local community and gardens could be used in urban development by creating a recreational area on a former industrial area. The purpose of the garden was mainly social; to create a common area, where people could meet up and grow vegetables together and later eat them at weekly communal eating events inside the garden. The idea arose in the winter period 2010-2011 and was inspired by other urban gardens initiatives from Cuba, Berlin and other places. (P. Andersen, 2013; Knudsen, 2013)

The project evoked a lot of interest in the media and from the municipality, and specifically the Centre for Park and Nature, who in 2012 recommended that the initiative should apply for a pool for green partnerships, which could support the initiative with some money. (P. Andersen, 2013)

The founders of Prags Have applied for the pool for green partnerships, and received a letter in August 2012 from the Centre for Environment, informing that the site where the garden had been established was polluted and that they were not allowed to use the former industrial area for recreational purposes without applying for permission to change the zoning from industrial to recreational uses, and that it would probably not

be possible to. Hence, they could not receive the funding, since the municipality couldn't support illegal projects. (P. Andersen, 2013)

Prags Have was not the only one who was suddenly stuck in the middle of the municipal visions and the different legislations. Other citizen-driven initiatives could also not receive the funds due to legislation. This incident happened due to Centre of Park and Nature's unawareness of the legislative challenges temporary projects are facing. Due to this, Prags Have and Centre for Park and Nature established a dialog where the centre guided the initiative through the administrative system and rules (also because of the blunder made by the centre (P. Andersen, 2013)) and helped them to receive the dispensation for permission to use the industrial area for recreational purposes. This process was also new to the Centre for Park and Nature, who had never worked with urban gardens before. This was a long process that finally gave Prags Have the permission to use the area in the winter-period 2011-2012.

However, using the polluted area for recreational purposes resulted in uphill challenges for Prags Have since there were environmental requirements that needed to be fulfilled, such as removing a huge amount of polluted soil. This was difficult, expensive and time consuming for a project that was based on voluntary work, especially when considering that the project was based in an area that was only for temporary use, and which had to be returned in the same condition as received. Because Prags Have wanted to be the pioneer example, and the Centre of Park and Nature wanted to make it possible to, they managed to get dispensation to cover the area with plastic ground protection mats and cover them with gravel, mainly sponsored by the municipality. (P. Andersen, 2013; Knudsen, 2013)

The example of Prags Have is very interesting, because it showcases many different factors that have an influence on the implementation and realisation of an urban gardening project. Prags Have was the first example of an urban garden initiative, but they were lacking knowledge and information of laws and regulations and who to contact and interact with inside the municipality. This was, among other things, because the municipality had never really tried to deal with such initiatives before; standard procedures for such temporary initiatives did not yet exist at that time.

Nevertheless, the municipality was interested in supporting the initiative, but also lacking the knowledge of how to go about it.

These institutional barriers that Prags Have experienced are similar to some of the other gardens. What makes Prags Have different from some of the other urban gardens in Copenhagen is that it is placed on a private brown-field site; many of the others are placed in municipally owned, public areas. Before taking a closer look into the institutional factors, a few other gardens will be presented.

4.1.2 … and its successors

In connection with the establishment of Prags Have other gardens started to see the light of day. All the gardens are defined as urban gardens, nevertheless this is often the only thing that the urban gardens have in common, since the purpose of the individual urban garden, the gardens organisational structure and how and where it is build and cultivated is vary widely. It is therefore interesting and relevant to understand the versatility of the gardens, since the different points of departures and purposes of the gardens have an effect on how the gardens have been implemented.

Compared to Prags Have focuses the urban garden DYRK Nørrebro (contrary to Prags Have) more on cultivation methods for urban areas and making a more political statement by creating awareness of eating and producing more locally grown food. Next to cultivation, they focus on disseminating the idea of having your own kitchen garden in the city and creating better communities in the inner-city neighbourhood of Nørrebro by arranging different events where people can join in. (L. S. Andersen, 2011) The garden started in 2011 and is placed on the roof-top of a school in Nørrebro, and has therefore not experienced the same challenges with the zoning law as Prags Have.

Another interesting urban garden project is Byhaven 2200 that started in 2012 in a corner of a public park in Nørrebro. They are different from DYRK and Prags Have by being situated in a public area, and are therefore renting some of the municipality's land. The establishment of Byhaven2200 is based on the idea of creating a more knowledge and awareness of the production of food, and also creating an area in Nørrebro where different types of people can socialise and form relationships. The

idea is furthermore to have joint meetings and events planting the vegetables and cooking communal dinners from the crops. The founders of Byhaven2200 were students who were also active in Copenhagen Food Guild[2] and wanted to put focus on not only organic, locally grown vegetables but also create an awareness of production and responsibility in connection to food consumption. (Villumsen, 2013) When the idea was born it was a challenge to find a spot where the garden could be placed. This was due to a limited amount of recreational areas in Copenhagen, but in the end the corner of the public park, which drug dealers used to use, was rented out by the municipality.

Ørestad Urbane Haver is an association based in two locations in Ørestad on Amager in Copenhagen. This project started as a cooperation between the citizens and Miljøpunkt Amager[3] in 2005 and the land used was made available by the 'landowners association' and 'By og Havn' who wanted to support citizen driven initiatives in the local area. This project developed based on the increased interest for urban gardens and due to a huge development going on in Ørestad with a lot of vacant fields whose future use is not yet decided. By establishing urban gardens in this area unused land can be used and at the same time create urban life in the new area. The idea about the urban gardens here can be related to a miniversion of the Danish allotment gardens. Compared to the other urban gardening projects this project gives citizens in Copenhagen the opportunity to get their own little garden (max. 16 m^2), where they can grow their own vegetables. The focus of this initiative is not on community gatherings, but different kinds of events for the "gardeners" are still arranged. Similar projects have started in Copenhagen such as the Metrohaver (Metro gardens). (Miljøpunkt Amager, 2012)

Verdenshaven is a small urban garden placed on a public and staffed playground, and started mainly as an idea of creating a green and mental-

[2] Copenhagen Food Guild (Københavns Fødevarefællesskab) is a volunteer-driven association selling locally grown organic vegetables in Copenhagen. The organisation is based on voluntary work. (KBHFF, 2013)

[3] Former local environmental centre (7 in total) that used to be a part of Copenhagen Municipality. In 2011 it was decided that the local councils in Copenhagen should take over the environmental centres. Since then four centres have developed into local NGO's supporting diverse green initiatives in the local community. (Christensen, 2013; dinby.dk, 2010)

ly recreational space. The garden is nevertheless developing and changing the focus depending on how they can receive funding. They have focused on how to activate the children living in Nørrebro, and are hoping to receive funding from the municipality to start a project focusing on immigrant women to activate and integrate them into Danish society by engaging them in the garden. Because Verdenshaven is not permanently supported financially, they have to think creatively in how they can keep the garden. (Natasa, Jann, & Tina, 2013)

4.1.3 Implementation of urban gardens as joint-production

In connection to implementing the urban gardens, the municipality plays a significant role and it is therefore also necessary to understand the actors inside the municipality, that have been involved in enabling urban gardening in Copenhagen as well as the gardens themselves. Especially two planners (who are the main focus of this report) played a significant role, since they acted as coordinators between the gardening initiatives and other relevant actors and were the ones following and facilitating the implementation processes from within the municipal administration. However, they were not alone in solving the problems related to the implementation, and in this way they took part in what is in the theory chapter denominated joint-production of outcomes. In the following, the planners as well as the two other main stakeholders within the municipality (Centre for Environment and the park managers) are presented.

The planners acting as coordinators for the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen Municipality are named Lærke and Anton. Lærke, whose education is within landscape architecture, is the more experienced planner of the two and has been working with the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen ever since the trend (re)emerged in the city with the establishment of DYRK Nørrebro and Prags Have. Anton's education is within International Development and Geography, and he is hence not educated within a more traditional urban planning education. The importance of the difference in education background for how they act as planners in everyday tasks will be discussed in the analysis.

Both planners are employed under the Technical and Environmental Administration (Teknik- og Miljøforvaltningen), which is one of Copenhagen Municipality's seven overall administrative departments. Within this administration they are working in the Centre for Park and Nature, but they also have other tasks than the "traditional" spatial issues of urban planners, since their main work objective is facilitating volunteer initiatives within the spaces managed by the Centre for Park and Nature. Anton is also representing the Technical and Environmental Administration in the recently established cross-sectoral Volunteering Network, which has a representative from each administration and is coordinated by the Administration for Culture and Leisure. The objective of this Network is to improve knowledge sharing between the different administrations and coordination of procedures related to volunteer initiatives within Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune, 2012a).

The Centre for Environment is another centre belonging under the Technical and Environmental Administration in Copenhagen Municipality. Their tasks as a centre are divided into seven areas; climate, waste, noise, recycling, business environment, rat extermination and polluted soil. (Københavns Kommune, n.d.-a) The latter, polluted soil, is mainly where the Centre for Environment plays a role in connection to the urban gardens, since they are working with cases connected to with the contaminated soil act and the Danish Planning Act. It is their responsibility that the different areas in the municipality are used correctly in connection to the environment and the law, as well as assessing different applications for dispensations connected with the contaminated soil act. The Centre for Environment should therefore be seen as an authority in this case.

The park managers are also an important stakeholder in the case of urban gardens in Copenhagen, since many of the gardens are placed in parks that the park managers in the municipality have to maintain. The park managers belong under the Centre for Park and Nature, where also the planners responsible for implementing the urban gardens work. Every time an urban garden or other type of project is about to be established in a park in Copenhagen, the planners have to contact the park managers and consult with them about the project. The park managers are responsible

for the parks and that they are kept nicely, and a change in the use of the park has an influence on the tasks and work load of the managers. The possibility of establishing a garden therefore also relies on that the park managers agree on implementing a garden in the public parks. (Thorsen, 2013)

4.2 The institutional framework – challenges and windows of opportunity

The above case description of urban gardens in Copenhagen has outlined some of the challenges that the gardens have faced during the implementation. It has furthermore also touched briefly on the institutional framework that the gardens and the planners are faced with. Dividing these factors into the three categories of legislative, political and administrative factors, as introduced in the theory, it is possible to understand the institutional framework from a theoretical perspective. This is what will be the objective of the next section.

4.2.1 Legislative Framework

Looking at the legislative factors that have an influence on the development of urban gardens, the **Danish Planning Act** is crucial. Urban gardens have to be implemented on areas that are zoned for recreational use. The division of zoning is determined in the municipal plan, and if a change of the use of the zoning is desired, the municipality has to give permission by dispensation. The reason for not permitting the use of industrial areas is the high risk of pollution, and recreational areas must live up to the same standards as play grounds. (Miljøministeriet, 2009a) Prags Have was an example of how the Danish Planning Act was a legislative barrier to put their garden in a former industrial area.

