Fokus Järva

A case study on Stockholm municipality's strategies to break residential segregation

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Abstract

Residential segregation in Stockholm is referred to as a threat to the social cohesion and a hinder for sustainable urban development. Therefore, Stockholm municipality has launched a series of actions explicitly addressing segregation, being urban development projects the most prominent iterations. However, these projects have met limited success, being this utmost evident in the Järva district, that, despite more than 30 years of consecutive desegregation projects, remains socially, economically, and spatially segregated from the rest of the city. Now, Stockholm municipality means to finally solve segregation in Järva through Fokus Järva. This thesis pretends to reveal how Stockholm municipality intends to achieve this through urban planning. For this, the context provided by Fokus Järva is analyzed through a qualitative single-case study, with special attention to underlying ideologies and issues of power, vis a critical approach. Criticality is based on an anti-subordination perspective, advancing an anti-racist, historically aware, social justice project.

Fokus Järva is conceptualized as the intersection of the geographic, historic, and urban planning contexts of the Järva district. The geographic and historic context provided a clear picture of the current state of segregation in the Järva district and how it came to be, as well as the evolution of urban planning themes related to segregation. Subsequently, the urban planning context revealed the municipal structures involved in urban planning and how they plan to engage with the segregation picture of Järva. These three contexts are then analyzed through Critical Thematic Analysis (CTA) to reveal cohesion, equalization, diversity, densification, and attractiveness as the overarching themes in Stockholm municipality's scheme to break segregation through urban planning. Finally, the risk of Fokus Järva to produce social injustice in Järva due to the influence of concealed ideologies over Stockholm municipality's take on desegregation is explored.

Keywords: urban planning, segregation, Fokus Järva, social sustainability, anti-subordination

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Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSSS	Commission for a socially sustainable Stockholm
CP	Comprehensive Plan
CTA	Critical Thematic Analysis
DO	Diskrimineringsombudsmannen
LDP	Local Development Program
MHP	Million Houses Program

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problematization

Upon recent years, many official reports and investigations have denounced the establishment of parallel realities in Sweden due to the ever-growing gap in living conditions between ethnic Swedish inhabitants and their counterparts with foreign background (Thapar-Björkert & Villacura 2021). This crisis reflects physically in spatial segregation, most visible in the urban areas of the country. In Stockholm, the relegation of economically weak inhabitants to the Million Houses Program (MHP) areas has created socioeconomic polarization between these deteriorated peripheral dormitory neighborhoods on one side, and the wealthy inner city and single-family house suburbs on the other (Sweco 2012 see Bremberg et al. 2015). Additionally, the fact that in several of the MHP areas the percentage of inhabitants with foreign background is as high as 92% (Stockholm stad 2023c), while it is as low as 3% in adjacent single-family house suburbs (ibid.), confirms the ethnic pattern of segregation.

During the pandemic of Covid-19, segregation in Stockholm became more evident after observing that the inhabitants of Järva, a MHP area in northern Stockholm, were more exposed to the disease than the rest of the city. The high number of overcrowded apartments in the area, combined with a high concentration of inhabitants with hindered access to medical services and information, and predominance of service sector workers made the infection and covid-related death rates in Järva significantly higher than the rest of Stockholm (Thapar-Björkert & Villacura 2021). These spatial and socio-economic conditions converged in Järva as a consequence of residential segregation. Nevertheless, the covid-statistics of Järva were interpreted by the state and mainstream media principally as a result of generalized anti-social behaviors among the inhabitants of the area, worsening the stigmatizing public perception of Järva (ibid.) and putting the area on the spotlight.

However, shortly after the change in administration in the municipality of Stockholm in 2022, the municipal management office launched 'Fokus Järva', multi-sectorial, urban development project centered on Järva. This initiative follows the steps of 'Fokus Skärholmen', a recent municipal action directed to improve Skärholmen, another MHP area sharing many similarities with Järva.

Fokus Skärholmen was defined as a pilot project for socially sustainable urban planning, a planning model aiming to use urban development as a tool to counteract segregation (Stockholm stad 2018:12).

Considering what segregation prompted in Järva during the pandemic, it would be expected that an initiative advancing social sustainability in the area would be welcomed by the residents. Nevertheless, Fokus Järva is not the first development project of such nature directed to the Järva area. Ever since the neighborhoods surrounding Järvafältet [the Järva field] were built, low public acceptance and socio-spatial deterioration have been recurrent in the area. This situation sprouted the first municipal efforts to improve Järva as early as 1979. Thence, many other municipal initiatives have tried and failed to address the situation in Järva (Danielsson & Hertting 2007).

Even though Fokus Järva is at an early stage, with no official document detailing the scope, specific goals, nor concrete strategies to follow, inferences can be drawn from these past municipal initiatives. Above all, 'Järvalyftet' [Invest in Järva], implemented in Järva between 2007 and 2014, could have a direct effect on Fokus Järva. Järvalyftet was proclaimed as a model project for the revitalization of MHP areas, very much like Fokus Skärholmen is currently pointed out as the pilot project for social sustainability urban development. In spite of all, the positive effects of Järvalyftet were limited. The city is more segregated than ever (Stockholms Handelskammare 2018), and in Järva many socio-economic indicators are worse after Järvalyftet than before (Salihu 2021). Moreover, Järvalyftet left in the inhabitants of Järva a bias towards these kinds of municipal actions due to a conflictive participatory process (Tahvilzadeh & Kings 2018). Even worse is that the official and mainstream narrative over Järvalyftet laid most of the blame for the failure on the inhabitants of Järva (ibid.), which cemented their negative image before the Swedish society that perdured well into the Covid-19 pandemic crisis (Thapar-Björkert & Villacura 2021).

After glimpsing at the history of urban development in Järva, it is easy to conjecture how Fokus Järva will play out, even though little is known of the project. Nevertheless, Fokus Järva is not defined exclusively by historical precedents; it is also influenced by its present context, being the municipal social sustainability urban planning project a clear example of this. Overlaying contextual and historical themes converging in Fokus Järva could reveal much about a project that is yet to be defined. Far from trying to generate predictions, such inquiry would grant a more complete picture of the urban dimension of Järva.

1.2 Positionality Statement

I am a 29 years old, first-generation immigrant living in Sweden. I moved from Honduras, Latin America, to Sweden year 2020 to live with my partner, an ethnic Swede. I have professional background in architecture, trained technically across the fields of architectural and landscape design, civil engineering, project management, and urban planning. Additionally, I worked full-time as an architect for six years in Honduras, and further two years part-time in Sweden as prison officer. The way in which these background features come into play in this thesis is described below.

Firstly, and perhaps most important, my immigrant identity is considerably influential and influenced by this work. The interest in topics of discrimination in Sweden came from considering such phenomena to have a direct impact in my life. Furthermore, insights proportioned by my job in prison, such as observing the shockingly disproportionate share of inmates with foreign background, increased my interest on discrimination themes. The exploratory, inductive orientation this study takes is a manifestation of my desire to deepen my understanding about the social macro-dynamics that are shaping my new life in Sweden.

Paradoxically, I also realize and problematize my inadvertent role as reproducer of the phenomena that is now affecting me. I had not engaged with issues of power within my profession until I studied the social dimension of planning and design in the last course of my master's. This meant that much of what I had previously done as an architect unconsciously followed and reproduced the newly discovered hegemonic structures of power. After realizing this I knew that if I was to break free from this contradiction, I needed to further understand the dynamics of power in planning and design. This is the main motivation behind the selection of the subject, research approach, and theoretical inputs of this dissertation.

However, I recognize my inexperience in qualitative research and topics rooted in the social sciences. This is mainly due to my positivist academic background, which dealt almost exclusively with natural sciences and quantitative approaches, and my work experience, mostly comprised of design and project management practices. Despite the challenges this entails, my desire to reduce the social negligence in my professional practice motivates me to engage with the unknown in this thesis work. Accordingly, this desire crystalizes in the selection of antisubordination planning as the theoretical starting point for this thesis.

I perceive many similarities between the reality of my home city and the parallel reality foreigners experience in Sweden. I considers that this gives me an insider's viewpoint towards the study case, which grants me sensibility towards the social context, as well as the capacity to engage more deeply with empirical sources and

data. Nevertheless, I believe this can also generate bias, especially when studying dynamics of power. Conversely, the fact that I came to Sweden for less than three years ago with relatively advantageous circumstances distances me from the reality of most foreigners in Sweden, giving me an outsider's perspective as well. Being able to alternate between an inside and outside perspective enabled a sufficient degree of self-criticism to balance out the possible bias mentioned above.

Overall, my foreign background constitutes my main source of intrinsic interest, but also my main driver of bias. Being reflective and transparent about this circumstance is imperative to conduct valid scientific, qualitative research. Furthermore, stating my positionality may help both me as a researcher and readers to better engage with the study.

1.3   Aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to generate a critical understanding of how segregation is being addressed in urban development plans in the area of Järva, Stockholm. For this, three research questions have been devised:

1. What are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?
2. How are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?
3. What are the recurring themes present in the urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation and what are the overarching ideologies behind these themes?

The first two questions are based on the knowledge available to the researcher at the beginning of this study, while the third one sprouted from the need for further understanding after the initial questions were partially answered. This gives the third question a more interpretative character, while the first two are more related to familiarization with the topic and data collection.

1.4   Scope and delimitation

This thesis employs a qualitative case study (see chapter 2.1) of how segregation is addressed in urban planning in Stockholm, using Fokus Järva as a convenient access point to the study subject, as it offers a valuable conjunction of the topics within segregation and urban planning.

The motivation for conducting a case study over Fokus Järva is intrinsic interest, which Stake (1995 see Karlsson 2016) defines as the perception of an eventuality having "an important real-life impact" and reaffirms it as a valid research motivation in qualitative case study. Nonetheless, it could be argued that choosing Fokus Järva provides further relevance to the study, as it is representative or even crucial within a larger population. However, this study does not seek theoretical generalization, but understanding of "the internal complexities of the case" (Given 2008). Therefore, such claims would imply efforts directed to goals beyond the aim of this research, which would just congest the research process and, consequently, produce major deviations in the established time frame.

It is important to underline that this case study, while centered on Fokus Järva, does not dissect the entirety of it, but focuses exclusively on the way it engages with segregation through urban planning. This means that actions directed to solve other social or spatial issues rather than segregation (e.g., unemployment, criminality, citizen participation, residential buildings renovation, infrastructure) stand outside the case study's scope. It also means that actions outside of urban planning (e.g., civil associations, cultural events), even if directed to break segregation, are not encompassed in this study. This strict delimitation ensures that the scope of the study complies with the time and quality frames stated for a master's thesis.

Although the case study approach is effective in answering the first two research questions, the analytic character of the third research question required a complementary analytical tool. Analogously, the nature of the topics engaged in the research, as well as the chosen context, combined with the author's positionality (see chapter 1.2) spawned the necessity to incorporate a critical perspective in the inquiry work. These two circumstances resulted in the integration of Critical Thematic Analysis (see chapter 2.3) as the analytical model in the thesis.

The early stage in which Fokus Järva is at the moment of the thesis determines the type of data that is to be collected and presented for the case study. Basing the case study exclusively on discrete planning documents is impossible, as such documents do not exist. Instead, the case is built by the historical planning precedent of Fokus Järva, as well as the current planning context within Stockholm municipality.

2. METHODS & MATERIAL

2.1 Research design

This thesis applies a qualitative single-case study (Yin 2009) with an intrinsic, exploratory character (Stake 1995 see Karlsson 2016), incorporating critical thematic analysis (CTA) theory and methodology (Lawless & Chen 2019) to analyze the collected data (see chapter 2.3).

Creswell (2002) defines a case as a bounded system, where 'system' can be a person, group, event, process, phenomenon, and 'bounded' means separated in terms of place, time, or other physical constrain. Yin (2009) adds context as a defining dimension of any case study and introduces the concept of 'unit of analysis' to further determine the scope of a case study. Using these concepts to design the case study protocol (ibid.) provides a clear picture of purpose and scope: **the phenomenon of residential segregation will be studied across the context of urban planning, bounded to the geographical setting of Järva, using the municipality of Stockholm as unit of analysis.** Pivoting the research analysis around the municipality gives the opportunity to connect the phenomenon to different contextual scales, as the municipality is influenced by national and regional planning actions, while operating at a city, district, neighborhood, and plot level. The omission of 'Fokus Järva' in the case study protocol formulation might be deceiving, but Fokus Järva is the object from which the case was unpacked. As said in previous chapters, Fokus Järva lays at the intersection of these concepts. Figure 1 better illustrates this point.
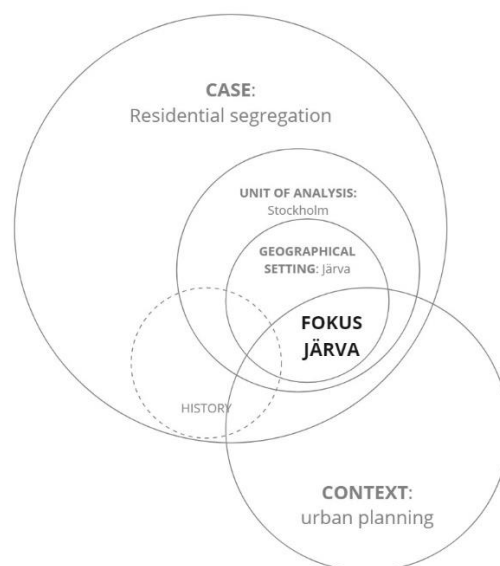
Figure 1 Diagram of the case study protocol.

A qualitative methodology is appropriate for this research, as it aims for in-depth understanding of a social phenomena, in this case segregation. Qualitative works are case-oriented, context sensitive, descriptive, interpretative, and reflexive (Lewis-Beck et al. 2004). These characteristics are necessary and crucial for studying segregation and power relations. Furthermore, qualitative research does not require the researcher to decide on a theoretical framework before engaging with the study subject (ibid.). This provided me as a beginner researcher with methodological and processual flexibility at the beginning of this thesis, allowing the data to guide me towards the theoretical starting points that were to inform the analysis exercise.

The case study approach was chosen because it is effective in answering "how" research questions (Yin 2009), which lie at the core of this investigation (see chapter 1.3). Moreover, case study is effective in narrowing down the research and offers guidance throughout the whole research process. The case study research protocol allowed me to define Focus Järva through the geographic, historic, and urban planning contexts of the Järva (see chapter 4.2), providing pertinent and structured data for the critical analysis and ultimately answering the research questions.

The purpose of incorporating an analytical framework from the critical tradition is to enrich the understanding of the case by incorporating the dimension of power to the study. Through critical analysis, it is possible to uncover underlying structures and ideologies, which is necessary to understand segregation. Furthermore, CTA offers a rigorous and clear model of analysis (Lawless & Chen 2019), which informs the whole research process as well. Concretely, CTA informed the selection of data sources, as well as the moment and manner in which these were consulted (see chapter 2.2).

2.2 Data collection

The data collection process was determined by the delimitation of the case study and the data required by the CTA model as inputs for the subsequent analysis. Collecting data for a qualitative case study can be a flexible and not completely organized (Bryman 2016). This resulted in an open-ended, inductive collection of empirical material for this thesis. This means that the researcher allows the direction of the case study to change constantly, based on the incoming data (Given 2008). This can be seen more clearly in the selection of empirical data sources and the

order in which they were consulted, as well as the evolution of the main focus of the research.

To better describe the data collection process, the empirical data sources are categorized into four data sets, described in the order in which they were encountered: qualitative interviews, artifacts, and official documents and webpages. However, this does not mean that the data collection process was linear, but iteratively going back and forth between the data sets. For instance, semi-structured interviews were conducted constantly throughout the whole research, as new data from artifacts and official documents required confirmation and/or complementation from primary sources.

2.2.1 Qualitative interviews

The first step in the inquiry process was to familiarize with the study subject. For this thesis, that meant familiarizing with the chosen geographical location in the context of urban development. As expressed before, due to a lack of documentation in Fokus Järva, it was decided to start the research with interviews.

A total of 12 interviews were conducted, with varied styles, profiles of the respondent, and across different channels (see table 1). Among these, three rounds of interviews can be distinguished, defined by the purpose of the interview and the moment in the research process it was performed. The first round of interviews had the purpose to identify local key actors, establish contact with them and get an initial picture of the current situation of the study case. Identifying possible empirical sources was also a goal in this first round. The second round aimed to further determine the direction of the research by identifying key concerns with representative members of the community. Lastly, the data collected in the third round served as complement to the empirical data coming from official documents and artifacts. Furthermore, this data concretes the local perspective picture sought from the first moment.

My positionality played a determinant role in the interviewing work, as one of the desires for this study was not to follow hegemonic up-bottom planning practices, but to lift up the perspective of the inhabitants of Järva and other local actors in the investigation. This reflects in profiles of the interviewees and the order and degree to which they were consulted. For instance, 9 of the 12 respondents were local politicians, planners, and inhabitants, while only 2 of them belong to the central municipal offices. Furthermore, the interviews with the 9 local respondents turned out to be more extensive and more consulted in later parts of this study.

The interviews were conducted in an unstructured style at first, meaning that the interviewer approaches the interview inductively, with no predetermined questions,

but a loose topic of conversation (Given 2008). Subsequently, semi-structured interviews were conducted, meaning that the questions the interviewer asks interviewees were predetermined, but open-ended (Bryman 2016). Operatively, the selection of interviewees was a result of a snow-ball sampling, where the information from one interview led to the selection of the next interviewee. These interviewing strategies are proper for inductive qualitative studies where depth rather than breadth is the target, and where time is considerably limited (Given 2008).

The interviews were mainly documented through field notes taken during the interviews. This method is the most time-effective way of recording interviews, although at the cost of possible loss of data and a higher level of bias (Tessier 2012). However, the time constrains of this thesis in relation to the volume of interview data resulting from the snow-ball sampling made it difficult for more time-consuming recording methods to be implemented.

Table 1 Register of interviews carried out for the case study

RESPONDENT	PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENT	INTERVIEW STYLE	INTERVIEW THEME	INTERVIEW CHANNEL	DATE	DURATION
First round: key local actors						
1	Process leader at Folkets Husby	unstructured	Fokus Järva, Folkets Husby's operations and its relationship with the municipality	physical meeting	03/02/2023	1 hour
2	Reporter at SVT's Järvaredaktion	unstructured	Fokus Järva, key actors within the communities of Järva	video conference	05/02/2023	52 minutes
3	Konsthallen	unstructured	Tensta konsthallen's operations with the local community and collaboration with the municipality	physical meeting	07/02/2023	40 minutes
4	Editor in chief at Nyhetsbyrån Järva	unstructured	Public opinion on Fokus Järva, key actors within the communities of Järva	phone call	10/02/2023	10 minutes
5	Member of the Association of tenants [hyresgästföreningen] Rinkeby	unstructured	Fokus Järva, Järvalyftet, Tenstaterrasen project	phone call	10/02/2023	10 minutes
Second round: key concerns						
6	Resident of Husby, member of Ort till ort Husby, a civil society association for tenants	unstructured	Ort till ort, Fokus Järva, Järvalyftet, opinion about the municipality's work with urban development in Järva	physical meeting and phone call	21/02/2023	20+31 minutes
7	Manager at Fastighetsägare i Järva, an association for rental property owners	unstructured	Fokus Järva, key actors within the communities of Järva	phone call	10/03/2023	20 minutes
8	Local politician, designated chairman of the new Järva district commitee	semi-structured	Questionnaire 1 (see appendix 1), merging of the districts of Järva, Järvalyftet, the districts committee's role in municipal urban development plans	video conference and phone call	17/03/2023	43+27 minutes
9	Project leader for Fokus Skärholmen at the development office	unstructured	Fokus Skärholmen, municipality's social sustainability project	phone call	27/02/2023	25 minutes
10	Strategist at the municipal planning office	semi-structured	Questionnaire 2 (see appendix 1), how does the planning office integrates social sustainability in Fokus Järva	phone call	28/03/2023	37 minutes
Third round: complementary empirical data						
11	City planner at Spånga-Tensta district committee planning department	semi-structured	Questionnaire 3 (see appendix 1), the districts committee's role in municipal urban development plans with focus on Fokus Järva	video conference	03/04/2023	42 minutes
12	Resident of Tensta since 1979, retired communicator at Spånga-Tensta district committee	semi-structured	Questionnaire 4 (see appendix 1),urban development history of Järva from a resident's point of view	physical meeting	04/04/2023	2 hours and 20 minutes

2.2.2 Artifacts

According to Given (2008), "artifacts are things that societies and cultures make for their own use", and their research values lies in the potential of extracting from them insights and information about a specific culture, society, or group. In this thesis, the term is used to refer to texts, videos and images found in digital newspaper articles and debates, public opinion publications, civil organization

statements and webpages, social media publications and discussion threads, and multimedia interviews, panels, and discussions.

Namely, Fastighetsnytt and Nyhetsbyrån Järva were the most consulted digital newspapers, with the latter providing the perspective of a local media broadcaster that operates for and with the community (Gustafson 2023). Meanwhile, the former constitutes the mainstream media account, with reports centered in the municipality and governmental institutions' operations, as well as the real estate owners and developers' opinion.

In a first instance, the artifacts were consulted ethnographically, with the intention of incorporating different viewpoints and understandings about the study subject to build a more holistic picture of the case. Later, artifacts were used as empirical sources feeding the analytical tool and filling the gaps of factual information from other data sets. Special care was needed at the moment of assessing the validity of the information extracted from certain artifacts. For instance, data encountered in social media needed to be triangulated with other sources before being able to use it in the analytic phase of the thesis.

2.2.3 Official documents and websites

Even though any type of document and webpage can be conceptualized as an artifact, for the purposes of this research, it is more practical to distinguish some documents as a data set in itself. The term 'official documents' refers to documents produced and approved by some instance of the Swedish governmental apparatus. Among these, two sub-sets are differentiated, based on the institution of origin and the character of the documents and webpages.

Municipal planning documents and websites

Included in this data sub-set are all documents, investigations, reports and/or websites produced by any of Stockholm municipality's offices related to urban planning with some influence in Järva. It is important to underline that Stockholm municipality has a very good digital infrastructure, with many planning information shared as popular websites instead of technical documents. To identify which elements were to be included in the scope of the case study, a mapping of every planning document connected in a sufficiently reasonable way to Fokus Järva was made (see figure ---). Among these, the 2017 municipal visions, the current municipal comprehensive plan (CP), the Vision Järva 2030 brochure, the social sustainability municipal strategies document, the local development programs for Skärholmen, Spånga-Tensta and Kista-Rinkeby, and Fokus Skärholmen social sustainability strategies document can be identified as particularly important inputs for the analytical tool.
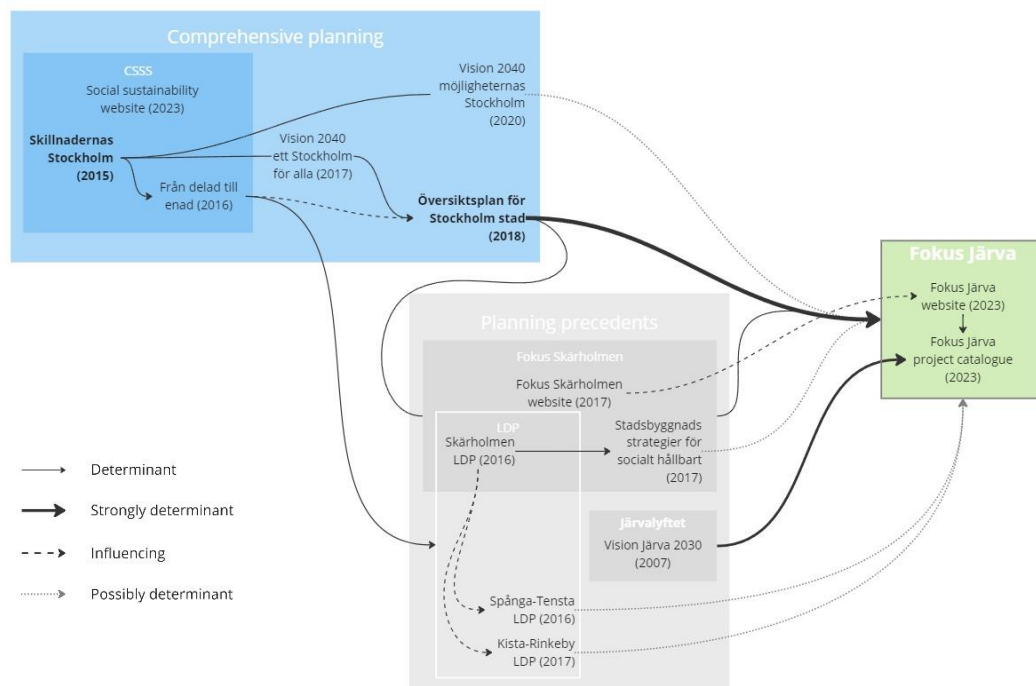
Figure 2 Concept map of the municipal planning documents and websites connected to Fokus Järva

By applying the case study protocol (see chapter 2.1) as a filter from the beginning, the amount of text to be analyzed from this data sub-set was drastically reduced. Similarly, other text analysis tools were implemented to make the body of data more manageable. For instance, memos and notes were generated with the purpose of consulting them instead of navigating the documents several times.

Official reports and statistics

The second sub-set within the official documents includes any case-related investigation, report and statistic produced, ordered and/or approved by any governmental instance besides Stockholm municipality. Here, the bulk of information comes from Boverket [the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning], and SCB [Statistics Sweden]. It is important to clarify that some of the most important data used in this research was produced by the recently defunct DELMOS [Delegation Against Segregation]. However, now that data is part of Boverket's information catalogue. Therefore, Boverket is heavily referenced in many instances of this thesis.

The same strategy used with municipal planning data was used to narrow down this body of data, with the difference being the usage of 'social sustainability' and 'segregation' as the main filters. Most of the information collected from these sources was used to build the theoretical framework and the planning precedent of the case, rather than as inputs for the analytical phase. Nevertheless, contextualizing

the case at a national level facilitated the identification of themes in the ensuing analysis.

2.3 Analytical model

2.3.1 Critical Thematic Analysis (CTA)

CTA is a systematic, inductive framework for in-depth analysis of qualitative data with a critical perspective. CTA was developed by Brandi Lawless and Yea-Wen Chen (2019) by incorporating inquiries over "issues of power and embedded ideologies" (Lawless & Chen 2019:94) to thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is an analytical tool "for reducing and managing large volumes of data without losing the context, for getting close to or immersing oneself in the data, for organizing and summarizing, and for focusing the interpretation" (Mills et al. 2010). Thematic analysis is commonly used as part of case study research's meaning making process (ibid.).

What grounds CTA in the critical epistemology is its aim to reveal "how intersecting macro-forces enable and constrain everyday discourses" (Lawless & Chen 2019:94). For this, CTA studies a phenomenon's "economic, social, historical, and political contexts, social and hegemonic structures, institutional power, and ideological impact." (Lawless & Chen 2019:96). CTA also endorses critical scholarity's motivation for doing research, which is to contest taken-for granted, historically reified, oppressive, and unjust ideologies (Cannella & Lincoln 2016). Consequently, CTA seeks to expose hegemonic dominance in order to devise lines of action for social change (Lawless & Chen 2019).

At an operational level, CTA provides a clear two-step process to identify phenomena, power relations, hierarchies and ideologies in interviews, everyday communication, talk and text (Jónsdóttir & Byhring 2023). This makes CTA a straightforward and intuitive analytic tool, being this the main reason for it to be preferred over critical discourse analysis (CDA), which was initially intended to be the critical component of this thesis. Moreover, CTA can be conducted regardless of the researcher's academic background, whereas CDA's effectivity is most likely compromised if the researched is a non-linguistic scholar (Lawless & Chen 2019). This statement is based in the fact that CDA's first step requires not only a descriptive analysis of the text, but an unpacking of its grammatical qualities (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

As every other thematic analysis approach, CTA uses coding as the basic analytical strategy (Mills et al. 2010). Coding can be defined as "a process of closely

inspecting text to look for recurrent themes, topics, or relationships, and marking (…) [them] with a code or label to categorize them for (…) [analysis]" (ibid.). Similarly, thematic coding can be seen as "a strategy for data reduction" (Given 2008). The coding process proposed in CTA is inductive in the first phase, as themes are discovered through a process of noticing certain patterns in the data. Conversely, the second phase has a more deductive character, given that the identified themes are scrutinized using a series of predesigned critical questions.

Experimental application of CTA

CTA was developed for processing relational communication data, mostly comprised of interview material. Likewise, all of the detected instances where CTA has been used dealt exclusively with interview data. However, the data sets analyzed in this thesis contain textual material in the form of news, articles, planning documents, reports, etc. Therefore, the application of CTA for analyzing non-interview data in this thesis is experimental.

The way of accomplishing the application of CTA to non-interview material was to idealize non-interview texts as respondents in a semi-structured interview, where the questions asked were the thesis's research questions. This facilitated the incorporation of CTA to the thesis framework, while allowing CTA to be applied without drastic modifications. Furthermore, this way of envisioning the data made it more organic to examine data coming from different types of sources with the same analytical tool. Nonetheless, special adaptations were needed at some moments of the method. For example, in devising how to identify forcefulness in textual data.