The Contamination Soil Act is another legislative factor that influences the implementation of urban gardens, since all soil in Copenhagen per definition is polluted. This results in that the gardens are not allowed to cultivate directly in the ground, but have to find alternative ways of growing crops such as raised beds. Furthermore it appears in the act that it is not allowed to move any amount of soil (polluted or not) without permission. (Miljøministeriet, 2009b)

In general the greatest challenge is that these projects are regulated by several laws. The challenge is not so much that they have to obey laws, but that the laws are not made for temporary projects. This is also seen in other projects, where the project managers would have liked more flexibility:

> *And then you could say that there are too many regulations, or that there should be a triviality limit on some regulations. It would be fantastic if you just could say that "you are not allowed to move polluted soil – however, you are allowed to move it if it is less than 1 m^3 and you are pretty sure that there is no mercury in it." (Uldall, 2013)*

This means that projects that from many other perspectives have benefits for the society and pose no risk for people cannot be realised because they are regulated by laws that (because of their inflexibility) do not fit temporary projects. The Ministry of the Environment is aware of this challenge:

> *Clearly it [the Planning Act] should be updated too, but it is just to say that when you do that sort of thing, you have to be certain that it doesn't have a negative effect somewhere else, and that's the great danger of starting to fiddle with local plans and the Planning Act; if you change something here, then it has a negative effect somewhere else. [...] In general it is about a greater flexibility in all aspects. I think that is the key. We need that [...] in parts of the legislation. We have to be willing to adapt. (Schultz, 2013)*

Although this quote focuses on the Danish Planning Act, similar challenges are seen in the other acts. Since the legislation regulates many things and in many ways are very general, they are not easily changed since these laws that have been developed through many years and are based on a massive amount of knowledge and experiences accumulated over time. As stated above, the Ministry of the Environment is aware of the challenges that the legislations pose to temporary projects, and they are very interested in better accommodating temporary uses of space and

see it as a great potential in urban development. Still, the precautionary principle is overriding any interests in temporary activation projects. Nevertheless, although the legislation are in some cases very restrictive to certain projects, from a ministerial perspective the Planning Act is still very broad and allows municipal planners to be and think innovative in how they use and interpret the law.(Schultz, 2013)

The inflexibility of the law means that procedures related to it can be time consuming, expensive and involve many physical demands for urban gardens, which leads to new challenges. All the gardens are renting areas for a certain amount of time, and as seen in the case of Prags Have the areas have to be returned in the same condition as received, which means that abiding the different regulations of zoning and pollution is almost impossible in the given timeframe, unless dispensations for these temporary projects are given.

4.2.2 Political framework

Taking a closer look at the political factors influencing the urban gardens, it seems that there may have been a window of opportunity that has supported the projects. The municipality showed a big interest in the urban gardens despite them not having a manual for how urban gardens should and could be implemented. This was due to the different political visions for Copenhagen; the "***Environmental Metropolis***" and the "***Metropolis for people***".

Since 2007 Copenhagen has had a political vision of becoming an "environmental metropolis" – a vision for Copenhagen in 2015 that consists of four main themes; becoming the world's best biking city, the centre for the world's climate politics, a green and blue capital, and a clean and healthy metropolis. (Københavns Kommune, 2011a) Under the theme of creating a green and blue capital Copenhagen Municipality is aiming for that the citizens by 2015 use the city's green spaces twice as much as they did in 2007. This combined with the municipal vision of creating a metropolis for people; that focuses on becoming a metropolis for people, creating the world's best city to live in and a sustainable city with urban spaces that invites in for diverse and unique urban life, has given the opportunity for the urban garden initiatives to be supported by

the municipality. Urban gardens in public areas have the effect that some people will spend more time in the green spaces and in this way increase the use of these areas in accordance with the political goals. Many of the urban garden projects have received financial support through different funds that had the aim of supporting initiatives that could support the municipal vision.

Besides these visions the municipality's **Volunteerism Policies** also has developed nine visions that have the aim to support projects managed by volunteers. Based on these visions the municipality therefore has the possibility to support projects such as the urban gardens, by providing and be helpful with information, create related networks for the initiatives and strengthen the volunteers competences and thereby creating better and stronger voluntary projects for the city. (Københavns Kommune, 2011b)

The mandatory **Agenda 21** that every municipality has to produce has also put focus on the urban gardens. In the 2011 strategy the municipality has consulted the citizens to create an understanding of which development the citizen are interested in for Copenhagen, but also what barriers they see to create a more sustainable city and society. According to the strategy, the citizens are interested in growing their own food in the city:

> *The Copenhageners' wish to grow their own food in the city should be supported. This is done i.a. through local committees and by easing the entry into the municipality. This should contribute to making it easier to handle the administrative and bureaucratic aspects of making urban gardens. An easy entry to the municipal system will support citizens, associations, institutions and businesses who wish to establish vegetable plots or grow edible plants in the city. [...] Local green initiative, who are already established or underway should inspire others to make similar projects. (Københavns Kommune, 2012b, p. 29)*

The municipality has thereby shown interest in urban gardens and are at the same time aware of the necessity to create a more standardised

procedure for how to start urban gardens. Also the *former* **mayor for The Technical and Environmental Administration**, Bo Asmus Kjeldgaard and **local politicians** have been supportive with different financial contributions since urban gardens can be a tool to create a better urban life and local community, which is an interest for all neighbourhoods in Copenhagen. Furthermore the increased interest for urban gardens has led to the production of a guiding report initiated by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs about urban gardening in cities, their possibilities and types.

4.2.3 Administrative framework

To understand the administrative factors it is necessary to understand the organisation of Copenhagen Municipality. Copenhagen Municipality is the most populated municipality in Denmark and is a big organisation. The municipality is divided into seven different administrations (see Figure 7). These administrations are carrying out and implementing the tasks given by the politicians in the Copenhagen City Council who are responsible for their subject area. There are seven of these committees, each represented by a mayor for the subject area, and each committee is responsible for one administration. From the seven committees the financial committee is overarching the other committees and is chaired by the Lord Mayor. (Københavns Kommune, 2010) This structure is giving the municipality a pillar structure (se Figure 7)

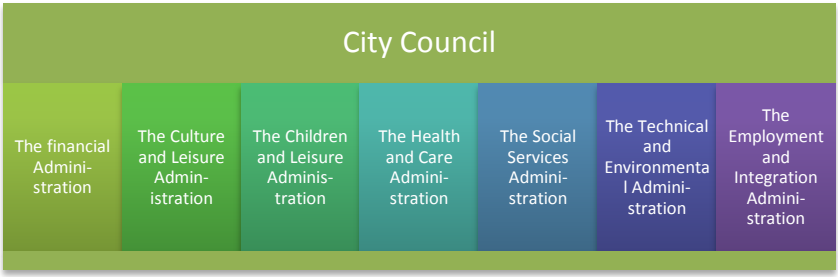

Figure 7 - A simplified figure over the administration in Copenhagen Municipality (Own drawing inspired by (Københavns Kommune, 2013b))

Each administration is additionally divided into several Centres that each work with more specific tasks related to the administration they belong under. In this case a closer look will be taken into the Technical and Environmental Administration, since this is where the urban and environmental planning is done in the city and thus where the planners engaged with urban gardens are employed. This specific department is therefore relevant to look into to understand the administrative framework the planners are working in.

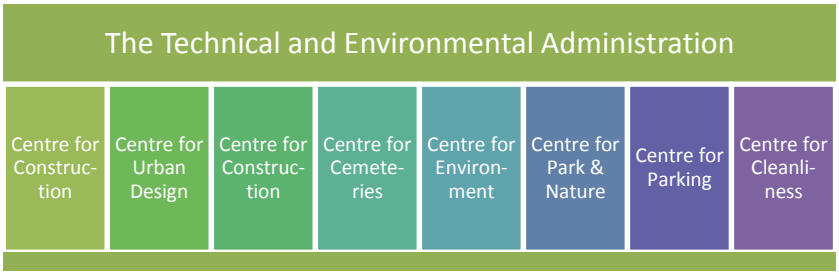

Figure 8 - Organizational structure of the Technical and Environmental Administration (Own figure inspired by (Københavns Kommune, n.d.-b)

As the above figure shows The Technical and Environmental Administration has eight centres that each have their own focus – and a similar structure is recognisable for the other administrations in the municipality. This also indicates how big the municipality is; having over 45.000 employees divided into the different administrations that each also has their own centres, and this also has an influence on the work environment. (Københavns Kommune, 2010) Employees in the different centres are often very specialised in the given subject they are responsible for, but in reality when implementing different projects transversal cooperation either inside the administration or across the different centres or administrations is necessary, although the overall management of the project belongs in one centre. Knowledge is then required from the employees about which administration and centre is working with specific topics, but because people have very specific work tasks the knowledge and capability to redirect or help citizens to reach the right person – combined with that the municipality is a very large organisation – is often lacking. This

can lead to communication issues that are very time-consuming because different types of information are found in different areas of the municipality. (Knudsen, 2013; Thorsen, 2013) The municipality is however trying to be open towards innovative ideas and voluntary projects by employing project coordinators who work across centres and administrations.

4.2.4 The institutional framework – summarised

To sum up the institutional framework that has had an influence on the implementation of urban gardens, it can be seen in Figure 9 that The Danish Planning Act and the Contaminated Soil Act are the main legislative influences on how urban gardens can be implemented. Furthermore the legislations pose some challenges for temporary projects, since the law was not developed with temporality in mind. In this case the legislative factors should therefore not only be seen as the laws regulating the project, but also the laws' (in)flexibility towards temporary projects. The political framework consists of the politicians and the municipal visions; the Environmental Metropolis as well as Metropolis for people who both focus on creating a greener and more attractive and liveable city. This has led to the political interest for urban gardens as well as the possibility of receiving money from various funds. Furthermore the Local Agenda 21 strategy focuses on opening the organisation up to citizen-driven initiatives and urban gardens. Also the politicians, especially the mayor, are playing a crucial role. Their political visions and personal interest affect the how and with what the employees can work. Looking at the administrative factors, the municipality is a huge, bureaucratic and complex organisation for people who are not familiar with the system and its structure. Due to the pillar structure with very specific responsibilities for administrations and centres, and the level of detail expanding down through this hierarchy, even employees can have difficulties with knowing who to contact for specific information. Nevertheless the awareness of this organisation has led to having employees such as the planners whose tasks it is to make initiatives like urban gardens possible.

Especially the urban planners in the Centre for Park and Nature have played a major role in realising these citizen-driven projects in a system that urban gardens would otherwise not fit perfectly into. It is therefore

interesting to understand how the planners navigate through the different institutional challenges to implement urban gardens, and which roles they take on in the process. The next chapter will therefore analyse the roles the planners have assumed, as well as how their rationalities and level of personal interest has affected their work in the process from idea to implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen.

Figure 9 - The institutional framework for urban gardens (own figure)

Chapter 5
Investigation of planner roles in the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen

The aim of the following chapter is to analyse the roles of the planner in the implementation process of the urban gardens in Copenhagen, how rationalities and the institutional framework have had an influence on the planners and the process, as well as how the planners have influenced the institutional framework and the rationalities. The institutional framework, the implicated actors and the point of departure of the implementation of the urban gardens in Copenhagen was introduced in the Chapter 4 and had the aim of presenting the details of the case. Building on top of that, this analysis will answer the second sub-question of this study.

The following analysis will be based on narratives of the implementation of the urban gardens in Copenhagen and is divided into three sections. The first section will focus on the start-up phase, before the actual implementation began, and how the planners in Centre for Park and Nature managed to identify, outline and co-create the institutional boundaries influencing the process. The second section focuses on the phase of the actual implementation of the urban gardens and analyses how the planners used collaborative and pragmatic approaches to mediate an outcome that was agreeable to everyone. Finally, the last section takes its point of departure in a sudden change in the institutional framework and how this had an influence on the planners' working conditions related to the implementation of urban gardens. Here it is analysed how the planners coped with these changes and which roles the planners adopted in their quest to ensure future support and implementation of urban gardens.

5.1 Identifying and overcoming the boundaries of the institutional framework

This first section looks into how the planners ensured that the institutional framework would allow the gardens to be established and planners to help them. This will be done by introducing the different levels of framework in the chronological order in which the planners dealt with them; first the barriers and potentials in administrative framework will be given due to that this was the first part of the framework the urban gardens had to deal with in their aim of implementing urban gardens. This is followed by the political framework, since this was here the planners' saw a great potential in incorporating the urban gardens with the political visions. Finally, the challenges the legislative framework gave for the urban gardens and how the planners coped with this will be analysed.

5.1.1 Breaking through the administrative barriers

As presented in chapter 4 the initiative for establishing urban gardens in Copenhagen begins in groups of citizens who hatch an idea about gardening in the city and want to realise it. The first challenge these groups encounter is who to contact in Copenhagen Municipality to obtain help and permissions to start such activities, since the development in the physical environment is quite controlled in Denmark. This contact with the municipality involved many struggles before standardised procedures and practices were established in the administration of how to deal with these urban gardens.

In the chapter 4 it was mentioned that Copenhagen Municipality is a very large organisation is divided into smaller administrations, Centres, departments and units. Each employee has been assigned specific and defined work tasks that they are expected to engage with to ensure efficiency in the organisation. In this way the employees know what their job is, and what is not, which means that when they are approached with inquiries from citizens they can judge whether this is something they should put their energy into. However, according to Planner 2 and several urban gardens, this also means that it is hard for innovative ideas and initiatives to approach the municipality, because there is not necessarily an employee who the task of processing that request is assigned to; the administrative framework has simply not been set up to deal with them

yet. This lead to that several urban gardening initiatives experienced problems in knowing who to contact inside the big and complex structure of the organisation, and since whoever they contacted only knew that it was not specifically their task and were probably already struggling to cope with the tasks they were managing already within their assigned working hours, the employees pointed the inquiry in a new direction – but did not necessarily know what specific person to contact there either. Because urban gardening spans many aspects and potential issue within the Technical and Environmental Administration, an enquiry to a park manager in the Centre for Park and Nature could be pointed towards the Centre for Environment, then onwards to Centre for Traffic, then on to Centre for Urban Design and then maybe even back to Centre for Park and Nature. This could potentially have left the citizens in an administrative vacuum and vicious circle where no one would actually take ownership of the responsibility for processing their case. Planner 2 suggests that this could eventually have entailed that the urban gardening initiatives would have run out of energy and hope and given up, and no gardens would ever have been established in Copenhagen, even though it could actually probably have been allowed by the legislative and political framework if they had managed to fight for their case, found their way through the administrative maze and stood their ground against field workers trying to avoid a greater work load.

Luckily for the citizen groups wanting to establish urban gardens, their case finally landed on the table of a planner in Centre for Park and Nature, who was also involved in promoting volunteer initiatives in Copenhagen Municipality. The combination of her allegiance to spatial issues, green projects in the city and bottom-up initiatives made her feel enough ownership of the proposed project to accept their idea as her task. From then on, the urban gardening initiatives had a specific entry point in the municipal administration – maybe even an ally – who was willing to process their inquiries and even take on the responsibility of following it through the institutional maze, which she as an insider knew much better than the citizens. Later, as the idea of urban gardens caught on in the Centre for Park and Nature, yet another planner was employed to deal with citizen driven projects in Copenhagen's green spaces, and two planners could now share the task of helping the citizens. At the same time,

their superior allowed them quite a lot of freedom to follow their own judgment (Thorsen, 2013), which in accordance with the theory allows new and innovative initiatives within the theory to be created, although there is still a risk that such experiments may fail.

5.1.2 Fitting urban gardening into the political framework

When the urban gardens finally found their entrance to the municipality and to the two planners in the Centre for Park and Nature, the process towards the implementation had already begun. The planners first felt the need to make sure that the establishment of urban gardens would be in accordance with the political framework, i.e. the political visions and the strategies and planning documents that had been produced in order to implement them. Here the planners were happy to find an opportunity for creating synergies between the overall political visions for the City of Copenhagen and the initiatives' desire for urban gardens:

> *[...] it's rare that you can see such an evident correlation between top-down strategies [and bottom-up initiatives] and then actually having the money to support the initiatives that emerge from below and contribute in turn to lift the overall strategies. (Planner 1)*

In this way the political framework was initially auspicious for urban gardening: The vision of the Environmental Metropolis pointed in the direction that Copenhagen should have more green and blue structures, and the Metropolis for People envisioned that Copenhagen's inhabitants should spend more time in the open spaces. Based on these political visions, the planners saw a possibility for creating a synergy between this framework and the urban gardening initiatives – and thereby also a win-win-situation: Urban gardens could contribute to implementing the visions by adding green value and increased biodiversity in the public parks and have inhabitants spend more time outside in the green spaces while tending to their gardens, and in turn the political framework could allow the gardens to be established even though they did not directly include implementation of urban gardens as a political goal. The political framework had also allocated funds for the implementation of the strategies that the urban gardens could apply for to use for materials etc. when con-

structing their gardens. Put together, the visions and funding schemes were interpreted by the planners as the political framework permitting urban gardens (even benefitting from them), and so the planners were allowed by the framework to work on the projects; the political framework had created a window of opportunity for the planners to actively help the gardens.

Besides the planners' ability to identify and utilise a synergy between the top-down vision and the bottom-up initiatives, they planners also had an impact on the political framework since their position in the municipality allows them to co-create the political framework to a certain extent.

> *If you can pin some of your projects onto other strategies it becomes better rooted in an organisation like this. (Planner 1)*

Besides using the already formulated political visions to support the urban garden initiatives, the planners also managed to incorporate urban gardening in other plans such as the Agenda 21 plan for 2012-2015. Contributions and ideas are invited from planners in Centre for Park and Nature when the Centre for Environment formulates Agenda 21 plans in Copenhagen Municipality (Knudsen, 2013), and the planners used this to further consolidate urban gardening in Copenhagen by adding that citizens wanting to establish urban garden should be supported, i.a. with an easy entry point to the municipal administration and breaking down administrative and bureaucratic barriers (Københavns Kommune, 2012b). Seeing that the "easy entry point to the municipality" is the planners themselves, they have actually also consolidated their own role's importance in the process through this addition to the political framework and to some extent ensured their own job position and the importance of having planners in this role in the municipality, which allows them to influence the administrative framework through the political level because of the hierarchy of the three frameworks within the institutional framework. This shows that despite the institutional framework has a great influence on the process, it is still possible for the planners to some extent and in certain situations to push the boundaries of the institutional

framework, and thereby also co-create the boundaries of their own freedom of method-choice.

When the planners engaged with the political framework in this way, they showed characteristics of different roles. First of all, their allegiance to the political visions and searching for opportunities to implement them in practice is a classical sign of the strategic planner and Sehested's manager role variant, who aims to serve the politicians by putting their ideas into actions and ensure that the political leaders perform well in the eyes of the public. When influencing the political framework to ensure and expand their freedom of method-choice and promote concrete causes that they sympathize with themselves, it is instead the role of the professional strategist (as described by Sehested) that they assume to be able to follow their own professional opinions. In this way, the synergy between political frameworks and citizen initiatives allowed them to work in a synergy between a manager and professional strategist role. The fact that they created a win-win – or actually win-win-win solution when taking into account their own benefit – can be related to the critical pragmatist. However, it is not a real critical pragmatist role, since the politicians and citizen groups were not actively involved in the process, and no dialogue, debate or negotiation between them took place.

5.1.3 Fitting urban gardens into the legislative framework

After checking the agreement between the political visions and urban gardening, the planners turned to the legislative framework to ensure that urban gardening would be in accordance with the law. This again shows a loyalty of the planners towards the institutional framework and an acknowledgement of its influence over their own freedom to act. This however turned out to be a much bigger challenge for the planners than dealing with the political framework. The main reason for this, the planners found, was that the legislation is not designed for temporary projects.

The consequence of the preliminary incompatibility between legislation and the temporality of the urban gardening projects was, as introduced in Chapter 4, was that the gardens would seemingly not be able to live up to the strict legal requirements for their projects connected to e.g. soil pollution as presented in the description of Prags Have's troubles. It would simply be too time-consuming in comparison to the lifespan of the

temporary projects, and too expensive for projects that were based on volunteering and with no stable sources of funding. The planners therefore chose to challenge and try to push the boundaries set by the legislative framework in connection to the Contaminated Soil Act, that had huge requirements that should be complied with before the areas could be used seeing that all soil in the city is defined as (but not necessarily) polluted. This was done in collaboration with the Centre for Environment, who had also never really worked with temporary projects, and the citizen groups. The planners looked behind the immediately visible issues by identifying with both the rationality of the citizen groups, who had limited funds and time, and the Centre for Environment, who as the environmental authority of Copenhagen was tied by their responsibility to protect people's safety as well as not crossing the law. Based on this understanding of the deeper rationalities and situation of the two stakeholders, they tried to negotiate a middle road between them, which in the end resulted in that the Centre for Environment produced a re-interpretation of the legislation which slackened the rules somewhat for urban gardens; in this way changing the legislative framework within the municipality and consequently also the space of freedom for the planners. This behaviour is clearly that of the critical pragmatist; being critical of existing structures and not taking 'no' for an answer, but using creativity, communication and empathy to create solutions that work out for everyone and allow them to maintain their integrity. As a side benefit, the fact that the planners decided to take on this challenge entailed that capacity was built within the institution, so that the new knowledge and experience could be used as an outset for making new and more standardised procedures for the implementation of urban gardens, clearing the way for future citizen groups.

Overall, the way the planners have approached the legislative framework can be defined as a pragmatic approach and furthermore also at times the critical pragmatist. They have "learned in action" and dealt with the different challenges as they were confronted with them. When the planners had to find a way of how to deal with the legislation, they tried to understand the different rationalities through communicative approaches to understand what they needed so that the outcome was satisfying for all parties. The pragmatic approach allowed the planners to uncover and empathize with the different worldviews and necessary knowledge to try

to find a win-win solution. What makes them a critical pragmatist can be seen in relation to that they still had a critical approach towards the legislation. Despite the legislation initially saying that the urban gardens could not be implemented, they did not take that as the final answer, but used their pragmatic skills to find the best solution possible, which in the end satisfied the Centre for Environment, the urban gardens and the planners.

5.1.4 Summary

The former section identified that the institutional framework did not immediately fit the urban gardening projects, but that the planners still managed to influence the different framework levels by using pragmatic and communicative approaches. In doing this, they adopted a number of different roles.