A two-step analytical process

CTA adopts William F. Owen's (1984) coding scheme as the first step of the analysis process, calling it the open coding phase (Lawless & Chen 2019). Owen (1984 see Lawless & Chen 2019) proposes looking for the specific patterns of repetition, recurrence, and forcefulness among the different data entries to discover themes. Lawless & Chen (2019) explain these three criteria as follows: **repetition** refers to "the specific reappearance of keywords or phrases" in the texts. **Recurrence**, on the other hand, is the repetition of meaning without necessarily employing the same words to convey it. For instance, occurrences of the words 'criminality', 'unemployment' and 'discrimination' could be interpreted as recurrence of the concept of 'social problems'. Lastly, **forcefulness** refers to emphasis put into a certain word, phrase or meaning. In interview data and other verbal sources, forcefulness is identified by looking for changes in tone, volume, and inflection. Similarly, forcefulness can be expressed in non-verbal data with punctuations, graphism, selection of the channel or media used to convey the

meaning, and other contextual aspects defining the inquired data. Elements of discourse analysis were inadvertently integrated while homologating forcefulness application in textual data, as non-textual aspects of texts are taken into account in the search for forcefulness. Put into discourse analysis methodology terms, discursive practices (Fairclough 1995 see Jørgensen & Phillips 2002) are scanned for forcefulness.

At the end of the open coding phase, frequent themes across the different data entries will have emerged. These themes are then examined in the closed coding phase, where the critical perspective comes into play. However, when the identified themes are too many, a consolidating middle step, where themes are grouped or categorized, is needed before engaging in closed coding. This categorization can be based on similarity, affinity, or any other recognizable logical connection between themes. Relations of belonging and dependency among themes can emerge in this phase. Given (2008) describes this task as interpretive, where creativity and subjectivity are necessarily involved. The purpose of this categorization is to make the closed coding phase more effective by refining the inputs.

In the second step, the CTA framework functions as method and theory (Lawless & Chen 2019), posing a series of critical questions to be used as theoretical lenses to uncover how the identified themes are connected and influenced by larger social constructions, ideologies, and grand narratives and discourses (ibid.). This questionnaire is comprised of Cannella and Lincoln's (2016) six inquiries for qualitative critical research, and three complementing questions devised by Lawless and Chen. Table --- presents them clearly.

Table 2 Questions proposed for the closed coding phase of CTA

Questions from Cannella and Lincoln (2015)	
1	How are particular groups represented in discourses, practices and social systems?
2	What knowledges are silenced, made visible, or literally erased?
3	What are examples of oppressions (and/or new exclusions) that are being made to sound equitable through various discourses?
4	How do elite groups define values, constructs, and rhetoric in ways that maintain matrices of power?
5	How are particular discourses infused into the public imaginary?
6	How are power relations constructed and managed through?
Questions from Lawless and Chen (2019)	
7	How are everyday discourses enabled and constrained by social systems, dominant ideologies, and power relations?
8	How do macro- and micro-level discourses, practices, and systems intersect and reproduce dominations and oppressions?
9	How can individual subjects become aware of dominant ideologies and work toward challenging them and promoting social justices?

Notwithstanding, the authors further condense these nine questions into a single operational question: **"what ideologies, positions of power, or status hierarchies are recurring, repeated, and forceful?"** (Lawless & Chen 2019:99). Using this question as a first instance in the closed coding phase should facilitate the transition from the previous step. Once the macro-structures have been revealed, some or all of the theoretical questions can be used in order to unpack the connection to the themes. At this point, new categories, or overarching themes, can emerge, and previously identified categories can be modified, merged, or divided, based on the interaction between them and the macro-structures at play.

Application

In the first step, the municipal planning documents and media accounts found to be strongly related to Fokus Järva and segregation, as well as municipal studies on segregation and socially sustainable planning, are scanned for frequent themes. Then, the discovered themes are grouped in function of interrelatedness. Within each group, an overarching theme is either outed or constructed. The resulting overarching themes are then presented and described in the results if this first steps (see chapter 5.1).

In the second step, the overarching themes are critically analyzed in two instances. The first instance is by asking "what ideologies, positions of power, or status hierarchies are present in each of the overarching themes?". The answer to that question is informed by the theoretical starting points, as well as critical analysis done by third parties on the context of the study case. For instance, the contextual information of Fokus Järva that was not directly scrutinized in the open code phase becomes crucial in the closed coding phase. This follows Lawless and Chen assert (2019:96) that by informing the analysis of themes with social, historical, political, and economic contexts, ideologies are better revealed. Likewise, it compels with the antisubordination planning suggestion of addressing issues of injustice in planning in a historically aware manner (Steil 2022; Steil and Humm 2019) (see chapter 3.1).

The second instance of the closed coding phase is not engaged for every theme, only in cases where the ideologies, positions of power, or status hierarchies are not satisfactorily uncovered in one of the overarching themes. Then, the theme is scanned using the CTA questionnaire (see Table 2), as it has more specific inquiries that may facilitate the uncovering of ideologies, positions of power, or status hierarchies.

3. THEORETICAL STARTING POINTS

3.1 Antisubordination planning

Anti-subordination planning focuses on equity and justice, speaks about them in terms of historical disparities and ascriptive characteristics, and focuses simultaneously on the structures causing injustice and inequality as well as in the concrete effects these structures have, all from and for subordinated groups.

Antisubordination planning draws on antisubordination legal tradition, inaugurated by Owen Fiss in his publication *Groups and the Equal Protection Clause* (Balkin & Siegel 2003). Fiss's central statement, widely called the 'antisubordination principle', argues that "equal citizenship cannot be realized under conditions of pervasive social stratification" (Balkin & Siegel 2003:9), therefore reforms aiming to prevent adverse impacts of policies, laws and practices on disadvantaged groups are needed (Steil 2018). Fiss (1976 see Balkin & Siegel 2003) defines disadvantaged groups as a historically subordinated social group with circumscribed political power.

Steil (2022) presents the antisubordination perspective as a better alternative for addressing asymmetrical structures of power (inequalities) in planning, as it incorporates the recognition historic relationships of domination among affected groups in the assessment of negative impacts of decision-making. An antisubordination approach in planning centers in the systematic recognition of the role of ascriptive categories of inequality in the shaping of life chances, as well as the acknowledgement the institutional structures and bias, conscious and unconscious, shaping the planning practice. Steil adverts that shyness over speaking about these socially constructed categories is as dangerous as denying its determining role on the phenomenon (ibid.).

In planning, the antisubordination approach has been mostly applied in cases of race-related disparities. Antisubordination theory adds to the critical analysis of such cases, allowing practitioners to uncover evermore elusive causes and consequently envision more radical and creative countermeasures. An antisubordination approach proves to be especially effective in preventing planners from letting spatial manifestations of inequality and injustice, such as racial segregation and territorial stigmatization, obscure the structural drivers behind these phenomena. Therefore, it is an adequate approach for the purposes of this thesis.

3.1.1 Antisubordination, equity and diversity

Antisubordination planning theory engages critically with pre-existing theories addressing poverty and racial segregation. Most prominently, antisubordination planning is presented as the next iteration of equity planning, strengthening it by incorporating a clearer, stronger, and more radical criteria for decision making (Steil 2022). This is achieved by lifting historical evidence as the main lens for recognizing durable categories of inequality in planning. This, in turn, would give equity planners more confidence when engaging in social justice debates.

In a similar manner, Steil and Humm (2019) have been able to contest staple urban theories from the platform of antisubordination planning. Namely, Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Susan Fainstein's *The Just City*. They do this by problematizing the conceptualization of diversity made in both theoretical frameworks, arguing that it is not sufficient for confronting "the durable categories of political, economic, and social inequality that characterize contemporary cities." (Steil & Humm 2019:39).

The critique is harder against Jacob's urban diversity, as it is limited to economic, functional, and primarily physical attributes of the urban environment. Furthermore, the racist rhetoric in Jacob's critique of non-white neighborhoods is exposed to evidence the ease with which environmental determinism oversees systematic discrimination and racist socio-economic structures at play in the shaping of the neighborhoods in question.

Conversely, Steil and Humm (2019) recognize the validity of Feinstein's urban theory of justice, highlighting the prioritization of equity above democracy and diversity, as Feinstein takes into consideration historical inequalities among social groups in her conceptualization of equity. Nonetheless, they still argue that the theory could be enhanced by an antisubordination approach. Steil and Humm (2019) point out that the socio-economic diversity advanced in The Just city is more of a handicap for democracy, equity and accordingly justice, and that it should be replaced for antisubordination in the three pillars of urban justice conceptual model. They argument that diversity is reduced to a characteristic of urban life with the sole purpose of helping the hegemonic social group overcome prejudice by facilitating contact with diverse groups. Antisubordination contests the very categorization and hierarchization of people into socially constructed groups with asymmetrical access to opportunities. Thus, from an antisubordination perspective it could be argued that Feinstein's diversity project is inadvertently reproducing a systemic unjust advantage (Connolly & Steil 2009 see Steil & Humm 2019).

Concretely, Delgado and Steil (2019) reformulate the six principles Feinstein suggests for advancing diversity with antisubordination as the informing theory. They do not challenge, however, Feinstein's structuring of the principles, as it is a compendium of every relevant urban theory from the past, Jacobs included. Instead, they build upon it. The result of this reformulation is a theoretical framework capable of identifying justice-related issues beyond materialistic distribution. For instance, those based in softer social values, such as culture, tradition, and respect (Young 1990 see Steil & Humm 2019), central in dynamics of spatial discrimination.

To sum up, anti-subordination planning focuses on equity and justice, speaks about them in terms of historical disparities and ascriptive characteristics, and focuses simultaneously on the structures causing injustice and inequality as well as in the concrete effects these structures have, all from and for subordinated groups.

3.2 Segregation

Sweden has become one of the most segregated societies in the Western world, with segregation manifesting particularly in the residential market (Hübinette & Lundström 2014). This has led to a situation in which neighborhoods become inhabited by individuals with homogeneous backgrounds, while other factors hinder inter-neighborhood social interaction and exchange. Consequently, social, economic, and ethnic differences become sharper between neighborhoods across the city. This phenomenon poses a conflict with Sweden's self-image as a world referent in egalitarianism, anti-colonialism, and anti-racism (Hagren 2022). Therefore, segregation has been heavily studied over the past decades by Swedish state and academic institutions alike.

3.2.1 Residential segregation

The most basic definition of segregation is the spatial separation or isolation of a certain group from others based on some socially constructed condition (Merriam-Webster 2023). Then, different conceptualizations of segregation can be distinguished depending on the context and drivers. For instance, segregation occurring within cities is often called urban segregation (Tunström & Wang 2019); segregation on the basis of race, ethnicity and class is called racial segregation, ethnic segregation, and socio-economic segregation, respectively (Andersson et al. 2016). These concepts tend to overlap and exist simultaneously, making it hard to distinguish them in observational and analytical exercises.

Residential segregation is a more comprehensive conceptualization, describing situations in which "individuals or groups (…) with different (…) conditions live spatially separated from each other in different geographical parts of cities or the country" (Boverket 2023c). Residential segregation does not limit segregation to one single cause or context, solving the above-mentioned inconvenience. Furthermore, the definition of residential segregation complies with the notion of segregation as both process and results (Franzén 2001), allowing for causal relationships to be discovered more easily. However, there is a risk for the broadness of the term, as well as its focus on market dynamics, to obscure aspects along the lines of power, race, and ethnicity.

For the purposes of this study, the definition of residential segregation is used as a theoretical starting point. Considering that the concept of residential segregation has been widely used in the Swedish context to study the phenomenon, this theoretical decision provides a context-sensitive theoretical vocabulary for the case study, as well as potential findings to be further developed in the CTA. Boverket's information catalogue will be the primary source of information for this chapter, complemented, supported, or contested by other theoretical sources in line with critical theory and the anti-subordination approach.

The aspects of residential segregation

One way to study and understand segregation is by identifying the main aspects of the phenomenon (Costa & de Valk 2018). This means understanding segregation based on its mechanisms, causes and effects. This approach is only valid when looking at segregation within a defined geography, as the aspects of segregation vary depending on the context. In other words, this approach generates a contextualized understanding of residential segregation, which is very appropriate considering that the methodological approach of this thesis is case study.

Another important consideration in studying the aspects of residential segregation is scale. Bråmå (2006) explains that segregation is a relational phenomenon between residential areas within a city, which means that individual areas in cities cannot in themselves be segregated and that segregation needs to be studied on a city level. However, analyzing some aspects of segregation require a multi-scale approach, as segregation works differently at different scales (Costa & de Valk 2018). For instance, individual consequences of segregation can become nuanced by local scale circumstances, making it logical to look at them at a neighborhood level. Nevertheless, analyzing these exclusively at a local level could lead to flawed perceptions.

3.2.2 Causes of residential segregation

Boverket (2023a) asserts that residential segregation is mainly caused by residential segmentation, income inequality, discrimination, and individual preferences. The first three causes are referred to as structural, as they are imposed by the way society has been constructed (ibid.).

Interesting dynamics between these factors were discovered after analyzing Boverket's information and complementing it with third party data. For example, it was observed that if there was no residential segmentation, the other factors would not generate residential segregation as they do in the present. Thus, residential segmentation can be theorized as an overarching determinant for residential segregation. Similarly, indirect discrimination gets interlaced with income inequality when looking at the discriminatory patterns in the Swedish labor market, as they bound individuals with certain ascriptive characteristics to specific income ranges. Likewise, income inequality and discriminatory social structures influence individual preferences by concept of social affiliation and exclusion.

Additionally, providing a historical context to these factors reveal essential aspects, inexplicit in Boverket's account of residential segregation. Primarily, the role that immigration, race and ethnicity play in producing residential segregation. Based on this, immigration is separated as an independent cause of residential segregation, and within discrimination, racism is further developed. This opened a second round of discovering connections between the theorized causes, where the link between racism and immigration, income inequality and individual preferences became clearer.

Residential segmentation

Residential segmentation refers to the distribution of the different types of dwellings throughout the city. The residential typology is defined by the form of tenure and architectural disposition of the residential units. In Sweden, the official forms of tenure within the residential sector are rental [hyresrätt], condominium [bostadsrätt], cooperative rental [kooperativ hyresrätt] and ownership [äganderätt] (Boverket 2022a). Regardless of the form of tenure, residential units can be disposed in multi-family apartment buildings, town houses [radhus], and detached single-family houses. However, apartment buildings are usually either rentals, cooperative rental, or condominiums, while town houses and detached houses are usually owned by their inhabitants (SCB 2023).

Rentals are usually the most affordable, while the others represent a higher monthly cost. However, affordability can be affected by location, meaning that a rental unit in a central neighborhood can be less affordable than a condominium at the outskirts of the city. The affordability patterns of dwellings across the city make that the

economically stronger households tend to live in and around the city center, in newly built neighborhoods, and in detached houses, while the economically weak households are conscripted to suburbs. These suburbs usually are spread along the outskirts of the core city and weakly connected to everything else.