The gardens had great difficulty finding the right employee inside the municipality who could guide their way through the municipal system. Nevertheless, they finally established contact with the planners at the Centre for Park and Nature who were employed to realise volunteer-related citizen projects. The planners saw a great potential in creating a synergy and win-win situation for the political visions and the urban gardens, since the urban gardens could be used to implement the visions on the ground level and in turn allocate funding to the gardens. In relation to the political framework, the planners showed characteristics of strategic planner and the professional strategist. Nevertheless, the legislative framework also confronted the planners with challenges since the inflexibility of the legislations to support temporary projects hindered the projects' implementation in the first place. However, by adopting characteristics of the critical pragmatist, the planners managed to understand the rationality and reality of both the gardens and the Centre for Environment and used communicative approaches to finally persuade the Centre for Environment to reinterpret the legislation, entailing more lenient requirements for the urban gardens. The planners were clearly pragmatic in their approach in terms of handling each challenge as it arose, and in the end managed to create space for the gardens in the legislative framework while simultaneously satisfying all implicated stakeholders – including themselves, since their role in the implementation process was consoli-

dated by their interference in the political framework that also exercises power over the administrative framework.

This part of the analysis has in this way shown that planners are able to adopt different roles at different times, and even have different roles and rationalities while performing the same action (in relation to the political framework). They were not only influenced by the institutional framework and its initial boundaries for the urban gardens, but also able to influence them in turn, changing them slightly to make new types of projects fit. Finally, the planners were able to empathise with different rationalities and negotiate a solution that fitted all stakeholders.

5.2 Shaping projects within an institutional framework

In the former analysis the institutional framework was laid out and it was analysed how the planners managed to identify and co-create the boundaries of the institutional framework. After these frameworks had been established, the planners could start working within this space of freedom of method-choice and thereby work more specifically towards the possible implementation of urban gardens. Although the planners were allowed quite a lot of freedom by the institutional framework as shown in the first analysis, this freedom comes with a great amount of responsibility. The following analysis will take a closer look into the planners' processes of collaboration; how have the planners approached this project of implementing the urban gardens, which rationalities influenced the process and which personal qualifications and characteristics had impacts on the development and final implementation of the urban gardens.

This great freedom of method choice that the planners had – especially due to the great freedom given by the administrative framework – could be leading to the questioning of whether this freedom would be misused by the planners in connection to the urban gardens. Nevertheless, the planners in relations to the urban gardens did not misuse the system: Despite this freedom (which also gave them the possibility to push and co-create the institutional framework in the first place) they were still very loyal towards the system and the hierarchy. Every time

they faced a situation where they did not know if they violated the institutional boundaries they inquired with the superior levels in the hierarchy:

> *We have very free work opportunities, meaning that we are not supervised very much by our boss, we just do what we feel like. So in that way I have often just gone ahead on my own. There hasn't been anyone sitting and telling me "you should do this and this", I've just made decisions myself, and if I've been on a level of decision-making where I've thought that "I'd better check with a manager, because this could become an issue later on", I'll just clear it with them, but otherwise I just go ahead. So in that way it is very much ourselves who have defined our role. (Planner 2)*

This can be seen as the planners having a rationality related to what in the theory was defined as hierarchism. The planners believe they are working inside certain boundaries set by the hierarchy, within which they can experiment without disturbing the balance of the world; however, if the boundaries are crossed it could have major consequences for the project, Municipality and society in general. If the planners in connection to the urban gardens were working in line with other rationalities, it could have changed their approach to the implementation of the urban gardens. For example, the rationality of individualism would not have required them to abide by the institutional framework, since their belief would then have been that nothing they would do would entail any serious long-term consequences. In that case they would have been able to evade the bureaucratic system and its complication and prolongation of the implementation process, which would have been easier for them. However, they are still aware that such complete autonomy based in individualist rationalities could harm the urban gardens in the long term. Crossing the boundaries of the institutional framework could create negative associations with urban gardens in the institution and society, which was not in the interest of the planners, who were both representing the gardens and personally interested in that this project would succeed. This behaviour of protecting the hierarchy and their desired implementation of gardens by abiding by the institutional framework both connects to the role of the manager and professional strategist.

By staying in the rationality of hierarchism and work in formalised processes it was possible for the planners to develop new procedures inside the municipality as well as a general positive attitude towards the urban garden initiatives. This does nevertheless not mean that the planners were not able to think and work creatively in these processes since they had a considerable freedom of method-choice and understood how to utilise it. Staying in this rationality required them to learn how they were allowed to act in new and unknown types of project and establish new 'institutional rules' for what could be allowed by the hierarchy in more detail than e.g. general national legislation. Creating this type of institutional knowledge for working collaboratively on the gardening projects could also ease upcoming urban garden initiatives and their process of implementation, and the planners had also the possibility of creating a better network internally in the municipality – and thereby also a better and more efficient collaboration between the different centres and administrations.

5.2.1 Collaborative negotiation as the unplannable procedure

Especially the collaboration inside the municipality was crucial in connection to the implementation of urban gardens. In order to create a procedure of how to implement urban gardens and in this way create a space in which the projects could live, it was necessary for the planners to understand the different rationalities, needs and worldviews of the different actors that in one way or another were involved in the projects. Working as municipal planners, they are a part of a joint production when working on different cases, including the urban gardens. Hence, even though the planners have been employed to support projects based on volunteers' ideas, the process of implementation is also influenced by other actors directly or indirectly (such as the Centre for Environment). Different actors inside the municipality were involved due to fact that the project overlapped several centres inside the municipality, where different approvals for a variety of issues were needed – and similarly to the situation where the Contaminated Soil Act was re-interpreted to expand the legislative framework – a new procedure was required in the many different centres since they had not worked with urban gardens on municipal areas either. Essentially, the municipal actors lacked knowledge of what

was actually doable, and capacity of how to work with it in practice in collaboration with the other actors.

The importance for the planners to understand the different rationalities and needs to create a satisfying result for both the urban gardens and the municipality can be shown in connection to creating a co-operation agreement with the park managers in the case where Byhaven2200 wanted to occupy a part of a public park for their garden – as the first urban garden in Copenhagen to make such a request. The planners in the first place made an effort to inquire into the garden's idea to understand the expectations of the citizen group as well as how they were planning to use the space they had pointed out. This uncovering of expectations was really important for the planners to be able to collaborate and assess the potentials of establishing a urban garden, since they had to collaborate and do a matching of expectations with the park managers from Centre for Park and Nature, who are responsible for the operation and maintenance of public parks in Copenhagen. Before they could be able to do that in the best way, the planners had to understand the park managers' rationality as well.

The urban garden was interested in having as much freedom as possible to do what they wanted with the area, and also wanted a larger area than they were granted in the end. On the other side, the park managers were not opposed to the idea; nevertheless they still had their doubts about whether the urban garden could live up to the standards and the responsibility they were given. This scepticism that the gardens would maybe not be able to keep their promise was related to that this could prompt more and extra operations for the park managers. The park managers tried to protect themselves from extra work, despite that the citizens' ownership over the area could possible imply less maintenance of the park for the park managers. It can also be interpreted that the park managers have a hierarchism rationality: They are afraid that boundaries will not be set for the urban gardens, and furthermore that the gardens would not respect those boundaries and that in worst case it will give the park managers extra work and make them look bad in the eyes of the higher levels in the system. The planners therefore had to ensure that the urban gardens understood and respected the boundaries for the park managers to be satisfied. The planners empathised with the citizen group's

wishes and the park managers' "fear" and worked with that fear in mind when searching for a common and satisfying outcome. In the end, the solution was to establish a collaboration agreement between the garden and the municipality of how and for how long they could use the space, and what their responsibilities were; including the sanctions that if they violated the agreement, they could lose their garden.

This case displays very well how the planners have coped with two actors with different rationalities and in the end found a solution that could satisfy both the urban gardens and the park managers. Towards the park managers, the planners tried to promote the urban gardens, and could be defined as having some elements of the advocacy planner; they understood the urban garden's wishes and tried to influence and convince the park managers by knowing their rationality. However, for the planners it was not only about advocating the urban gardens' case towards the park managers, but even more about mediating: The planners made the gardens aware of the expectations, needs and issues that the park managers had, and by establishing communication and mediating back and forth a solution was found. This type of behaviour is characteristic of the critical pragmatist; to inquire into the issues, wishes and rationalities of the stakeholders, and work out win-win solutions using knowledge, creativity and communicative approaches (either facilitation, moderation or mediation). Furthermore it can be stated that some kind of trust had been built between the planners and the different actors – especially the urban gardens, since they believed that the planners were trying to do their best for the gardens when mediating with the other actors.

Also the planners' knowledge from former volunteer projects was helpful in this case. They had experience with that volunteer projects usually initially have big ambitions (often too big) of what size projects they can handle. This can induce that volunteer projects die out quickly because the volunteers are overburdened, and results in extra work for the municipality who has to clean up after them. So even before the planners went to the park managers, they had already readjusted some of the gardens expectations to what would be possible such as the size of the area they would be able to occupy. This could also be seen as some radical planning characteristics; the planners are using their knowledge to empower the urban gardens so that their idea can be realised more easily, by

not allowing them to get more space than they expect them to be able to handle. This also helped them in creating a more smooth process when matching of expectations had to be done with the park managers, by not starting out with unrealistic demands.

An interesting point in the mediation process was that the planners actually preferred being the link between the gardens and other actors, since they feared that the gardens would harm their own cause, e.g. by saying something unintended when talking to the park managers because they did not understand the 'rules' of the institution. Rather than empowering the citizen groups, the planners chose the easy way out and assumed the responsibility of negotiating with the park managers themselves. This shows clear signs of a preference in the planner for an advocacy rather than a radical planner role, possibly because they could in the end save time on empowering the citizens and possibly having to 'clear up their mess' in the end.

The planners managed to merge different rationalities in to one win-win-solution. Nevertheless, it cannot be defined as the planners working with poly-rationality as known in the Cultural Theory, since not all rationalities are found in the case (egalitarianism, hierarchism, individualism and fatalism). All the actors involved in this section could be argued to have a hierarchism rationality – not exact rationality, but different variations within the hierarchism category. The planners were aware that the rationalities among the different actors would somehow differ. If expecting that all actors would be open towards the idea about urban gardens without first understanding the rationalities, the planners could instead have ended up with not being able to establish the gardens to the extent they have. Not understanding the scepticism and what rationality it was actually a symptom of could have entailed that the collaboration with the different centres and administrations would have failed. The key regard in this case is the collaborative openness which the planners have adopted here, and their willingness to understand the different standpoints and from there find a common ground.

Another argument for why all four rationalities from Cultural Theory were not involved is that the collaboration and agreement between the park managers and the garden happened in a closed system – not everyone that could have been involved was involved. There might still have

been some other stakeholders (such as neighbours of the public park or the café right next to it) who found the alternative garden unwanted, who according to other planning styles, such as collaborative planning, should have been involved. This could perhaps have included the egalitarianism and individualism rationalities – but people with fatalism rationalities would most likely not have participated, since they according to theory are paralysed and believe that nothing they might say or do in the process will actually be able to change anything anyway.