The residential segmentation observed in Swedish cities is a direct consequence of urban planning and the way the city is structured depending on the predominant planning ideal (Björk 2016). This, in combination with more recent housing market dynamics (ibid.), facilitate for neighborhoods to be predominantly comprised by residential units of a same form of tenure. This makes that individuals that are limited to a certain form of tenure become likewise limited to live in certain neighborhoods, resulting in city portions with homogeneous demographic composition. Some factors that can limit an individual to a certain form of tenure are the access to financing, purchasing power, housing career, discrimination, and individual preferences (Boverket 2023a).

Furthermore, the urban planning practices behind residential segmentation generate structural constrains by affecting the allocation of crucial services within residential areas (Björk 2016). Neighborhoods with high concentrations of economically weak households tend to have poor health and education infrastructure as well (Urban 2016). This is due to them being planned under the functionalist paradigm of segregation of functions across the city, where people live in a sector of the city, but study and get health care somewhere else. This ends up affecting the academic performance and health of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods, which in turn hinders their possibility of improving their living conditions or moving to areas with better educational and health infrastructure.

Income inequality

Urban (2017) argues that the main reason behind residential segregation is the economic differences between different groups of the population. Likewise, Tahvilzadeh (2021) highlights that urban segregation and inequality go hand in hand. As the residential market becomes more liberalized, housing becomes less of a human right and more of a commodity (Salone 2021). This makes that a household's liberty of choosing where to live is, to a high degree, limited by its purchasing power. The situation is exacerbated by the increasing economic inequality within Swedish society, with the income gap between the rich and poor widening steadily.

Income inequality starts manifesting spatially when neighborhoods become inhabited predominantly by one socioeconomic stratum. However, this is not a consequence of income inequality alone. The change in the municipalities' administration approach from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989),

the gradual liberalization of the Swedish housing market occurring since the 1990's, and the current housing deficit across Sweden, are determinant factors as well. The first phenomena weakened the municipal support for universal housing in favor of profitable real estate inversions, ultimately relegating affordable residential units to old, unattractive neighborhoods. Meanwhile, a liberalized housing market allows for developers to pursuit wide profit margins. Although housing prices are not completely liberalized, the housing shortage enables the sustained increase in the prices of new housing developments. All of this results in residential price levels to be homogeneous within a neighborhood but vary widely between neighborhoods.

Discrimination in the Swedish labor market provokes income inequality to become racialized. This, in turn, contributes to the racialization of residential segregation, which will be further developed later in this chapter.

Accommodation of immigrants

Hübinette and Lundström (2014) depict Sweden as a nation that has been struggling desperately to accommodate immigrants within its state territory throughout the later part of the post-war era. The Million Houses Program (MHP) neighborhoods being mostly populated by inhabitants with a foreign background can be seen as the result and proof of this struggle. These neighborhoods often come up in the public discourses on integration of immigrants in Sweden and are usually described as socially segregated from the rest of the city (Thapar-Björkert & Villacura 2021). Police reports from the last decade have gone as far as to describe these neighborhoods as parallel societies due to the considerable differences in living conditions when compared to surrounding residential areas (ibid.).

Thus, the link between immigration and residential segregation can be found in the history of the MHP development. Salone (2021) explains how the MHP suburbs started to depopulate shortly after their inauguration, while others were never fully inhabited. He identifies the low public acceptance of the developments, the inconveniences of dormitory suburbs being poorly connected to the rest of the city, and the subsidies and kind taxing regime the state issued in the 1970's for the construction of detached houses as the main factors contributing to the failure of the program. As for the residents occupying the MHP urbanization at an early stage, they moved either closer to the city center, or to a newly built single-family house as soon as a household had the economic means to upgrade their residential conditions (Magnusson 2008). Being the Swedish households the first to improve economically and leave, many MHP areas became mostly inhabited by non-Swedes. Around this time, the non-Swedes were mostly from northern European countries.

An unforeseen decrease in demographic growth of the 1970's combined with the continuous outflow of dwellers resulted in empty residential complexes that deteriorated rapidly. This negatively affected the quality of life of the few inhabitants that had not managed to improve their economic situation and move out. Under these circumstances, the first wave of immigration of non-western Europeans into Sweden began in the mid-1980's (Migrationsverket 2022). As a big portion of the incoming migrants were either war refugees or coming from poor countries, they relied on the state and municipalities for housing and economic aid. The municipalities saw the opportunity to solve two problems simultaneously by allocating the incoming migrant in the empty MHP suburbs. This would increase their means of control over the incoming migrants, as they would be circumscribed to determined geographies.

Far from solving any problem, suddenly allocating large numbers of new residents with no economic or social capital in decadent urbanizations, mostly populated by already economically weak groups, only created islands of poverty, unemployment, and ensuing social effects (Salone 2021). Furthermore, the spatial barriers that modernist urban planning created for these suburbs contributed to the spatial isolation of the inhabitants of MHP areas from the rest of the city. This physical isolation would then traduce into social isolation, which began taking a racial and ethnic implication.

The allocation of third-world immigrants and refugees to the MHP neighborhoods continued until the introduction of the independent settling law [EBO-lagen] in 1994 (Migrationsverket 2022), which allowed for refugees to choose to live elsewhere than areas designated by the government. However, immigrants continued to settle in the MHP neighborhoods, mainly due to economic limitations. Some of these neighborhoods have experienced a drastic increase in their share of inhabitants with foreign background since 2012. Statistics point out that half of the current residents with foreign background in many MHP areas have come to Sweden within the last ten years (Stockholms Handelskammare 2018).

Discrimination

Discrimination is the act of treating a person disfavourably on the grounds of sex, gender, ethnicity, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, or age (DO 2023). Boverket (2023a) differentiates between direct and indirect discrimination in residential segregation. Direct discrimination is when the discriminatory act happens explicitly between individuals within residential allocation processes. Indirect discrimination is when "a group or individual is disadvantaged by laws, rules and conditions, even though they should be equal for all" (ibid.).

Discrimination generates segregation by categorically restricting individuals' choice of residence based on their ascriptive characteristics. This generates a situation in which certain neighborhoods become predominantly inhabited by individuals with the same ascriptive characteristics. In Sweden, discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, age, and disability has been successfully reduced (Hagren 2022). However, the same cannot be said about racial and ethnic discrimination, which have permeated the Swedish society at a structural level. A proof of this is the racist patterns in present day labor market discrimination, which affects all of the other areas of people's lives. In the same way, racism comprise a widespread discriminatory practice within residential segregation. Racism as a cause of residential segregation will be further developed in the next sub-chapter.

Racism

The way in which Sweden has mismanaged immigration in the past fifty years is usually depicted as an unfortunate interplay of good political intentions and ill-prepared systems. However, some argue that racism has played a significant role in the processes and actions addressing immigration (Pred 2000). Similarly, a report from the National Board of Health and Welfare from 2010 states that "when it comes to residential segregation, Sweden stands out in comparison with most other Western countries as having perhaps the most extreme racial segregation pattern in the OECD" (see Hübinette & Lundström 2014).

Just as with residential segregation, the incidence of racism in the Swedish society represents a frontal conflict with the self-image of the country (Hagren 2022). However, discrimination against people considered non-Swede in Swedish society is undeniable (Schierup et al., 2018 see Hagren 2022). Tobias Hübinette and Catrin Lundström (2014) map out the history of modern racism in Sweden by theorizing it in terms of 'hegemonic whiteness'. The result is a story line spanning from the beginning of the 1900's to the present, where racism in Sweden evolves "from overt race biology and racial policies [to] official colorblindness and multiculturalism" (ibid.). This narrative is effective in evidencing how whiteness is and has historically been a requisite for an individual to be fully perceived as Swede by the Swedish society. Furthermore, the narration exposes how Sweden actively tried to obscure the inherence of its racist past during the second half of the past century and forward.

 Hübinette and Lundström (2014) divide their historical review into three phases. Between 1905 and 1968, the 'white purity' phase takes place. During this phase, Swedish whiteness was established through state-driven racial homogenization of the population. Race biology, eugenics and nationalism were the main themes in this period. However, the radicalization of the left in Swedish politics under the first half of the 1960's marked the diametric shift from 'white purity' to 'white

solidarity', starting a period from 1968 all the way to 2001. Then, Sweden became the progressive, anti-racist, anti-colonial voice of morality within the Western world. In this period, Sweden starts its nation-branding project to appear to the world as "the most tolerant and progressive of all white nations" (ibid.).

Hübinette & Lundström (2014) state that this transition, far from dismantling hegemonic whiteness and racism, ensured their continuity into the contemporary times. Rather than tearing down notions of white supremacy, Sweden only reinterpreted and rebranded it, adopting a somewhat messianic role for non-white, third-world countries. It was during this period that Sweden took in refugees and migrants from the non-Western world at an unparalleled rate (ibid.), constantly incrementing after 1975. During this period, Sweden's integration policy took form (Nilsson 2018). Welfare state ideals, gender equality, and especially racial colorblindness were the high-profile themes of this period (Hübinette and Lundström 2014).

Finally, global developments connected to the war on terror starting in 2001 defined the end of the 'white solidarity' period and the beginning of the 'white melancholy' phase. In this new phase, themes from the first period inadvertently start coming back as guarantors of the Swedish identity, which is mainly defined by the themes from the second period. This identity is depicted as threatened by a growing non-Swedish demographic within the country. This period nests the contemporary iteration of Swedishness, which is an amalgam of 'white purity' and 'white solidarity', ignoring the antagonism between them, focusing instead on Sweden's role as global leading within both. The racist implications of this Swedishness are better explained by the following passage:

> This state of aporia also makes it almost impossible to deconstruct Swedish whiteness and ultimately to transform Swedishness into something else, within which people of colour will also be accepted and treated as Swedes.

> Hübinette & Lundström 2014

Neoliberal ideals, consummated in the dismantling of the welfare state, and racialized class politics define this period, and coexist with the themes of the former two periods (ibid.).

Allan Pred (2000) links the story of modern racism in Sweden with spatial aspects by theorizing the 'racialization of space'. Pred's central argument is that the process of allocating incoming migrants to specific residential areas, described earlier in this chapter, was motivated by racism, resulting in space across the city being racially determined. However, such dynamics are heavily concealed by the anti-racist ideals that reigned over Sweden during this allocation process. Pred manages

to demonstrate his argument by showing that in Sweden, biologic racism mutated to cultural racism (ibid.), resonating with Hübinette and Lundström's narrative. Then, Pred shows how cultural racism influenced the decision-making process behind the allocation of people throughout the city. Based on cultural racism, political and everyday discourses started to talk about incoming immigrants as cultural others, drawing a line between Swedes and non-Swedes. Pred identifies ideas such as 'cultural shock' and 'irreconcilable cultural differences' as cultural racist discourses used to remark the divide between Swedes and non-Swedes.

Pred's racialization of space theory provides a clear picture of how contemporary residential segregation in Sweden has racist bases. Notwithstanding, Pred shows how cultural racism continues to re-produce racialization of space nowadays by becoming a macro-ideology, influencing not only the locals, but the immigrants in Sweden as well. Such an argument frames cultural racism as a main driver for auto-segregation. This idea will be further developed in the next sub-chapter.

Individual preferences

Individuals or groups settle in a specific residential area based on how attractive they perceive that residential area to be (Boverket 2023a). The perceived attractivity of a certain place is affected in turn by the unique combination of amenities that place offers to the individual. Bråmå (2006) reveals that the social identity and the individual's desire for social affiliation plays a major role when it comes to deciding where to settle.

Boverket (2023a) explains that individual preferences can generate both voluntary and involuntary segregation. Voluntary segregation is the result of individuals actively choosing to live in "a certain residential area that already has a high concentration of residents with similar characteristics to oneself" (ibid.). Boverket states that voluntary segregation is more commonly performed by those with more economic resources, which in the Swedish context are mainly Swedes and other white individuals (Tunström & Wang 2019). However, voluntary segregation can be performed by non-Swedes as well (Boverket 2023a), even if they choose self-segregation due to them not feeling welcomed in areas consisting of a majority of ethnic Swedes (Fröling 2018). Nonetheless, based on Pred's (2000) argument about how discourses of cultural racism influence the actions of both the hegemonic and subordinated groups would discredit voluntary segregation by non-Swedes, as their decision-making is inadvertently being coerced by structural ideologies. Similarly, Bonilla-Silva's (2013) critic to network analysts implies that voluntary segregation is actually the result of place-specific, historical power relationships, rather than an intrinsically individual choice.

On the other hand, involuntary segregation is when individuals choose to live in neighborhoods inhabited by residents of similar backgrounds as themselves because they have little to no other choice (Boverket 2023a). The lack of choices is mostly attributed to the economy of the household, as some people would like to live somewhere else but cannot afford to do it. This has a direct correlation with the income inequality and residential segmentation factors. Dahlin (2016:16) describes how the decrease in rental units in the past twenty-five years decreases the opportunities socio-economically weak groups have of choose a residential area.

3.2.3 Consequences of residential segregation

Boverket (2023b) asserts that residential segregation has consequences both at individual and societal level, and that the negative effects of residential segregation are most evident in the neighborhoods with high concentrations of individuals with low socio-economic status.

Consequences at an individual level

Individual consequences are summed in that persons "get different upbringing and living conditions depending on where they live" (Boverket 2023b). This formulation echoes the studies on neighborhood effects, a fairly debated genre in urban studies stating that "where you live affects your life chances" (Slater 2013). Boverket highlights the effect the area of residence has in school results, employment situation and health, showing that individuals living for long periods of time in areas with generalized socioeconomic hardship score below the city average in the above-named indicators. However, critics of neighborhood effects argue that such statistical results are not a product of the living environment, but of structural mechanisms (Andersson 2013). Furthermore, Slater (2013) states that it is the life chances that affect where you live, not the other way around.

Boverket's definition of individual consequences is better described in terms of distributive justice. Tunström and Wang (2019:6) argue that "a segregated urban environment (…) [is] a symptom of wider social injustices". The same could be argued about the resultant differences in living conditions mentioned above. Regardless of what causes these differences, they entail an uneven distribution of material and immaterial goods among individuals, therefore representing a form of social injustice (UN DESA 2006). As the differences in living conditions become clearer between neighborhoods, the distribution of opportunities and privileges is certainly more uneven between neighborhood than within them. This ascription of injustice to geography would comprise a clear instance of spatial injustice (Povoas 2013).

Understanding the effects of residential segregation on individuals as spatial injustice places their causality on the uneven distribution of opportunities across space. In other words, the neighborhood of residence does influence the life opportunities of individuals due to underlying social mechanism, not to the spatial conditions of the neighborhood, viz neighborhood effects.

Consequences at a societal level

The consequences of residential segregation at a societal level identified by Boverket (2023b) are four: neighborhood stigmatization, hindered economic development, criminality and insecurity, and a compromised sense of community. These societal consequences are conceptualized as the upscaling and generalization of the individual consequences and cover undoubtedly observable phenomena in the Swedish cities. However, conceptualizing some of them as direct effects segregation might be problematic. In the following sub-chapters, this idea will be further developed. Likewise, polarization is highlighted as an extreme dynamic of social fragmentation, produced by, and producing residential segregation.