The reason why more rationalities were not included could arguably be related to that the planners had again adopted a pragmatic approach. The planners weighted the situation and made some estimation of who to include, and probably concluded that it was not necessary and would only contribute to an unnecessarily prolonged process if more participants were involved. The planners can be identified as being critical pragmatists in relation to the implementation of Byhaven 2200; they did not include everyone but still listened to and mediated solutions between those they estimated to be relevant. In relation to involving the neighbours, the planners probably estimated that an urban garden in that spot would after all be welcomed, since this would be a better alternative than its original use – a drug-dealing locality. This also shows some signs of using some of the tools that characterise a critical pragmatist: They do not engage all possible interested stakeholders but are instead using their judgment, former experiences and creativity to find the best solution based on the knowledge they have available. If it had gone wrong, it would at least have been a learning experience that the planners could use for future cases, and they could have proceeded working on the project with their pragmatic approach to pursue the best solution based on this new knowledge.

The process the planners went through with the park managers can be transferred to many of the other situations that the planners went through. The point in this analysis is to show that the planners managed to implement the gardens, not based on standardised procedures, but on a process of pragmatic collaboration that came to be recognised as the best way to do this. In this way a critical pragmatic and communicative approach between the planners and stakeholders became the new standard procedure for the implementation of urban gardens in the municipal system. By

collaborating and understanding the rationalities of the different actors who were involved, the planners managed to find that space within the institutional framework that was needed for the gardens to be implemented. By that time the phenomenon "urban gardens" had become recognizable inside the municipality, and approaching and solving one challenge at a time in relation to implementing the first garden in a public space had created new knowledge and capacity, and thereby also smaller-scale procedures in the different centres, paving the way for other subsequent gardens in the public space. Future implementations of gardens were also now inside the municipality associated with something positive that could be operationalized – compared to the beginning where the different centres did not know what to associate with the concept "urban garden", or how to approach it.

5.2.2 Urban Gardens - Bureaucracy seekers?

An interesting point in connection to the implementation of the urban gardens is how the gardens perceive the municipality. Despite having contact persons inside the municipality, who are working specifically with urban gardens and are trying to make the municipality seem more informal, the gardens still see the municipality as a big formal institution and have to a certain extent a feeling of reverence towards the municipality.

This display of reverence was experienced by the planners when the gardens had to apply for funding and renting of public spaces; despite that the planners told them just to send a brief outline of their idea and needs, so that the planners could start the collaboration and negotiation with other internal actors, it often took a long time for the gardens to send in their applications because they expected the municipality to be very formal and strict:

> *"It doesn't have to be perfect. It would be stupid if you spent a month on making an application that's totally perfect, and then we just say no. So just send it to us, then I have something to show in the system, and then we can develop that application together". And they just didn't, and in the end after a month or a month-and-a-half we received this perfect application with pictures and very*

nicely written and everything, and it just didn't matter because half of it couldn't be approved anyway. (Planner 2)

Besides this quote showing that the urban gardening initiatives are approaching the municipal system as being a very formalised institution, it also shows how Planner 2 works as a planner and how he is trying to get the urban gardens into and through the system. Not demanding a formal and nicely written letter to go through the system with, is related to that he already knows that half of it might not be fitting within the institutional framework anyway, so it would be a waste of the citizens' time and energy. This is a sign of working very pragmatically: His former experience tells him that it is better to work through the system as the challenges arise, but at the same time he is interested in mediating for the gardens, as long as he knows their main rationalities and ideas. At the same time it could be argued whether he adopts an advocacy or even radical planner role, since he is trying to promote the case of this specific movement. In relation to this, the advocacy similarities rest upon that he is arguing their specific case inside the system; however, since he has not produced the plan of the gardens himself, it is not top-down enough to be a pure advocacy planner. On the other hand the radical planner similarities are found in that he insists upon that the initiative for the gardens *must* come from the gardens themselves, and he will not impose any of his own ideas on their project; however, he is promoting their case too actively in the municipality in comparison to the radical planner, who only empowers the social movements, but does not fight their battles himself. The answer could lie somewhere in-between, but mainly his active and communicative behaviour connects to the critical pragmatist.

Planner 2 can, despite his allegiance to the institutional framework pointed out previously in this analysis, to a certain extent be defined as more radical and oriented towards activism than the urban gardens.

Oddly enough most volunteers aren't very rebellious, I think that's a bit strange. Why don't you just do it? [...] I also often tell them that "hey, I didn't just hear you say that!", just don't go so much into detail, why do you ask us, why don't you just do it? Because if

you start asking me, then – then it gets problematic. So I sometimes tell them, just don't ask! (Planner 2)

In this way Planner 2 at times adopts a very informal behaviour because the gardens, although they have been permitted to establish an urban garden, still seek out the municipality with a variety of questions on minor details of their garden's layout that might not even be up to the municipality to decide. Looking at the rationalities, the gardens here display a strong hierarchism rationality in that they fear what would happen if they would cross the framework's boundaries even the slightest. The gardens are afraid of doing something that is not allowed (disobeying the hierarchy), which also fits well with Planner 2 statement saying that in his view they are not very rebellious; they accept the institutional framework and even seek to make it stronger, more detailed and more regulating than it actually is, and that the planner wants it to be and feels is necessary.

These questions for the planner entail more bureaucracy if the planner actually has to inquire into it with the relevant responsible authority within the organisation and they have to process the question, which will be time-consuming and slow down the work in the gardens. In certain cases (as seen in the former quote) the planners even try to talk the gardens out of contacting them or to formally ask the municipality for permission to increase their project's legitimacy, because the planners estimate the inquiries of so little importance in some of these situations that it is better for everyone that this is not taken through the bureaucratic system. This is not necessarily related to that the planners do not support or want to spend less time working on promoting the urban gardens, or want to undermine the institution by demanding more "informal" and activist action from the gardens. On the contrary, the planners are very loyal towards the hierarchy, but try to walk the fine line between when bureaucracy is necessary, when it is not, but especially when it is possible to avoid it without violating the regulations, by telling the citizens to use common sense and critical judgment instead of headlessly seeking the authorities – also because in some situations as a citizen it is 'easier to receive forgiveness than permission'. (Uldall, 2013) In terms of rationalities the planners could in this way be argued to have a more individualist variant of the hierarchism rationality than the urban gardens, since the planners believe

that the individual can experiment more within the boundaries set by the hierarchy without causing damage, whereas the gardens actually believe that the boundaries are more narrow and want to further reinforce them. However, the planners do not advocate any type of more individualist action; they want the gardens to act based on common sense and a feeling of responsibility towards the rest of society, in this way somehow trying to encourage the gardens to act as critical pragmatists too.

This behaviour from the planner only counts for situations that are not illegal. The planners do not support situations where the laws are stating that it is not allowed or the municipality has specifically not given permission. Instead it should be seen as a way the planners try to help the gardens avoid more challenges than the institution requires them to by being faced with procedures that only creates extra bureaucracy.

Alternative methods have also been used in situations where the planners have not officially represented the municipality as planners. In a few situations Planner 2 has used his private person to help the gardens to avoid extra and unnecessary bureaucracy, taking advantage of that he knows a few of the gardens from peripheral parts of his private network.

> *It means that you can speak off-the-record sometimes (laughs). You know, it means that when you meet them somewhere else you can say "hey, listen", because then you can talk private, or somehow it's just easier to say "just do it" when you're not talking to them at work. (Planner 2)*

The convenience of speaking "off-the-record" is related to that the planner is then talking as a private person who is not surrounded by the institutional framework and therefore feels less bounded by it. This shows the interrelation between the planner role and the institutional framework: The framework effectively influences the behaviour of the planner in professional situations, as there is a difference between the planner's behaviour towards the same people when he is acting on behalf of the municipality and as a private person. If he speaks on behalf of the municipality about something that is not in accordance with the municipality, this can have an impact on him and his job or even the municipality as a

political institution, which in worst case scenario can end with a media scandal.

The planners' fear of taking a wrong step and attract the media's negative attention is also something that is affecting the municipal employees' work since they are representing a political institution and the blame will in the end be turned towards the politician responsible for the administration. This applies to many of the employees, not only the planners. (Uldall, 2013) Being a representative for the municipality creates some boundaries in certain situations, which leads to that the planners use their "role" as a private person to empower the gardens. For the planners it is a thin line that they have to balance on in relations to planner roles. On the one side they are interested in supporting the urban gardens and are actively informing and empowering them by teaching them how to cope with the system. It can even be argued that they undertake a more radical planner role due to the urban gardens' fidelity towards the municipality as an institution. At the same time they have some manager/strategic planner characteristics in the sense of that they have a loyalty towards the politicians, but this loyalty might just be related to that they are working in a political institution where the political framework is a part of the 'rules of the game'.

5.2.3 Mobilising the gardens or Optimising the process? – doing either/or or both?

The increased interest for urban gardens entailed that Planner 2 in collaboration with Miljøpunkt Amager established an urban garden network (Byhavenetværket) to create a forum where all the urban gardens could meet and share their experience and information. This had the aim of trying to optimize the processes of the implementation for the urban gardens themselves as well as for the municipality. It could also be seen as the planners trying to mobilise the groups to be able to do more things themselves and evade more contact with the municipality than necessary. This was not necessarily because the planners did not want to help the gardens themselves, but just like in the case with trying to stop the gardens seeking unnecessary bureaucracy (as analysed in the former section), creating a network could help the gardens to be implemented faster. It could furthermore help the gardens during the implementation process:

We make a big effort in telling the new gardens: "Talk with the established gardens – they have a lot of experience that you can benefit a lot from as a new garden" – No matter if they decide to use some of that knowledge or not, their discussion starts in a different place. (Planner 1)

It is easier for the planners to guide the gardens through the bureaucratic system if the planners know more specifically what the gardens want, and the new gardens can through the established gardens gain a lot of valuable knowledge. It is furthermore easier if the gardens beforehand have clarified some general things that are common for the urban garden initiatives; such as where will they get water to water the crops, do they want to work as an organisation, what are typical barriers they encounter and how are they expecting to be financed? This is knowledge built on practical experience, and questions that all gardens must reflect on and decide. There are some basic matters that must be fulfilled in every garden, and if the gardens have prepared these things before contacting the municipality and their expectations and ideas are already more realistic, the process will be easier and faster for both the gardens and the planners, who also have other projects to work on. The planners can then spend more time on how to solve the more specific things that are connected to the specific gardens, because;

You can't say that because you've made 10 urban gardens, then you can make a template for how all urban gardens should be (Planner 1)

Trying to optimize the process can on the one hand be seen as the planners working under an institutional condition that in some situation causes them to optimise the process and make it more efficient, as seen in New Public Management. The planners can be understood as having a manager role that relates to fulfilling the political goals as fast as possible so there is more time to focus on other and new projects – or that it personally for the planners is in their interest to make it as easy for everyone. On the other hand, establishing this network as well as an informative

website about how to implement urban gardens in Copenhagen on the municipal website (Københavns Kommune, 2012c) can be seen as the planners trying to mobilise the gardens and empowering them as much as possible, in this way adopting a more radical approach.