Neighborhood stigmatization

The stigmatization of entire geographic areas is called territorial stigmatization (Wacquant et al. 2014). In Swedish cities, territorial stigma is neighborhood based (ibid.), meaning that prejudices and negative stereotypes are assigned to individuals based on the neighborhood of residence, while the geography itself becomes synonym of social decay. Neighborhood stigmatization is facilitated by the social isolation between neighborhoods product of residential segregation, and residential segregation is reinforced by neighborhood stigmatization (Boverket 2023b). This means that these two phenomena produce and are produced by each other.

Territorial stigma is discursively produced by elite media and political discourses, but is prevailed by everyday discourses of regular people, including those living in the stigmatized areas (Wacquant et al. 2014). Pred (2000) describes how stigmatization is created through racist practices of generalization. He describes how negative behaviors of a few individuals belonging to a certain foreign immigrant group are used to accuse all of the members of that group. Likewise, neighborhood stigmatization is created by generalizing negative behaviors of single persons over an entire residential area. This would explain why neighborhoods with high concentrations of poor, foreign inhabitants are the usual target of territorial stigmatization (Wacquant et al. 2014).

However, Boverket's definition of neighborhood stigmatization is limited to the perception of safety within certain areas affecting individuals' moving patterns (Boverket 2023b). This definition obscures the more frequent effect of stigmatization, which is hindering daily interactions between inhabitants of

different neighborhoods. Nevertheless, Boverket does highlight that the residents of the stigmatized neighborhood become stigmatized as well, experiencing discrimination, loss of status, and social exclusion, and the consequent impact in their life chances (Wacquant et al. 2014).

Hindered economic development, criminality, and insecurity as drivers of neighborhood stigmatization

Boverket (2023b) traduces a high incidence of poor health, low school results and employment rates within a neighborhood into economic handicaps, as they result in areas with reduced economic activity, which directly affects tax revenue. Likewise, some economic studies have quantified the social consequences of residential segregation in terms of money loss, mostly as a means of motivating investors to incorporate social actions in their business models (Tahvilzadeh 2018). However, many scholars problematize this approach to segregation, as it lays further negative weight on neighborhoods with high concentrations of economically weak households, as it is those neighborhoods negatively affecting the economy (Urban 2018 see Tahvilzadeh 2018). This, far from contributing to break segregation, stigmatizes the areas that are more affected by the phenomenon by framing them as socioeconomic ballast.

Similarly, reasoning that crime is a consequence of segregation presents the risk of stigmatizing certain residential area. Associating criminality with a spatial phenomenon promotes the perception of certain areas uniquely as places of crime. This is in part due to the way in which criminality is presented to the public as natural in some neighborhoods, ignoring the structural mechanisms within the Swedish society that have made criminal activity recurrent in certain geographies (Pred 2000; Thapar-Björkert & Villacura 2021). Furthermore, Boverket (2023b) argues that criminality affects the whole population, even those less exposed to criminal acts, by concept of fear of becoming victimized. This, however, can be seen as yet another vehicle of stigmatization, as the fear of becoming a victim of crime regardless of the actual probability, in combination with the coupling of crime to certain neighborhoods, results in a widespread fear of visiting these 'criminal neighborhoods' and interacting with their inhabitants.

Deterred sense of community

Boverket (2023b) asserts that residential segregation has a negative effect in how individuals perceive their neighbors and society at large. Residential segregation allows people to live within socially homogeneous groups sustainedly. This causes them to become less tolerant towards social differences (Urban 2016; Loit 2014), enabling rapid development of prejudice. This in turn affects their feeling of

fellowship, safety, and trust towards others, especially those strange to their social group, ultimately compromising the overall sense of community (Boverket 2023b).

At the same time, overarching social inequality and discriminatory dynamics create a hierarchy among social groups, granting hegemony to the rich, white, locals (Tahvilzadeh 2021). Then, socio-spatial isolation facilitates hegemonic groups to perceive their ways as the norm to be followed by the rest (Hübinette and Lundström 2014) and become intolerant of discrepancies (Urban 2016). This increases the possibility for individuals belonging to minority groups to feel unwelcomed, diminished, and overlooked when interacting with members of the hegemonic group (Boverket 2005). Ultimately, members of either group start avoiding each other, making interaction between individuals with heterogeneous background as rare in other instances of the city as it is within residential areas (Tunström & Wang 2019).

The lack of social interaction between different social groups results in them becoming completely unaware of each other, which enables more severe dynamics of social fragmentation (Franzén 2001). An extreme example would be social polarization, which entails social exposure that reinforces within-group homogenization and between-group differentiation, which together promote social fragmentation (Morales et al. 2019).

Social Polarization
Polarization is "the act of dividing something, especially something that contains different people or opinions, into two completely opposing groups" (Cambridge University Press 2023). A report from the Commission for a socially sustainable Stockholm (CSSS) recognized the development of socioeconomic polarization due to residential segregation, as "those with low income are concentrated in certain [residential] areas and vice versa" (Sweco 2012 see Bremberg et al. 2015:52). Another report from DELMOS (Tahvilzadeh 2021:6) asserts that "segregation (…) is a social polarization between rich and poor, between whites and non-whites, immigrants and natives". Likewise, a report from Boverket (Lilja and Permer 2010) distinguished social polarization as one of the three ways in which segregations transforms Swedish cities.

Theoretically speaking, segregation does not necessarily split society into two diametric groups, it only fragments it into many isolated pieces (Morales et al. 2019). However, the socioeconomic inequality behind Swedish residential segregation do comprise a dichotomy along the lines of class, dividing the city in poor and rich residential areas. Analogously, the extreme racial pattern of Swedish residential segregation (National Board of Health and Welfare 2010 see Hübinette & Lundström 2014) allows for process of 'othering' (Hagren 2022) to split the city

into Swede and non-Swede residential areas. 'Othering' refers to a discursive process in which the dominant demographic describes themselves as the superior group and stacks the remaining minorities into a single, uniform 'other' (ibid.).

4. CASE STUDY: FOKUS JÄRVA

4.1 What is Fokus Järva?

Fokus Järva has been described as an investment project (Gustafsson 2022), but also as a mega urban development project (Ahola 2023; Loord 2022), a mobilization of the municipal operations (Loord 2022) a coordination of the different municipal offices and private investors (Stockholm stad 2023b), and even as "anything but a project" (Östberg 2023). Otherwise, Fokus Järva is outlined as a politically motivated initiative (respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023). The main website for Fokus Järva does not offer a concrete definition either. However, it does state that "Fokus Järva includes investments in urban development, schools, social services, culture, traffic and sports" (Stockholm stad 2023b), and that it compels to the municipality's CP.

The ambiguity exposed in the above paragraph illustrates the lack of concrete and official information about Fokus Järva encountered at the beginning of the case study. The following sub-chapters present the results of an initial data collection phase, which aimed to generate a less vague definition of Fokus Järva based on a deeper scrutiny of the already identified sources, as well as secondary sources directly related to the subject matter. These results are the base for identifying what sources would be consulted in the following phases of the case study.

4.1.1 Defining Fokus Järva

Geographic delimitation

In October 2022 it was announced that the districts of Rinkeby-Kista and Spånga-Tensta would be merged into a single Järva district from July 2023 (Stockholm stad 2023h). One of the purposes of having a single entity for the whole area of Järva was to expedite the administrative work that Fokus Järva would entail (respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023). Thus, the geographic area corresponding to the new Järva district corresponds to the geographic scope of Fokus Järva.

Figure 3 Image showing the new Järva district within Stockholm municipality. Image: Stockholm stad 2023h.

Precedents

Since the official presentation of Fokus Järva in December 2022, a connection to Fokus Skärholmen was hinted. Fokus Skärholmen is a pilot project in socially sustainable urban development from which Fokus Järva will draw knowledge and experience (Loord 2022; Löf 2022). The degree to which Fokus Skärholmen will influence Fokus Järva is still unknown. However, both projects are an initiative coming from the same political proponents, and some central actors from the former were included in the leading committee of the latter since the very beginning.

In Fokus Järva's official website, a portfolio of urban development projects is presented as part of the initiative. All of these projects predate Fokus Järva, representing a link to the planning work that has been done in Järva by the municipality before. Moreover, many of these projects were conceived during Järvalyftet, a comprehensive development project starting in 2007, aiming to develop and improve living conditions in Järva in the long term (Svenska Bostäder 2023d). Similarities in ambitions, scope, and actors exist between Järvalyftet and Fokus Järva. Based on this, Järvalyftet is established as a precedent to Fokus Järva as well.

Organization and concerned actors

Fokus Järva has a project coordinator in charge of overseeing the collaboration between the municipal dependencies, promote Fokus Järva to private investors, and performs as the spokesperson of the project (respondent 10, interview, 28/3/2023).

The figure of project coordinator is one of the main features adopted from Fokus Skärholmen.

The local district council of Järva can be seen as a main actor within Fokus Järva, as the investments are to be controlled politically by the municipal board but runed locally by the district council (Socialdemokraterna i Stockholms stadshus 2022 see Löf 2022). The project coordinator can be seen as the bridge between these two instances of the municipal administration. The purpose of placing the local council in a central role is to enhance citizen participation and local knowledge collection in the planning and execution of projects (respondent 10, interview, 28/3/2023). The inclusion of local civil society organizations and associations is pursued as well (respondent 8, interview, 17/3/2023; respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023; Löf 2022).

The different boards, offices, and companies within the municipality continue their operations on Järva ordinarily, but with an enhanced collaboration with each other. For instance, new residential developments executed by the development office [exploateringskontoret] require collaboration with several other municipal instances (i.e., transport office, education office, municipal housing companies). Fokus Järva will improve the collaboration channels by setting common goals and guidelines (respondent 8, interview, 17/3/2023). In this way, every municipal dependency will become a part of the organization of Fokus Järva.

However, within the municipal entities, some profile to be more involved than others in Fokus Järva. Namely, those involved in physical urban development. Among these, the city planning office [stadsbyggnadskontoret] and the development office are the most engaged, as they propose and develop every physical development project in the city (Stockholm stad 2023a). The municipal housing companies have a big role in Järva as well, due to them owning and managing a considerable percentage of the existing housing stock. Likewise, private real estate companies will be crucial, as they will most likely execute large portions of new urban developments.

Urban development

Fokus Järva's website is mostly comprised of predating urban development projects within the Järva district. However, Fokus Järva is not profiled as a development project, but as a comprehensive society building effort (Ahola 2023) including but not limited to physical urban development projects.

Nevertheless, one of the first concrete goals of Fokus Järva is to achieve "a unified plan for the development of Järva" (Stockholm stad 2023b). This means that urban development does comprise a significant part of Fokus Järva, further evidenced

by the projected construction of over 30,000 new residential units as part of the initiative (Ahola 2023). Moreover, the urban development projects within Fokus Järva derive from the guidelines stated in Stockholm municipality's CP. This means that these projects would still be executed regardless of Fokus Järva existing or not. What Fokus Järva advances in relation to urban development is a better coordination among actors, and more specific guidelines advancing social sustainability.

The urban development character of Fokus Järva places the project within Stockholm municipality's planning structure. This means that the project adheres to the guidelines of a centralized municipal vision and CP, as well as existing local development strategies. Likewise, the project is affected by the different municipal instances involved in the planning process. The planning dimension of Fokus Järva will be further developed in the contextualization chapter.

Social sustainability

Fokus Järva aims to address the neglected social issues of the community of Järva (Stockholm stad 2023b; Ahola 2023; Löf 2022). No concrete strategies for achieving this goal have been defined yet. However, based on the precedents of the project and its obligation towards Stockholm municipality's comprehensive planning documents, it is very likely for Fokus Järva to follow the social sustainability project advanced by Stockholm municipality.

Since 2014, Stockholm municipality has been working in a formal social sustainability project aiming to address social inequality within the municipal territory (Stockholm stad 2019). A series of studies confirmed a wide gap in living conditions among the inhabitants of Stockholm depending on the area where they resided (Bremberg et al. 2015). These studies showed that the inhabitants of the so called 'vulnerable areas' [utsatta områden] (Polisen 2023) were significantly below the city average in terms of income, health, education, and safety. Therefore, most of the efforts within Stockholm municipality's social sustainability project are directed to improve life quality in these areas, which include the six MHP areas within the Järva district.

Definition of Fokus Järva

To summarize the results of the initial investigation, a definition describing the goals, organization, main actors, and scope of Fokus Järva is presented:

Fokus Järva is a long-term initiative launched by the municipal management office to optimize the collaboration between the Järva district council and the municipal boards, offices, and companies, as well as private investors. Parallelly, Fokus Järva procures social sustainability in the planning and

execution of ongoing and future investment projects aiming to develop the neighborhoods within the Järva district.

4.1.2 Fokus Järva's portfolio

Currently, there are 60 projects in Fokus Järva's urban development project portfolio, of which 27 projects are in the planning phase, 17 in the execution phase, and 16 finished projects. Table 3 shows the type of projects in each development phase.

Table 3 Types of urban development projects under Fokus Järva

	TOTAL		Residential development					Educational services	Parks, plazas & corridors	Transport infrastructure
			mixed residential developments with commerce and services	student apartments and nursing homes	rental units only	condominium units only	unspecified form of tenure			
Projects in planning phase	**27**	21	13		5	1	2	1	4	1
early stage	7	7	3		3		1			
detailed plan proposal	6	5	4		1				1	
post-consultation	2	1	1						1	
approved by the municipal board	7	7	5			1	1			
approved by the county	3	1			1			1	1	
contracting process	2	0							1	1
Projects in execution phase	**17**	10	8		1	1		1	2	4
Finished projects	**16**	5	1	2	2				9	2

Residential development projects

The largest residential projects are mixed developments with respective urban services, which makes them either independent areas within the existing neighborhoods or totally new neighborhoods. Examples of the former are *the old IBM campus redevelopment* and *Kista äng* in Kista, with 2000 and 1600 residential units respectively, *Finlandsgatan* in Akalla with 1780 residential units, *Bromstensgluggen* in Bromsten with 1,000 residential units, and *Hänstavägen* in Husby with 900 residential units. On the other hand, *Bromstensstaden,* a former industrial area turned into a mixed-use neighborhood containing 1620 residential units, is the only new neighborhood being constructed in the Järva district.

The majority of remaining residential projects contain between 200 and 700 residential units and are located within the existing neighborhoods. Among these, the most prominent projects are Rinkebyterrassen and Tenstaterrassen, proposed in Järvalyftet as urban bridges connecting the neighborhoods south of Järvafältet to said green area. Only 14 projects contain less than 200 units and are projects redeveloping parking lots or brown fields. Of these, 3 contain less than a hundred units and are nursing homes. Most of the mixed developments contain commerce locals at the street level, and those with a mid-range number of units usually contain school facilities as well.