By establishing the network the planners at the same time optimised the process by informing them on the requirements for establishing an urban garden in Copenhagen and empowered the gardens by giving them the knowledge of who to contact and what to do to benefit their cause. It seems to be a matching of both in this situation; in the case of the municipal webpage it is a matter of showing the entrance to the municipality if people are interested in urban gardens, and informing the citizens with the basic knowledge about rules, regulations and possibilities – and exhibit that the municipality is innovative and supports different and alternative citizen project. A more personal dedication to the urban garden project can also be seen in establishing the network, since this was something extraordinary that was not required to be developed by the municipality. However, due to the space in the institutional framework that the planners have in connection to their freedom of method choice it was possible for the planner to develop this, driven by the planners' personal interest in supporting the urban gardens.

Referring back to the theoretical framework it can be seen how the institutional framework is influencing the planners' role, but also how the planners' role is influencing the institutional framework. Because the municipality is working as a political organisation where the visions are limited and the projects are many, this is influencing how the planners can work with the urban gardening project. They have to, on the one hand, have the manager role and optimise the process with the implementation of the urban gardens due to other task on their desks and a responsibility to produce results in the institution. At the same time many of the same questions asked can be avoided if the information can be found elsewhere. On the other hand creating this urban garden network can also be seen as the planners having a more radical approach and trying to mobilise and inform the gardens about what they need to consider in their strategy for action before "entering" the bureaucracy and how they can ease the process – or even be a way of guiding the urban gardens around the bureaucratic process or at least avoid unnecessary complication

through the contact with the bureaucracy. The planners' freedom of method choice is also affecting the institutional framework since this freedom gave the planner the opportunity to develop the network, which is trying to emphasise and optimise the possibility of doing urban gardens with the support from the municipality.

An interesting point here is that the urban garden network had to be closed down recently. The gardens did not bother to use it and it was therefore decided to close it down because it was too time-consuming for the planners to maintain it compared to how much the network was used. The reasons for the network not having the success was i.a. that the gardens are driven by volunteers and that their projects already take a big part of their time, and the interest in spending time with the municipality in meetings discussing how to optimise different procedures for other gardens was not in their interest when their gardens were finally running.

5.2.4 Summary

As the former analysis has stated the planners have a great loyalty towards the institutional system, although they have great freedom of method-choice that could contribute to the planners misusing the system. Instead, the planners have created a new institutional knowledge in connection to the implementation of the urban gardens, which eased the process for the urban gardens. This was done by gaining an understanding of the different actors' rationalities and by having a collaborative and critical-pragmatic approach towards the different actors involved and challenged faced. Thereby a win-win solution could be created and the citizen groups could implement their gardens. During this coordinating process of the implementation it can be argued that the planners displayed strong characteristics of the critical pragmatist and manager. In some situations it can moreover be claimed that the planners showed some characteristic of the radical, professional strategist and advocacy planner.

It was furthermore noticed that the urban gardens had a very hierarchical rationality; they were afraid of crossing over the boundaries set by the hierarchy, even though the implementation of the gardens had been permitted. This resulted in that they confronted the planners several times with issues that did not concern the municipality, driving the planners to use alternative methods to empower the gardens, such as stepping out of

their official planner role and encourage a more bold behaviour. Beside this the planners tried to optimise the process of implementing gardens and empower the citizens by developing an urban garden network. The network was to be a place where established and emerging gardens could exchange experience and help each other to develop as well as ease the process in the municipality even more, and to try to avoid unnecessary bureaucracy for the municipality and the gardens.

5.3 Planner roles in the face of crisis

After a period of favourable conditions in the institutional framework, the political tail wind died out in early 2013 and drastically changed the conditions the planners were working under. A new budget was agreed on in Copenhagen City Council (Københavns Kommune, 2013c), and no new funding was allocated to the Centre for Park and Nature to work with urban gardens. This represents a change in the institutional framework (the political framework to be exact) and marked a new era for the planners. They were now, if they were to follow the political will, supposed to engage with other work tasks instead – but that was not uncritically accepted by the two planners:

> *in that way there is a political grant saying that we shouldn't be working on urban gardens; or at least we will have to do it in a completely different way (Planner 2)*

After having been engaged with the planning for urban gardens for a few years, having to completely stop working with the gardens from one day to another put them in a personal dilemma, which is also traceable in the quotation above. Should we stop completely – or can we be creative about our methods?

The planners chose the latter of the two: To search for new possibilities for supporting the urban gardens. Being involved in the cross-administrative Volunteer Network, they decided to use their position to try to obtain funding for the gardens from the Social Services Administration through their policies on volunteering (Københavns Kommune, 2011b) and support for volunteer initiatives. This means that urban gardening is not certain of any funding, but that the planners in the network

will have to fight for it against a range of other volunteer projects. However, it increases the chance of funding compared to not doing anything at all.

This sort of behaviour from the planners is very interesting, since the planners are deliberately going against a political decision, which the theory has virtually dismissed as possible due to the strength of the political influence in the contemporary planning environment of governance in the shadow of hierarchy. Something has influenced the planners so strongly that they have been willing to go against a political decision – although only covertly, since they still accept the structure of the system, but try to manipulate it to their advantage. The reasons for this behaviour could be several, but must be connected to the planners' personal characteristics or rationalities and their relationship with the urban gardening projects, since these are what they are fighting for.

One explanation could be that the planners have a professional opinion that the urban gardens benefit the city and should be a part of the physical environment. In this case, it would be their planning rationality that was in play, driving them to seek new ways to get their professional persuasion of what is good for society implemented. In that case, they have played the role of a professional strategist, or maybe even (taking the lack of respect for the political prioritisation into account) the more traditional role of a rational-comprehensive planner. In that case they have acted based on a rationale saying that they know best what is good for the city because of their professional expertise, and therefore their opinion should be directing the development in the physical environment.

Another explanation could be their dedication to the social movement and their cause. In that case, they could be argued to be acting from the same rationality as a radical planner; that social movements should not be oppressed by institutional structures that do not prioritise them, but instead be able to fight for their right. However, it is not a classic radical planner role, since the planners are in this case taking action by themselves and working *on behalf* of the community rather than *with* them, and not even consulting with the citizen groups in advance on that this is what they should and allowing the citizens to remain the main driver and decision maker in the process. Instead, it would then be more of an advocacy planner role, especially if they actively argue the urban gardening

initiatives' cause in the Volunteer Network meetings where they could be faced with other 'advocates' for other cases.

The planners could perhaps also be influenced by their personal and private opinion about urban gardens. For example, Planner 2 mentions that he likes the fence around Byhaven 2200 "a lot" even though he knows it does not suit everyone's taste (see Figure 10). This personal taste in what they like to see and experience in the city might have an influence on how much the planners fight for the gardens. This could especially have had an influence if the opposite had been the case and they had completely distasted the thought and looks of urban gardens; in that case it would have been interesting to see if the gardens had even been implemented in the first place. Had the planners as private people been volunteers in an urban garden, that could also have influenced them considerably, in which case it would have demanded a considerable amount of professionalism from their side to promote the gardens to the extent that they have. However, that was not the case.

Figure 10 - The fence at Byhaven 2200 in Hørsholmparken (own photo)

Another possibility could be that the planners' are influenced by their personal relationships to the different volunteers they have been collaborating with and therefore feel empathy for their possible future struggles. One of the planners mentioned that inter-personal chemistry influences collaboration in work situations, and such chemistry can perhaps be hard to look aside from when working conditions change. It has also already been mentioned that one of the planners knows some of the urban gar-

deners peripherally in private, which might further influence the degree of sympathy and empathy with the urban gardening projects.

The final proposition here is that the planners could enjoy their work tasks so much that they do not want to lose them to other and perhaps less stimulating tasks. According to theory, e.g. the high degree of social interaction, autonomy and witnessing a visible outcome of one's labour that the planners experience in working with urban gardens can be a strong motivational factor. The planners may also be stimulated by the many barriers they have had to overcome, the small issues the gardens have often needed the planner's help to solve such as obtaining a key for a shed to put their tools in, the intellectual challenge of identifying oneself with several stakeholders and shift between many different rationalities in the search for win-win solutions, the need for creativity, the variation in work tasks etc. One of the planners have also noted that she thinks there is *"a lot of life-affirming energy in this type of projects"* (Planner 1) in relation to helping the citizen groups identify solutions to their problems and ultimately seeing them be able to establish their garden, and that *"it is always a super exciting process to participate in opening up for new possibilities"* (Planner 1), pointing towards a great personal motivation and interest in participating in and making room for innovative initiatives.

It would take a much more targeted psychological study of the two planners to gain a detailed and comprehensive understanding of how they were in fact more precisely influenced by these and potential other personal rationales for going against the political prioritisation or statement of intent of not allocating new funding to further support the implementation of urban gardens, which is outside of the scope and capability of this report. However, the planners clearly feel some kind of connection to the urban gardens that makes them willing to somewhat go against the political framework, that they are in other situations very loyal to, in order to keep working with and promoting the gardens. The conclusion on this must be that the personal factors are very influential on the behaviour and role of the planner, and perhaps even somewhat underestimated in planning literature.

No matter how much the planners are fighting for funding for working with urban gardens, the reality is still at this point that the institutional framework overall has changed the conditions for the implementation and

maintenance of urban gardens due to political factors. This has especially hit the working conditions of the planners and the way projects can be funded since Centre for Park and Nature is no longer able to allocate resources to the gardens. However, some of Copenhagen's urban gardens still manage to overcome this by not being reliant on the ongoing support of the planners and instead using their own knowledge and competences when applying for funding etc. An example of this is Verdenshaven, who has become more creative in their applications after the news value in urban gardens has disappeared and funding is no longer allocated to them just based on gardening. Instead they have turned to funding schemes for projects that promote integration of immigrant women and planned a project in their garden based on involving local immigrant women in the cultivation of vegetables and other gardening related activities to in this way somewhat manipulate the established system to keep funds flowing in by re-inventing their concept but essentially running the same project. This shows an example of an empowered or *mobilized* citizen group who understands how the system works and how to work it to promote their cause. This points towards the importance and relevance for planners who want to promote specific bottom-up initiatives to empower the social movements to be able to work without assistance. This is especially the case in a planning system where the planner and her freedom of method-choice is subject to the favour of an institutional framework that can constantly change the conditions of the working environment of the planning profession: When mobilising the movements they can just as Verdenshaven work autonomously to keep promoting their case themselves even if a change in the framework should entail that the planner is no longer able to.

The effort that the planners have made with the objective to secure support in the future development of urban gardens can in this way be attached to their personal interest and relation to the urban garden projects. No doubt this extra effort is important for whether resources can be allocated to the projects in the future. The planners' work and personal dedication is significant in relation to securing a future municipal support for the urban gardens, however, the institutional framework still means a lot to the extra effort the planners have had to put into the urban gardens after the political support faded. The planners' freedom of method choice

is crucial in this connection, and their freedom is still quite considerable although the political framework has changed: Their administrative framework is still providing them with the freedom they need to spend time to try to continuously consolidate urban gardens in the institutional framework by articulating connection between urban gardens and new political visions or new municipal project funds. Furthermore, the legislative framework is still embracing urban gardens.

No matter how the political framework might change in the future, the planners' contribution in the process the past 2-3 years has not been in vain. They have played a major role in ensuring that the legislative framework is capable of dealing with urban gardens and perhaps in the future also other temporary projects; they have been midwives in the birth of organisational innovation; they have established procedures in the institution that make it easier for citizen groups to establish new gardens; and they have added urban gardens to plans in the political framework that will last at least until the Agenda 21 plan is replaced in 2016.