Other types of projects

After residential projects, parks, plazas, and corridors projects comprise the largest group of projects. Half of them are already finished, while the other half is mostly in different stages of the planning phase. These projects are located along the district's green corridors and the urban centers of each neighborhood, and have a public, recreational character. The most prominent projects in this group are Rinkebystråket in Rinkeby, the redevelopment of a central segregated circulation street into an urban street, and the Järva graveyard in Järvafältet.

The third largest group of projects is the transport infrastructure and is mainly comprised of cycling and pedestrian networks within and between neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the largest projects in this group are the Kista light train line and the expansion of the Mälar railway passing through the district. The Kista light train line is extremely beneficial to the Järva district, as it will improve the connection with adjacent districts and prepare the collective transport system for the expected demographic growth in the area. Conversely, the Mälar railway expansion mostly benefits interurban transport, solely benefitting the commuter train station in Spånga at the local level. This becomes even less relevant given that the Kista light train station will make it easier for the residents of the MHP areas of Järva to access the Helenelund commuter train station.

Finally, educational projects are the smallest group in the project portfolio. These are schools and pre-schools conceived as projects of their own. These cases are rare due to most of the new school facilities in Fokus Järva integrating to the mixed-use residential development projects.

Composition and evolution of the project portfolio

Looking at the project portfolio through the phase in which the projects are gives an idea of how the planning approach in Järva has changed in the past decade. For instance, looking at the portion of the projects corresponding to residential developments across the different phases reveals a significant and ongoing increase in the projection of new residential units.

Table 4 Pie charts showing the composition of Fokus Järva's project portfolio in the different phases
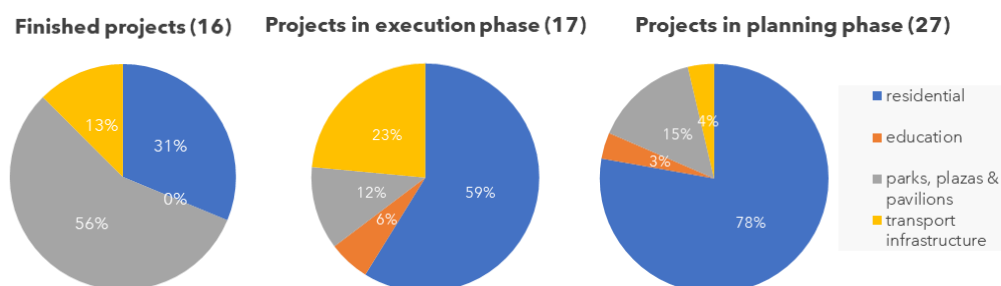
Likewise, within the residential development projects, a change in the type of development can be observed. Mixed-use developments are the dominant trend among the most recent projects, while projects proposing a single form of tenure over the other are less common. Rental projects are the exception to the trend, as their share is increasing among the projects in planning phase.

Table 5 Pie charts showing the types of residential developments in the different phases
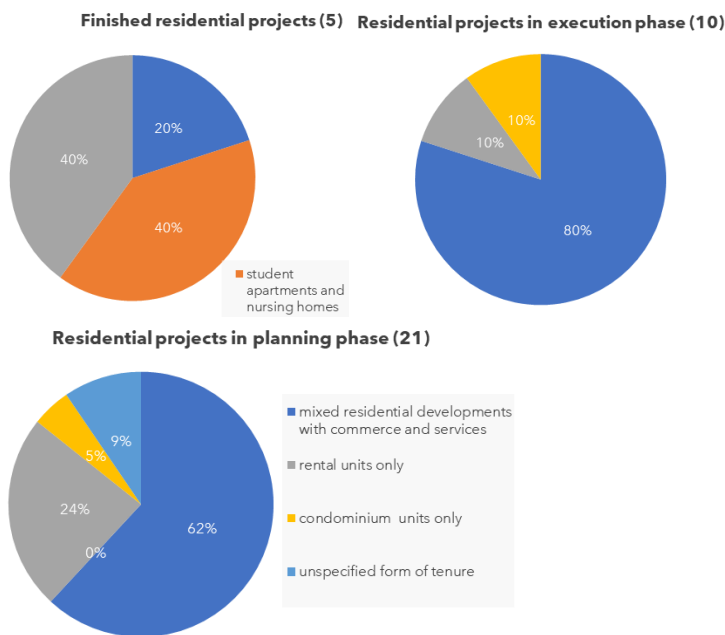
A closer look to the forms of tenure in the residential projects reveals other interesting aspects. Namely, the absence of ownership residential units, which implies the dismissing of single-family houses in the new developments. The temporary prevalence of condominium units over rental units is also observed. However, it appears as condominium units are starting to decrease in the most recent plans in favor of rental units.

Table 6 Bar chart showing the forms of tenure of the finished residential units in Fokus Järva

Finished residential units (1350)

condominium units (41%)	550
rental units (35%)	470
student apartments and nursing homes (24%)	330
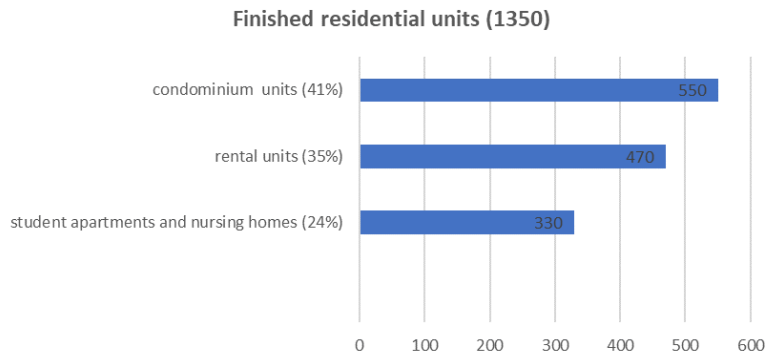
Table 7 Bar chart showing the forms of tenure of the residential units being constructed in Fokus Järva

Residential units in execution (5905)

unspecified form of tenure (3%)	190
condominium units (60%)	3557
rental units (22%)	1323
student apartments and nursing homes (14%)	835
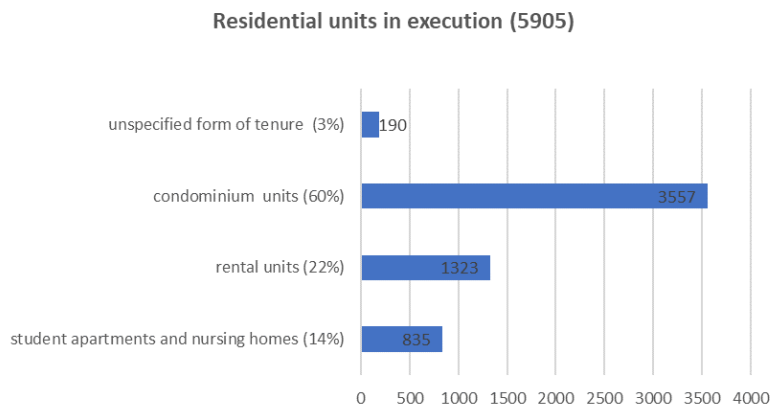
Table 8 Bar chart showing the forms of tenure of the residential units being planned in Fokus Järva

Residential units in planning phase (9482)

	early stage	detailed plan proposal	post-consultation	approved by the municipal board	approved by the county
unspecified form of tenure (1085, 11%)	650	150		285	
condominium units (4109, 43%)		2047	452	1610	
rental units (3865, 41%)	430	1674	136	1425	200
student apartments and nursing homes (423, 4%)	12	165 6		240	

- ■ early stage ■ detailed plan proposal ■ post-consultation
- ■ approved by the municipal board ■ approved by the county

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4.2 Contextualization

With a better definition of the Fokus Järva, it is possible to put the case in a geographic, historical, urban planning context. It has been already stated that Fokus Järva is not limited to urban planning and development. However, and as the case study protocol indicates, this investigation is concerned exclusively with the urban planning dimension of the study subject. Therefore, only some of the aspects identified in the past chapter will be contextualized.

More precisely, aspects identified within the geographic delimitation, the precedents, and the urban development and social sustainability dimensions will be contextualized. These themes are studied across the geographic, historic, and urban planning contexts of Fokus Järva. The precedents are explored in the historic and urban planning context. Likewise, the social sustainability dimension is explored within the urban planning context, as this study only concerns with the intersection of social sustainability with residential segregation in the context of urban planning. Doing so provides a proper delimitation for an otherwise overly vast subject.

These contexts will be investigated with focus on segregation, meaning that the criterion for collecting and processing contextual information is that it must be relevant and connected to segregation. Thus, the study of the geographic context is meant to provide a clear picture of the current state of segregation in the Järva district. Likewise, the study of the historic context should provide understanding of how the current state of segregation in Järva came to be, as well as the evolution of urban planning themes related to segregation. Finally, the study of the urban planning context will reveal what is currently being done about segregation within Stockholm municipality and how it can influence Fokus Järva.

4.2.1 Geographic context: the Järva district

Geographic administration
Stockholm municipality territory is currently divided administratively into thirteen districts [stadsdelsområden] (Stockholm stad 2023c). However, four of the thirteen districts will be paired and merged into new districts, resulting in only eleven districts, effective July 2023 (ibid.). One of these new districts is Järva, resulting from the combination of the former districts of Rinkeby-Kista and Spånga-Tensta. Each district has a committee in charge of administrating municipal services for the inhabitants of the district and is responsible for executing 70% of the district budget. Regarding spatial planning, the district committees are in charge of planning and overseeing urban environment-related work, public preschools, and elderly care (ibid.).

When the division of the municipality into district was introduced in 1997, the current Järva district corresponded to three districts: Rinkeby, Kista and Spånga-Tensta. In 2007, the Rinkeby and Kista districts were merged, resulting in the current administrative structure. The merging of these two districts had negative effects mainly on the neighborhoods of Akalla, Husby and Rinkeby, as the social services became less accessible after being centralized in Kista (Jönsson 2023; Salihu 2021). This accelerated the already ongoing social deterioration in those neighborhoods, which then became instrumental in the territorial stigmatization of Järva and ensuing social segregation.

Location and urban morphology

The Järva district is the northernmost district within Stockholm municipality, belonging to the western outer city zone (Stockholm stad 2017b). Järva district borders with the municipalities of Sollentuna to the north, divided by the E4 highway, Sundbyberg to the east, divided by the E18 and 279 highways, and Järfalla to the west, divided by unused land and Hansta natural reserve. To the south and south-east, Järva borders the municipal districts of Hässelby-Vällingby and Bromma, respectively. These three districts meet along a network of streets and green wedges within residential areas mostly comprised of detached single-family houses.
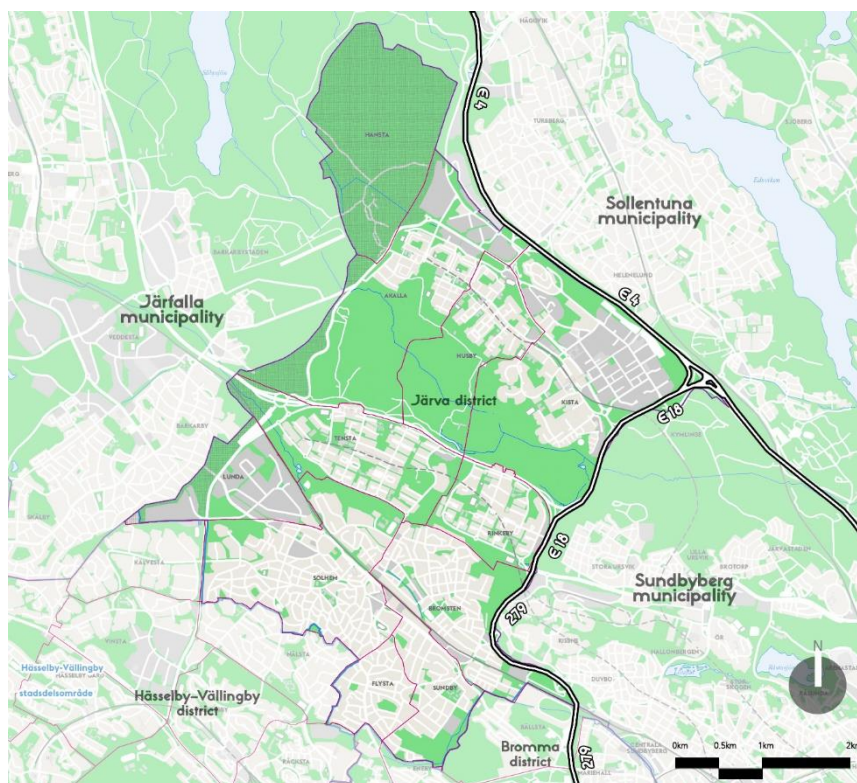

Figure 4 Map showing the borders and adjacent jurisdictions of the Järva district. Map: Stockholm stad 2023b

Regarding the built environment within Järva district, there are six neighborhoods mostly comprised of highly dense, multi-family buildings from the Million Houses Program (MHP) era, concentrated around Järvafältet in the northern half of the district, and five detached house neighborhoods located in the southern half of the district. All of the neighborhoods are mostly of residential use with small commercial centers orbiting train stations. Kista, one of the six MHP areas, is the exception, as it contains an urban business center with a mall and many institutional and office buildings. Similarly, there are industrial areas scattered throughout the district, mostly near the highways bordering the territory.

Järva has a robust transport infrastructure mostly projected and constructed during the modernist period. The district contains six metro stations belonging to two different metro lines, on per MHP neighborhood, as well as a long-distance train station located within Spånga, the detached house areas. The street network is characterized by a strict modernist hierarchy, with main highways between neighborhoods and secondary and tertiary streets within. Segregation of vehicular traffic from pedestrian and bicycle traffic through differences in height is seen virtually everywhere.

Järva district is crossed by one of the seven green wedges of the Stockholm metropolitan area, the Järva wedge, in the form of Järvafältet and Hansta nature reserve (Larsson et al. 2010). Järvafältet contains a vast field with patches of forest and heritage sites; it is mostly used as an outdoors recreation space. Connected to Järvafältet is Spångadalen, a secondary green wedge stretching between the neighborhoods south of Järvafältet. Spångadalen contains many outdoor recreational spaces and sport centres and meets with Rissne forest at its easternmost end.

Figure 5 Map showing predominant land uses, main roads, and train stations of the Järva district. Map: Stockholm stad 2023b

Demography

The Järva district has 116, 528 inhabitants divided into eleven neighborhoods (Sotckholm stad 2023b). The number of people younger than 26 years is higher than the city average, while the number of individuals between 26 and 41 years old tend to be lower than the city average (Stockholm stad 2023d; Stockholm stad 2023e). However, the most significative deviation regarding city averages is in the portion of the population with foreign background. The city average of inhabitants born abroad or born in Sweden but with both parents born abroad was 34.8% in 2022, while in Järva the cypher was of 85.4% and 61.6% for Rinkeby-Kista and Spånga-Tensta districts, respectively (ibid.). The neighborhoods of the Järva district present significative deviations from the city average in statistics of education level, employment, and income as well.

A report from the Nordic Council of Ministers (Tunström & Wang 2019) showed that Rinkeby, Kista, Husby and Akalla in Järva have sustained the highest share of individuals with foreign background in Stockholm municipality for the past two

decades, while also presenting the lowest median income and the lowest rate of growth in household income in the municipality. This exposes that the racial pattern of income inequality within the municipality extends several years in the past.
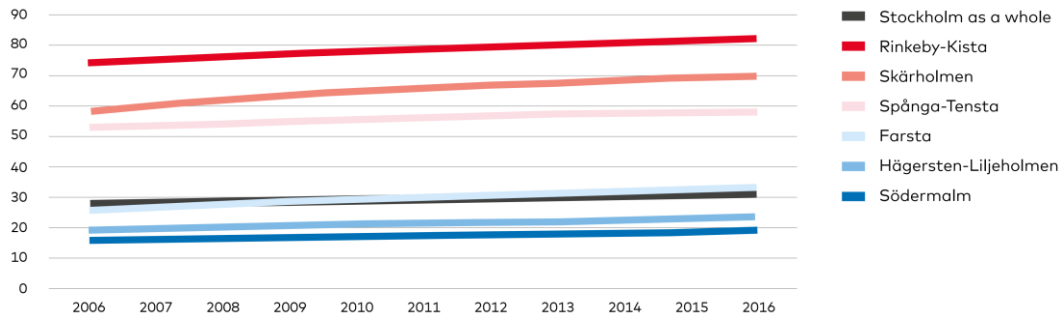

Figure 6 Chart showing the share of population with foreign background in different areas of Stockholm municipality 2006-2016. (Tunström & Wang 2019:9)

Simultaneously, there is a sharp spatial split within the district when it comes to Swede and non-Swede demographics, with the former group living almost exclusively in the single-family house neighborhoods, while the latter group is allocated across the six MHP areas of Järva. This is the main reason to the education, employment, and income statistics of Spånga-Tensta district being better than those of Rinkeby-Kista, as the former contains three single-family house neighborhoods. However, some argue that statistics in the MHP neighborhoods of Järva are not truthful, as the area is heavily populated by individuals who settle clandestinely, meaning that their demographic data is not registered by official statistics (respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023).

Segregation in Järva district

Through the investigation of the geographic context, important aspects of segregation in Järva are discovered. The Järva district exhibits a combination of spatial, social, economic, and ethnic segregation, both outwards and inwards.

The location and urban morphology of Järva contribute to spatial segregation, both from the rest of the city and between the neighborhoods within. The train lines and highways are virtually the only connection between the district and the surrounding areas. Parallelly, the neighborhoods within the district are almost exclusively connected by vehicular streets. Due to this lack of connectivity, both highways and green wedges act as barriers between neighborhoods (Stockholm stad 2016b), dividing the district into three isolated pieces. The E18 highway south of Järvafältet is the major physical barrier within the district (Stockholm stad 2007), splitting it in half and limiting the access to Järvafältet from nine of the eleven residential areas.
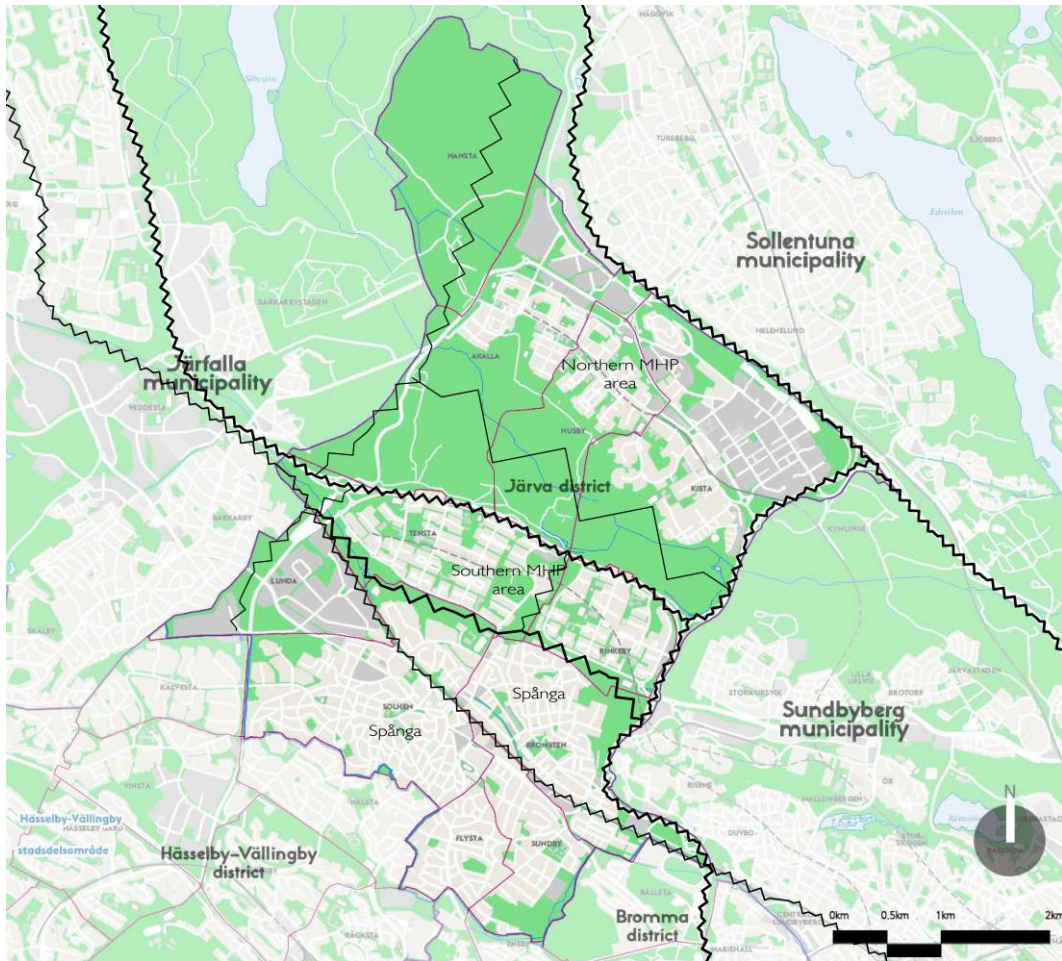
Figure 7 Map showing the physical barriers and fragments of the Järva district. Map: Stockholm stad 2023b

The three fragments in which the district is split by physical barrier are descriptively named to simplify further analysis. The MHP neighborhoods north and south of Järvafältet will be referred to as the *northern MHP area* and the *southern MHP area*, respectively. The single-family house neighborhoods south of Spångadalen will be called *Spånga,* which is the collective name given to this area.

Outward social segregation is produced by the stigmatization of Järva, becoming an issue of racism and polarization, intensified by the physical barriers cutting off Järva from the rest of Stockholm. On the other hand, inward social segregation is intertwined with economic segregation, thus, to issues of income inequality, residential segmentation, and discrimination along the lines of race. This inward socio-economic segregation combines with the physical barriers between neighborhoods to propitiate a lack of interaction mainly between the predominantly Swede, well-off Spånga area and the predominantly non-Swede, poor remaining fragments of Järva.

4.2.2 Historic context: urban development projects in Järva

The historic context of Fokus Järva implicates the urban development projects and politics that gave form to the neighborhoods within the Järva district. The purpose of inquiring the urban development history of Järva is to understand what role the past planning operations had in the construction of the segregation picture described in the last sub-chapter. Additionally, past desegregation efforts can be studied in relation to Fokus Järva.

Pre-Million Houses Program era (1900-1960)

In the beginning of the 1900's, the area corresponding to the Järva district saw the construction of the first detached houses in the area of Spånga (Svenska Bostäder 2023f), while the rest of the territory was property of the military and had a countryside character (Stockholmskällan 2022a). During the 1930's, the urban center of Spånga was built under the 'Folkets hus' movement, characterized by low-rise rental apartment buildings with commercial locals in the bottom plan and meeting spaces for association life (Svenska Bostäder 2023f). During this period, the area is thinly inhabited, exclusively by Swedes of an establishing middle class.

The Million Houses Program era (1960–1980)

In 1961, the negotiations between the municipality and the state to buy the military land of Järvafältet and surroundings began, ending with a positive agreement in 1966 (Svenska Bostäder 2023c). One year before, the national government launched the MHP, a project aiming to build one million universally affordable dwellings within ten years to solve the acute housing shortage of the time (Stockholmskällan 2022c). "The plan was to build a standardized urban structure with a central facility and high-rises adjacent to the subway stations" (Svenska Bostäder 2023a). Thus, the newly obtained territory around Järvafältet became one of the inaugural MHP residential areas, beginning construction in 1966.

Southern Järvafältet was built first, with Tensta being inhabited by its first residents as early as 1967. In spite of record construction paces, this first stage was instantly considered a failure due to badly planned infrastructure combined with a hasty allocation of residents (Svenska Bostäder 2022g). The result of this was an isolated Tensta with poor living conditions and a negative reputation, which was later inherited by the rest of the MHP areas of Järva. Hjullsta and Rinkeby were built between 1969 and 1973, facing similar problems (Svenska Bostäder 2022e).

Northern Järvafältet started construction in1973, with Husby being built first, then Akalla, and lastly Kista, finished in 1980 (Svenska Bostäder 2023e; Stockholmskällan 2022b). The planning and execution of these suburbs was better than in the southern MHP area, with most of the infrastructure in place before

allocating residents and more nature being conserved between buildings in relation to southern Järvafältet (Svenska Bostäder 2023b). However, by the time they were ready to be inhabited, the housing shortage in Stockholm was over, which generated a depopulation of the MHP suburbs (ibid.). This did not affect directly the northern Järvafältet suburbs directly but the suburbs in southern Järvafältet, as their residents eagerly moved to the newer, better planned but still affordable dwellings across the field. Simultaneously, the state-stimulated production of single-family houses of the 1970's made that it was more economically viable to build a house with financing than to rent an apartment (Allmännyttan 2023). During this period, the Spånga area grows with single-family houses.

At the end of this era, the Järva district could host approximately 60,000 new residents, mostly in rental, multi-family, high-rise, industrially produced apartment buildings within exclusively residential suburbs. Nevertheless, the occupancy rate of MHP Järva was affected by poor urban conditions, bad reputation, and the unexpected demographic drop of the mid 70's, among others (see chapter 3.2.2's Accommodation of immigrants).

Post-Million Houses Program era (1979–1994)

The post- MHP Järva saw a sustained increase in the allocation of residents with foreign background (see chapter 3.2.2's Accommodation of immigrants), which only worsened the preceding social precarity of these suburbs. Parallelly, the industrialized methods of construction used under the MHP, which prioritized speed above quality, facilitated the unusually rapid physical deterioration of the buildings. This situation of accelerated socio-spatial deteriorating prompted the first municipal investment projects specifically targeting MHP suburbs of Järva in 1979 (respondent 12, interview, 4/4/2023).

These investment projects continued throughout the 1980's and brought the construction of schools and community halls [folkets hus] in the MHP areas of Järva. These spaces countered the inward and outward social segregation of Järva to a certain degree. The educational quality of Järva's new schools backed by special municipal investment propitiated the inflow of students from other parts of the city (respondent 3, interview, 7/2/2023; respondent 12, interview, 4/4/2023), improving Järva's reputation. Likewise, the new community halls facilitated the interaction between different social groups within Järva. This positive social development was interrupted after the bourgeois parties won the municipality in 1991 and shifted the municipal investment politics towards the inner city (Danielsson & Hertting 2007). The investment in schools decreased, lowering the quality of the education. Later, the liberalization of the school system and the modification of the municipal housing policy in 1993 facilitated the further disinvestment in educational and residential infrastructure in Järva's MHP areas

(Allmännyttan 2023). Meanwhile, the suburbs of the Spånga area followed the development of the rest of detached house neighborhoods of the city.

Extensive intervention projects era (1994–2014)

The situation described above was generalized in the other MHP suburbs in Stockholm. Thus, a series of municipality-wide intervention projects were launched starting 1994 with 'Suburban Investment' [Ytterstadssatsningen]. The main purpose of this project was to counter the negative image these suburbs had at the time, increasing the sense of place identity and responsibility in the residents, overall improving living conditions (Urban Utveckling 2023c). The project centered heavily in the physical renovation of the suburbs as a means to achieve its goals. However, it reduced its investments in physical renovation in 2002, leading to incomplete projects all over Järva (Danielsson & Hertting 2007). The project was closed down shortly after, in 2003.

Similarly, the state collaborated with the municipalities to address the social problems in the MHP areas across Sweden's metropolitan areas with the 'Metropolitan Investment' [Storstadssatsningen], active between 1998 and 2003 (Danielsson & Hertting 2007). The project centered on breaking the growing social and ethnic segregation between the peripheral suburbs and the inner city (Urban Utveckling 2023b). The strategies implemented under Metropolitan investment varied depending on the municipality. In the case of Stockholm, the project merged with the already existing Suburban Investment project, following the same renewal strategies but with a bigger focus in social and ethnic segregation (Danielsson & Hertting 2007). In 1999, the first LDP within Järva were developed (ibid.).

These parallel projects were followed by 'District Renewal' [Stadsdelsförnyelsen] in 2003, a municipal investment project driven by the broader integration policy inaugurate in 1996 (Danielsson & Hertting 2007; Nilsson 2018). This meant that the main goals of the project were equality, integration, and diversity, which in the urban context meant combating segregation (Kommunstyrelsens 2005 see Danielsson & Hertting 2007). District Renewal premiered many of the now established characteristics of development projects directed to vulnerable areas. Namely, sustainable development goals, long-term plans, development of physical and social infrastructures, equalization of living standards across the city, and most conspicuously the extraordinary citizen involvement and collaboration at a local scale, (Danielsson & Hertting 2007).

District Renewal also brought some unique approaches not seen in similar projects before or after. That is, explicit anti-discrimination strategies and formulating development goals and strategies at a city level rather than focusing exclusively on the vulnerable suburbs (Danielsson & Hertting 2007). However, the urban

development projects within District Renewal did not reflect these novel ideas, focusing mostly on physical refurbishing in MHP areas (Hyresgästföreningen 2005 see Danielsson & Hertting 2007). Furthermore, the project was cut short in 2006 when the political majority in the municipality changed, leaving little to no change in the situation of Järva.