5.3.1 Summary

This section showed how the institutional framework that planners work within creates great uncertainty in the planners' working conditions since it can change the entire foundation of projects they work on in an instant. This climate of uncertainty and changeableness requires the planners to be adaptive and prepared for change, and can pose personal conflicts of how to act when changes that seem unfair to the planners occur. In this relation it was the political framework that changed, and with it the prioritisation of urban gardens and tools for implementation such as funding mechanisms. The planners had developed a personal connection to the urban gardening projects that could be related to their professional opinion, a dedication to the gardens' cause and their right to live it out, the planners' personal preferences, the personal relations that had developed through the collaboration with the gardens, or that the planners are motivated by the challenges in the work tasks and style of working. This personally determined dedication to the gardens put them in a dilemma; should they stay loyal to the hierarchy or follow their heart? In the end they chose a middle road and fought as much for the gardens as they could without risking anything for themselves or the institution by staying

within the space of freedom that was outlined by the institutional framework, and from there work or manipulate the administrative framework of the system by transferring the urban garden projects from the Centre of Park and Nature to the Volunteer Network in the hopes to be able to receive funding from there. Whether this will actually succeed for the planners and gardens is yet to be seen.

Until then, at least the planners' actions through the process still count, as their influence on the institutional framework to accept and be able to manage urban gardening project still stands, and the gardens have become more empowered and capable of fighting their own battles in the complex system. In this way the planners have had a great role to play and great significance for the success of the urban gardens in the time they had in a political climate with the hots for green innovative volunteer projects.

Chapter 6
Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the relationship between planner roles and institutional frameworks, as well as between planner roles and planning rationalities, is discussed based on the case study of the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen. Since the study took its point of departure in the role of the planners and from there how their actions were influenced by the institutional framework and the rationalities, not much can be said with high validity about the relations between rationalities and the framework in Copenhagen.

The discussion is divided into two sections. The first discusses the relationship between the planner and the framework in the case of Copenhagen, and tries to provide a normative contribution as to what role planners should play within a Danish municipality in relation to the implementation of innovative projects. The second section looks into the relationship between the planner role and planning rationalities on the micro-level, first how the involvement of several rationalities in the planning processes required the planner to adapt their conduct, and afterwards to try to explain how the planner role is created in the confrontation with rationalities of both the planner's surroundings and herself.

Finally, the conclusion on the report and suggestions for further research is presented.

6.1 Planners in uncertain institutional climates

As this report has shown, the institutional framework surrounding planners has a major impact on what outcomes can actually be realised in planning. Although in the case of Copenhagen the political framework in the end posed the biggest challenges for the urban gardens when the polit-

ical prioritisation changed and the funding schemes with them, the legislative framework is the most superior of the three institutional frameworks and is also in its essence the strongest and hardest to change, since even politicians are regulated by the law.

The legislative framework is decided at the national level, and as seen in the case of urban gardens, regulates activities all the way through the planning system to the very local level because of the so-called framework planning system. The planners in Copenhagen did manage to push the boundaries of the municipal legislative framework, but only based on the fact that the general nature of legislation requires the laws to be *interpreted* in order to apply them to projects. In this way, the planners managed to make Centre for Environment re-consider their interpretation of the national legislative framework to slacken the local demands to the gardens, but they did not impact the national legislation that is still not geared for dealing with temporary projects in planning.

This kind of inflexibility in the legislation, or inadaptability, can be argued to be an inherent challenge in planning, since the laws in order to be able to embrace most types of projects and especially protect society from catastrophic events cannot be made to fit very specific projects. In Chapter 4 it was argued that it is a precarious thing to make changes in the legislation as well, since the consequences in a complex and wicked world cannot be foreseen – in terms of legislation, the Danish planning system works based on the Precautionary Principle and an egalitarianist rationality. It is in this way not realistic to expect that the legislative framework can ever be made to fit temporary projects such as urban gardens perfectly; there will always be some kind of mis-match between them. Still, the legislative framework does provide quite a lot of space for the project managers to be able to realise innovative ideas, as it also turned out in the end in relation to the urban gardens in Copenhagen. This puts urban planners in a crucial role, since it is all about how they understand to work the space within their freedom of method-choice. This is even acknowledged at the ministerial level, where it is perceived that creative thinking and boldness is the way forward, both to make projects fit into the framework, and to generate institutional innovation by not always just following the rules:

Sometimes it's also about seeing the opportunities instead of always only seeing the barriers in the legislation, because there are some who are extremely good at finding the loopholes, and that is just related to personality. (Schultz, 2013)

Out there in the municipalities there are some damned dedicated souls who are really good at thinking strategically and creatively, and who also sometimes think that "we'll just do that anyway although we're not allowed to". Because that happens too, Copenhagen Municipality has done that as well. And from that something new can emerge, right? So it's about being forward-looking and bold in the municipalities, and dare to allow that there is someone who does something, and to do things in a different way. (Schultz, 2013)

Still, even if the planners understand how to make their projects fit within the legislative framework drawing on creativity and boldness, the study of urban gardens showed that the political framework had a major impact on the working conditions for the planners working with the urban gardens as well as the gardens themselves. The political framework in the municipalities is in this way a major factor for which activities can be realised, both through funding mechanisms and their prioritisations in visions that dictate the goals planners should work towards. Even if planners keep fighting for their projects when tides turn, it is a strong headwind and a tough battle. In the case of Copenhagen, the planners were given freedom by the administrative framework to fight this battle, but in other cases more control of their actions could have put their struggles to a halt.

The power and changeableness of the institutional framework in combination create highly uncertain working conditions for planners and their projects, where you never know when changes will occur and with what consequences. Both the theory and analysis have shown that in planning and political environments, new trends and rationalities have their crests and troughs, and each wave can only be surfed for a limited period of time until it dies out and is replaced by something else. However, as outlined in the above quotations, and as displayed in the case study of Co-

penhagen, planners do not have to be complete slaves of the system, but can actually bring positive change and innovation to the institutional framework if they dare to take a risk. In this way a competent planner in a Danish municipality is someone who is bold, pragmatic, adaptable to new conditions, and understands how to be imaginative with what she has got at her disposal to get the best out of any situation she finds herself. In the face of uncertainty, what a planner can do is to push her darling projects through their window of opportunity while it is open, widen it if it can be influenced, and try to leave a permanent mark on the framework that will allow the stakeholders to still sneak through the cracks by themselves when she somehow has to abandon their cause and work on something new. These qualities were all seen in the planners involved in the implementation of the urban gardens, and a 'stickler for the rules' would probably not have been able to create the same results.

It was clear in the case of Copenhagen that on the ground level when projects were to be implemented, communication and collaboration were crucial to get anything done. The planners' abilities to identify with, gain trust from and mediate between stakeholders, as well as approach the projects pragmatically and imaginatively to explore the best solutions with the knowledge they had, was maybe not decisive for the implementation, but of great importance for how smooth the process went. These qualities are very much tied to the planner as a person, and could raise the question of whether the planner actually has to be a professional to be able to implement citizen-driven initiatives since it is so much about process management, communication and facilitating good inter-stakeholder relationships. In this relation, it can be argued that at least the understanding of the opportunities, limitations and requirements of working within an institutional framework is all-important, since this understanding in the planners allowed them to use their opportunities to the fullest while at the same time establishing new knowledge, capacity and procedures inside the system. This knowledge of how the system functions is in the end what allowed them to actually influence the institutional framework and not just be influenced back. Had they not had this capacity, they would probably have been just as puzzled as the gardens when they first tried to break through the framework. The professional knowledge as planners

also give them a different starting point for being competent and *critical* pragmatists, and not just pragmatists that have a lot to learn.

6.2 Planners and (poly)rationality

Planner roles and planning rationalities are connected on several different levels. On one hand the planning rationalities can also be found on the meso- and macrolevel, for example as planning theories or paradigms, and in this way often influence the general expectations to the planner and her role, and most likely also often her own rationality as a member of the planning profession. On the other hand rationalities can be found at the micro-level in the minds of different stakeholders that may influence or be influenced by the outcome of a certain planning project; the planners in Copenhagen had to relate to (some of) them in the collaborative processes of implementing gardens to understand their perspective and be able to mediate a solution that took the into account.

First, in relation to the macro-level, theory has shown how the study of planners' actions has allowed new theorisations and rationalities about planning to emerge, such as the hybridity of planner roles studied by Howe and Sehested. This report has not been studying the macro-level of planning in particular, and therefore cannot give further valid insight into this. On the micro-level, planners may be able to impact rationalities of others by for example providing them with new knowledge and to give a new perspective and understanding of planning, by implementing projects that reshape people's perspective on planning, or by engaging with them in good or bad ways to reshape their opinion of what a planner is and how planning should be structured.

In relation to the micro-level, this study has shown how planners inquired into the rationalities of the stakeholders to be able to understand their wishes and apprehensions and from there mediate negotiations between them. When new problems arose, they approached them pragmatically to solve them one at a time, all the time learning from their experiences to be able to perhaps avoid the same problems the next time.

Even though different stakeholders with each their own rationality were involved in the process, and mediation had to happen between them in order to establish a solution, it can be discussed whether this implementation was actually a case of polyrationality. First of all, all of the

stakeholders involved were to be found within the hierarchism category of polyrationalities as outlined by Cultural Theory: They relied on a strong set of boundaries outlining acceptable and safe behaviour, which they thought should be set by the institution. If boundaries did not yet exist or were not defined in detail in the institutional framework, they felt the need to have them established before they could do anything, so they were sure to stay on safe ground. This even happened to the extent that the (also hierarchically oriented) planners would actually encourage them to be more rebellious and pragmatic, in this way actually making the planners adopt a more individualism based role and thus act in contradiction to the institutional framework they were employed. Polyrationality on the micro-level has thus influenced their role in terms of both the methods they use (communication, mediation) and their attitude towards the stakeholders (encouraging the gardens to go against the framework). Since all stakeholders were within the hierarchism rationality, the process was not really dealing with polyrationality in the sense that Cultural Theory presents it, and the solution was not 'clumsy' or polyrational either.

Although the implementation process did not really include polyrationality, there can be a lot of different opinions about the actual gardens that have not been articulated. The planners did not make an effort to try to include more stakeholders and rationalities by for example adopting the role of the planner in collaborative planning theory and invite the general public into an open process. However, that might not really have been necessary in an implementation process of such a thing as urban gardens: Their impact on the physical environment and the people who move and live within it is quite harmless, and due to the great variety of (alleged) benefits including social cohesion, health, better and more green local environment, activation of vacant spaces, people with different priorities can relate to different aspects of the gardens. Had it instead been projects with a direct harmful impact on the local environment, it could have provoked interference from other rationalities, although fatalistic rationalities would still not bother to get involved in the process. In that case, if the projects had met great resistance, it would have required a completely different effort from the planner, and probably a clumsy solution that could be an agreeable consensus between the opposed parties. In

that way, the urban gardening projects were quite tame problems for the planners to deal with.

Although the process was not polyrational as defined by Cultural Theory, the implementation still had some characteristics from a 'wicked problem'. For example there was not from the beginning one clear solution to choose or a limited amount of alternatives for how to implement the gardens, although the different gardening projects in Copenhagen had many similarities, they were essentially unique because of the different contexts they arose in and different challenges they faced, which made it impossible to transfer knowledge directly from one implementation process or garden to another; the planners could not just create a template method, procedure or solution that can be applied to other implementation processes. The quality of the solutions could also not be conclusively evaluated, since different rationalities would have different opinions of them, and there was also not any clear stopping-point for the planners's involvement to tell them when they had done their duty as planners and should pull out of the projects, since the gardens would keep asking new questions. These factors did however not complicate the implementation enough to actually call it a wicked problem, and the planners solved the challenges they posed without too many dilemmas. Instead the planners tackled them quite elegantly by using pragmatic approaches, critical judgment, empathy, creativity and collaboration. This means that in practice it was enough for the planners in this case to solve their planning issue by taking on the role of the critical pragmatist.

6.2.1 One planner – many roles

Even though the critical pragmatist can be used to describe the planners' overall role, they did sometimes take on other roles related to specific rationalities. A very strong role they were discovered to adopt was that of the 'manager', Sehested's modernised version of the strategic planner, which emerged when they were working for or protecting the institutional framework. This was for example seen when planners identified the urban gardens as a way to implement political visions related to green strategies, when they used formalised processes to establish procedures that could optimise the efficiency of processes and when they would refer back to the framework in case of insecurity of whether some-

thing they were about to do could cause a media scandal related to the institution. This falls in line with their general rationality of hierarchism.

Some behaviour that was also adopted by the planners at times, but not as consistently, was related to roles of the radical and advocacy planners, which was of course rooted in their dedication to the gardens' cause. Characteristics of the advocacy planner emerged when the planners advocated the gardens' case inside the municipality towards other actors, and preferred to have this role as an intermediary rather than letting the gardens do it themselves and possibly say something that would hinder the implementation. The characteristics of the radical planner are seen in that the planners insisted that the initiative for the gardens should come from the citizens themselves (for example they had to write their applications themselves), and when they tried to establish a network where urban gardens could meet and share experiences about barriers and challenges in the implementation process. However, these roles have only emerged in particular situations, and also stand in contrast in terms of whether the planners should do the work *on behalf* of the group or *empower them to do it themselves*, and shows an ambiguity in their approach to the gardening groups. It is also worth noting that none of this behaviour was in conflict with the institutional framework. A reason why the radical planner role has not been more prevalent could also be that all implicated actors, including the planners, have had a hierarchism rationality, and that the institutional framework of a Danish municipality is after all flexible enough and not oppressive enough to actually create a situation where social movements actually have to adopt radical behaviour to improve their situation. Furthermore, an urban garden is not as strong a cause to fight for as for example ending violent oppressive discrimination of particular groups.

At times the planners also seemed to adopt the role of the professional strategist, who works to promote their own professional opinion on what is good in planning. This was for example when the planners ensured a large freedom of method-choice for themselves within the institutional framework, and could also be one of their reasons to keep fighting for the urban gardens when the political framework changed. However, this is not easy to distinguish from other possible personal motives for still trying to raise support for the gardens. Furthermore it could be argued that

the rationality of the professional strategist may actually have been played out through the role of being a critical pragmatist, because that method of working would be the best to implement the gardens when several actors with different rationalities were involved. Even though this would be the best way of implementing this type of project for someone who is convinced it is the best solution from a professional perspective, it still however does not fit the actual behaviour of a professional strategist as described by Sehested, since this role variant is only oriented towards her professional peers and municipal administration and prefers top-down planning.

A planner role that has not been activated at all in the case of implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen is that of the neoliberal or market planner. This can arguably be connected to that this role has not been required by their surroundings; no investors or developers have been involved, and no one has imposed neoliberal requirements on them or confronted them with a neoliberal rationality. This is most likely because the type of projects that the gardens have been have not been connected in any way to a financial goal, but only to social or environmental objectives.

This mix between different roles that the planners adopt could arise the discussion of whether the planners actually adopted a polyrational role. However, this does not seem to be the case. To be polyrational, the planners would have to shift completely between different mindsets, and since the different roles they have activated at times in their essence hold completely different and contradictory perceptions of the world and planning, that would as mentioned in the theory, *"produce an almost schizophrenic result for the urban planner in question"* (Sehested, 2009, p. 257) – one person can only hold *one* complete rationality of planning. The planners in Copenhagen, however, do not seem to be confused and in different mindsets, but rather to be heading in a particular and to themselves quite clear direction decided by their one rationality as a whole person (professional and personal at the same time). In working towards this, they are willing to and capable of adopting different roles, behaviours and methods that they believe are able to bring them and the city closer to it. On their way, they *empathize* with other rationalities, but they do not adopt them as their own. The fact that they show behaviours relat-

ed to all the above mentioned roles is rather a sign of the balance they believe is right between the hierarchy, the stakeholders, themselves and the public good: If the gardens stand too weakly, you empower them or advocate their case; if the institution is threatened, you protect it, etc.. This entails that the planner role is essentially decided by their personal rationality and their choice of methods that they believe are desirable, in a pragmatic adaptation to the rationalities and institutional framework they must relate and adapt to. Probably this was also why the role of the critical pragmatist has fitted their actual role in the implementation best, since this is someone who balances considerations for process and outcome, different stakeholders, creates solutions through inter-personal communication, and uses her critical judgment to promote an outcome that either does not worsen or actually improves society.

In the end, this case has shown that perhaps the critical pragmatist is more of a mindset than an actual role, under which methods belonging to other roles can be chosen based on critical judgment of what will create the best solution. Although they can be argued to be a form of hybrid planners encompassing role variants such as the manager and a 'citizen-initiative planner' since they are able to identify with both rationalities and choose methods that promote them, a personally-driven critical pragmatist umbrella is in this way probably a better framework of a multi-methodical planning role to apply to them than the 'hybrid planner'.

6.3 Conclusion

The report established the existence of interrelationships between all three concepts of planner roles, planning rationalities and institutional frameworks that exert reciprocal influence on each other. The institutional framework has a special type of influence over the planners since their legislative, political and administrative factors outline the space of freedom for the planner's freedom of method choice as an employee within the public agency. At the same time each of them influence the outcomes of planning; however, the planner as the intermediary between the institution and the planning projects have an essential role.

The case study was designed to particularly focus on the planners' role in the implementation of urban gardens in Copenhagen between rationalities, institutional boundaries and the stakeholders involved in the

implementation process. It was found that the planners had adopted a variety of different roles as they mediated solutions between the citizen groups wanting to establish urban gardens and internal actors inside the municipality. In doing so they inquired into the issues and wishes of each stakeholder and empathised with each of them to be able to identify creative win-win solutions. Communicative approaches and collaboration was crucial for the planners' role as intermediaries, but at the same time they showed behaviours related to a variety of different planner roles known from literature.

The main role the planners adopted was the critical pragmatist, since they worked pragmatically to overcome challenges as they were confronted with them and learned-in-action. They also used critical judgment and imagination to find solutions through communication, while attending to both the process and outcome in the different projects. The planning conditions were somewhat wicked in that the planners could for example not just transfer the procedure and solution for one garden project to another, since each project was essentially unique despite many similarities, and that the planners had no external signs of when the solution was good enough and they could move on from the project. However, the critical-pragmatic approach provided them with the tools they needed to deal with this.

The planners also adopted characteristics of the manager/strategic planner, the radical and advocacy planners, as well as were guided by their own judgment and preference about what development is good for the city. In relation to the latter, this was however actually a sign that the personality of the planner, in a combination of their personal and professional opinions, is of major importance to how the planner's behaviour and role is actually shaped. Their own rationality of planning guides their actions and guides the way they choose methods in combination with the external environment to reach the balancing point that they believe is the best. In this way the psychology of the planner seems to be underestimated in much planning literature, since the personality of the planner has such a big influence and not just their surroundings and the norms of planning. This psychological understanding of the planner, how it is formed and influenced, what implications it has for planning processes and outcomes, and how it could perhaps be affected to promote certain

behaviours over other, could be a favourable future addition to planning theory, but would require a more psychological approach than was possible here, while still relating it to spatial planning.

Throughout the process of establishing gardens, many different rationalities of different stakeholders were involved. However, despite some differences they all belonged under the so-called rationality of hierarchism from Cultural Theory, and were quite easy to match once the planners understood their differences. This is also why the process cannot be defined as polyrational in Cultural Theory's understanding of the concept. The loyalty and reliance on an institutional framework to guide their actions were actually sometimes stronger in the citizen groups than the planners themselves, in which case the planners actually made an effort to draw the gardens towards a more individualist and pragmatic rationality that would mean less complication in the process due to bureaucracy. The different mindsets in the respective stakeholders still influenced the planners' role in the way that they had to use methods that could mediate between them, however quite unproblematically. No further effort was made to include other stakeholders who could also have brought other and more conflicting rationalities into the processes. However, it is possible that urban gardens are actually such tame projects that it would be hard to find extreme disagreement in relation to that type of projects. It would however be interesting to apply the same scope of research to a more wicked and aggressive planning problem in future research to compare the difference in how the planner's role is influenced by planning rationalities depending on their degree of antagonism.

The planners in Copenhagen were clearly influenced by the institutional framework of Copenhagen Municipality, in the way that they were very oriented towards staying loyal to the institution while working with the gardens. The administrative framework allowed them great freedom of method-choice to work pragmatically with the urban gardens and trusted them to be able to live up to this responsibility, which they also did. The legislative framework was a great challenge at first, since Danish legislation is not unproblematic in relation to temporary projects, but the planners influenced it to make room for the gardens through collaborative approaches with the Centre for Environment, which led to a reinterpretation and slackening of the requirements for the projects. The political

framework was in synergy with the gardens when they first emerged and underpinned the planners' work on the implementation through i.a. funding schemes. The planners also influenced the political framework by managing to include urban gardens in the Agenda 21 strategy. The politicians however changed their priorities in 2013, which drastically changed the political framework and with it the working conditions for the planners, who were now supposed to abandon the gardening projects and focus on the new tasks. The planners however had enough freedom within the administrative framework to be able to keep working on the gardens' cause, though in a very different way since they had to seek alternative solutions by drawing on their understanding of the institution.

The report has in this way shown how planners in a Danish Municipality must be ever adaptive to the uncertainty and complexity in their surrounding related to the rationalities and institutional frameworks they are confronted with in their everyday practice – more knowledge on this style of adaptive planning as well as best modes of practices could be yet another favourable subject for future research. The planners in the Danish municipalities do not have to be slaves of rationalities and institutional frameworks, but have great possibilities to work freely if they understand how to deal with these conditions in planning. This demands not only traditional planner skills from the planner, but even more competences within collaboration and communication, a deep understanding of how an institution as a Danish municipality functions, and even more crucially; imagination, creativity and a bold attitude and determination to create the best working conditions for the projects as well as the planners. If planners accept the institutional framework unconditionally, the opportunity for creating innovative solutions in planning and procedures is lost. The Danish planning conditions in this way demand planners that are realistic, yet not afraid to rebel – at least once in a while.

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