Järvalyftet (2007–2014)

Järvalyftet [Invest in Järva] is the most recent municipal intervention in the area of Järva, launched in 2007 by a bourgeois political majority (Urban Utveckling 2023a). The increasing housing deficit of a growing Stockholm brought back the municipality's exploitation interest in Järva. However, the dreadful social and physical state of the MHP suburbs was an obstacle for public interest and private investment. Therefore, the municipality envisioned a redevelopment project that would address these issues and convert Järva into an attractive urban center by incorporating diversity of land uses, building types and forms of tenure.

The main difference between Järvalyftet and its predecessors is its redevelopment character, that implied expansion and drastic alterations in the urban environment rather than renovation of the existing. Järvalyftet proposed several demolitions of apartment buildings where renovation was deemed unviable, as well as the remodeling of main streets to urban streets. These proposals belong to the first phase of the project, which had an experimental character and only comprehended the neighborhoods of Husby and Akalla. Additionally, Järvalyftet premiered the use of a marketing-oriented vision in area-developments in Stockholm (respondent 12, interview, 4/4/2023).

Many aspects from past intervention projects were reproduced in Järvalyftet, especially those from District Renovation. However, Järvalyftet failed to continue the latter's work with citizen involvement. Initially, Järvalyftet made full use of the citizen participation dynamics and channels established under District Renovation. However, the purpose was not to advance democracy but work out the instant rejection that the extreme reconstructions proposed in Husby and Akalla met from the inhabitants. Local civil associations, civil society organizations and inhabitants were heavily consulted, but the information and opinions extracted from them had no inherence over the municipal plans, which remained unchanged. This made the participatory process in Järvalyftet controversial (Tahvilzadeh & Kings 2018), and ultimately caused the first phase of the project to never be executed. Based on this failure, the second phase of the project, which comprehended the southern MHP area and Kista, was less aggressive in the proposal of physical modifications.

Most of the urban developments planned during Järvalyftet's second phase were further developed and are either completed or still in process. The most prominent

projects that survived Järvalyftet in Fokus Järva's portfolio are the overbuilding of the E18 and related mixed residential developments (Rinkebyterrassen and Tenstaterrassen), the remodeling of Rinkebystråket, and the municipal graveyard in Järvafältet.

Local Development Programs (2016-2019)

Between 2015 and 2016, a series of reforms were made in the municipal planning processes to facilitate the integration of a social sustainability perspective in urban development. Namely, strengthening local co-creation in urban planning, and integrating social value analysis and social urban space analysis earlier in the planning process (Dahlin 2016:34-36). These reforms made possible the elaboration of local development programs (LDPs), which parted from the report '*Stockholm of differences'* to identify the existing social values and needs of each district (Stockholm stad 2015:1) to later identify concrete action lines and geographic areas of special interest for future planning to prioritize. These guidelines were intended to be the starting point for future municipal urban development projects advancing social sustainability. The LDPs were produced by the district councils, recognizing them as the experts in local knowledge (Dahlin 2016: 34). Thus, LDPs effectively decentralized municipal urban planning by integrating district councils in a decisive role in the planning process (ibid.).

During 2016 and 2017, the Spånga-Tensta LDP 2017–2022 and the Rinkeby-Kista LDP 2018–2022 were produced by the respective district councils as part of the municipal social sustainability project. The documents followed a similar structure to Skärholmen LDP, the pilot LDP, presenting a series of action lines divided into themes and prioritized geographic areas. Nonetheless, the Järva area LDPs difference from its Skärholmen counterpart in their heavy focus on the perceived security aspects. Moreover, both Järva LDPs propose mostly social actions rather than urban development measures.

However, unlike the Skärholmen LDP, the Järva LDPs did not sprouted further urban planning strategies, thus staying as informative rather than executive planning documents (respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023; respondent 12, interview, 4/4/2023). Furthermore, the proposed timeframe for the validity of the data conveyed in them expired shortly after Fokus Järva was launched, meaning that these LDPs will have little to no inherence in Fokus Järva unless they are updated (respondent 11, interview, 3/4/2023). Moreover, mayor events happening in the last years, such as the Covid-19 pandemic and the merging of districts, have changed the social panorama in Järva, rendering many recommendations of the LDPs obsolete.

Another circumstance in Fokus Järva playing against the adoption of LDPs is the large list of preexisting urban development projects within the Järva district. This poses the biggest difference between Fokus Järva and Fokus Skärholmen. No new developments had happened in the Skärholmen district since the MHP era (Stockholm stad 2017), giving the urban development office a tabula rasa situation when projecting Fokus Skärholmen. Hence, while the LDP in Fokus Skärholmen restarted urban development in the area after a forty-years hiatus, the LDPs in Fokus Järva would need to commune with an uninterrupted history of urban development projects. This situation is further complicated by the fact that the several projects currently under Fokus Järva come from Järvalyftet (see chapters 4.1.4 & 4.2.2), which was plagued by contradictions and faults regarding its social goals (Loit 2014).

4.2.3 Urban planning context

Urban planning within Stockholm municipality is ruled by the organization of municipal dependencies involved in urban development, as well as the governing documents stating clear guidelines for the decision-making held in any instance of the planning process (Stockholm stad 2022d). In other words, the municipality holds the monopoly over planning within its territory (Dahlin 2016).

The structure of municipal entities in charge of urban plannings starts with the city planning office, which is responsible of physical planning at all scales (Stockholm stad 2022d). The city planning office is the municipal actor with most influence over urban planning and development, as they issue the governing planning documents regulating land and water uses. These follow a strict hierarchy, with the comprehensive plan (CP) functioning as an overarching, although not legally binding, guide for the urban development in the whole municipality. In the CP, the municipality specifies how a good urban environment, and the desired expansion of housing and other services is to be achieved through physical planning (Dahlin 2016:8). The CP is formulated with base in the current international, national, county, and regional planning documents (Stockholm stad 2022g).

The goals and strategies stipulated in the CP are then implemented in the detailed plans, which are legally binding and state what can and cannot be done in smaller geographic area (Boverket 2021). A middle stage in the planning documents hierarchy would be area-specific plans, where the strategies from the CP are adapted to the context of a smaller area within the municipality (Stockholm stad 2022b). The area of influence of these planning documents usually corresponds to preexisting neighborhoods or districts (ibid.).

Another document directly influencing municipal urban planning is the municipality's vision, an overall plan that states the common goal all the municipal operations should strive for, urban planning included (Stockholm stad 2022f). The vision is a communication tool adopted by public entities from the business world and competitive markets, originally intended to show institutional values, strategies and attractivity (Tamm & Grafstöm 2016). In the Swedish context, the vision is a reflection of the municipal board's political will, which is one of the main drivers of municipal planning (Boverket 2022b). Therefore, the CP continuously refers to the vision as the source of the goals and strategies it presents.

Based on the above, Fokus Järva is defined as an area-specific plan, meaning that it abides to the CP's guidelines and consequently to the municipality's vision. Thus, the CP and vision of Stockholm municipality primarily comprise the planning context of Fokus Järva. This means that perspectives, strategies, and goals that the vision and CP present regarding segregation will be applied in Fokus Järva. Therefore, the way in which these two planning documents address segregation will be carefully studied in the following sub-chapters.

Vision

Stockholm municipality's current vision, *Stockholm of possibilities*, was approved by the municipal board in 2020 and is an updated version of the vision approved in 2017, *A Stockholm for all* (Stockholm stad 2022e). Both versions portray how Stockholm should be in 2040, differing more in the narrative and formulation of the text body, and less in the actual content. However, important differences can be identified in the way each address segregation. Even though Fokus Järva was launched two years after the latest vision was approved, the vision from 2017 has a major influence in the current state of the project. This is due to the current CP being made in 2018, when the 2017 vision still applied. Likewise, Fokus Skärholmen, Fokus Järva's direct precedent, references significatively the 2017 vision.

The main differences in the way each visions addresses segregation is the change in focus from structural socioeconomic differences to everyday discrimination. This enables the 2020 vision to address additional social aspects of segregation, such as social polarization and deterred sense of community. Nevertheless, income inequality and neighborhood stigmatization, well discussed in the 2017 vision, are barely addressed in the 2020 vision, even though they are directly connected to the most notable effects of segregation identified in its introduction.

Comprehensive plan

The latest CP was approved in 2018 and has been revised three times since then (Stockholm stad 2023i). The CP presents and revolves around four urban planning

goals: *A growing city, A cohesive city, Good public environments, and A climate-smart and resilient city* (Stockholm stad 2018:6). The first goal can be seen as a prevailing theme, as the other three originate and depend on the growth and expansion of the city, motivated foremost by the municipality's responsibility of solving the critical housing shortage in Stockholm. Then, a series of strategies to achieve each goal is presented, as well as a list of guidelines for future planning actions based on the most important public interests and issues regarding the goals. Finally, the plan presents a set of development opportunities per district based on the four goals. The inherence of the CP in Fokus Järva is specified in these last two domains.

The CP echoes the 2017 vision by using the clear socioeconomic inequalities among citizens as a starting point for the formulation of the goals. Furthermore, it identifies residential segregation as a main cause of the situation (Stockholm stad 2018:12). Consequently, the municipality idealizes urban planning as "a tool to counteract segregation" (ibid.), making desegregation a recurrent theme throughout the whole document. As the CP is effective over the whole municipal territory, it is the first and widest instance of urban development planning engaging with segregation in the Järva area.

The most significative instance of the CP addressing segregation are the guidelines for future planning actions. Segregation is the main concern of the second guideline, "a socially cohesive city" (Stockholm stad 2018:50). Residential segregation and its effects are presented as the main hinder to social cohesion, while urban growth is depicted as the space where the solution to segregation exists. Notwithstanding, social sustainability is presented as the framework that will direct urban growth towards desegregation. The implications of social sustainability in urban planning in Stockholm municipality, with focus on segregation, will be presented in the next subchapter.

Urban planning for social sustainability
Stockholm municipality's work with social sustainability within urban planning predates the 2018 CP, although it was formalized through said document. Sustainable development has been present in the municipal planning actions for decades. However, the social dimension has not been as stellar as its ecological and economical counterparts (Dahlin 2016:10). This changed in 2015 with the establishment of the Commission for a socially sustainable Stockholm (CSSS), which had the mission of investigating the differences in living conditions across Stockholm municipality and propose measures against the uncovered social inequalities (Stockholm stad 2019).

The CSSS main output was a series of reports issued between 2015 and 2017 in four thematic categories: work and livelihood, growing up conditions and education, housing and urban environment, and democracy and security (Stockholm stad 2023f). The reports under the theme 'housing and urban environment' are the base for socially sustainable urban planning within the municipality (ibid.). Nevertheless, reports from the other categories have been pivotal for urban planning as well. For instance, the first report from the CSSS, *Stockholm of differences* [Skillnadernas Stockholm], is referenced in the current CP as the main support to one of the plan's starting points.

The CSSS emphasized the importance of strengthening social sustainability perspective, knowledge, competences, and tools within the municipality in the report *From a divided to a united city* [Från delad till enad stad]. The document had the purpose of orienting the municipal comprehensive planning towards social sustainability (Dahlin 2016:8). The central goals and strategies from the 2018 CP related to urban cohesion originate form this report. Likewise, the generalities of the municipal work with social sustainability in urban planning are based on the bank of knowledge and suggestions presented in the report.

The vision of socially sustainable urban planning advanced by the CSSS demands radical changes in the way segregation is addressed (Loit 2014 see Dahlin 2016:21). The failure of past municipal efforts to break segregation are attributed to the contradictions caused by market-oriented objectives. Thus, prioritizing social goals is proposed as the fix to this situation. More precisely, the CSSS suggests that social equality and cohesion should be the final goals of any municipal urban strategy (Dahlin 2016:35). In other words, for urban planning to be socially sustainable, it should aim foremost to create social value [socialt värdeskapande]. Accordingly, segregation can be addressed through social value creating urban planning:

> "Strengthening connections that counteract spatial segregation, ensuring a mix of functions and meeting places in the urban space (…), using urban planning measures to strengthen social cohesion and promote trust in the local community, and planning so that residential development contributes to reduced residential segregation"

> Dahlin 2016:36

The report goes on to identify the concrete strategies that integrating social sustainability in the municipal urban planning implicates. These were adopted and further developed by the 2018 CP in practically every instance of the document. For instance, the second overarching goal, *A cohesive city*, is inherently advancing social sustainability. Accordingly, every strategy procuring urban cohesion is based on the prioritization of social over market-based goals and the concept of urban

planning as a social value creation action presented in '*From a divided to a united city*'.

5. CRITICAL THEMATIC ANALYSIS

The main goal of applying the CTA is to answer the thesis's research questions in a reflective manner, uncovering epistemologies beyond the practicality of urban planning. Therefore, it is useful to restate shortly the research questions and the way they play out in the application of CTA.

In the open coding phase, the municipal visions and CP, Fokus Järva's project portfolio, the CSSS's studies and recommendations on socially sustainable planning, as well as media accounts found to be strongly related to Fokus Järva and segregation, are idealized as respondents in a semi-structured interview composed by the research questions:

1. What are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?
2. How are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?
3. What are the recurring themes present in the urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?

Then, the answers the documents give to these questions are scanned for frequent themes, looking for patterns of repetition, recurrence, and forcefulness. The identified themes are later grouped in function of interrelatedness to uncover overarching themes.

In the closed coding phase, the overarching themes are critically analyzed by asking what ideologies, positions of power, and status hierarchies are present in each of the overarching themes. The geographic, historical, and planning contexts of Fokus Järva described in past chapters crucially inform the closed coding, as well as the interviews and consulted artifacts. Critical analysis done by third parties also contribute to this endeavor.

5.1 Step 1: Open coding phase

5.1.1 What are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?

Fokus Järva has become an umbrella figure encompassing all the municipal actions directed to the Järva district. Furthermore, Fokus Järva encourages the incorporation of the private sector and civil society in the development of the Järva, which makes it possible for it to also host non-municipal actions. Thus, Fokus Järva

is currently the major instance of urban development in the Järva district. Furthermore, as Fokus Järva adheres to the municipal vision, CP, and social sustainability project, it addresses segregation centrally.

Past and overarching urban development plans addressing segregation in Järva fall under Fokus Järva as well. Namely, the remnant plans from Järvalyftet and the applicable guidelines from the current municipal CP, respectively. Through the adoption and adaptation to the local context of the CP's guidelines, the municipal vision from 2017, *A Stockholm for all*, and regional and national urban development guidelines, are also integrated in Fokus Järva. Likewise, the CSSS's recommendations for combating segregation through urban planning are integrated in Fokus Järva through the CP's guidelines.

The municipal vision from 2020, *Stockholm of possibilities*, is yet to be integrated to Fokus Järva. Therefore, it cannot be included in the list of urban development plans addressing segregation in Järva. The same can be said about the existing Rinkeby-Kista and Spånga-Tensta LDPs.

5.1.2 How are the existing urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?

Fokus Järva, and consequently the planning documents connected to Fokus Järva, addresses segregation in the urban planning context mainly through densification. Densification is achieved by a series of urban development projects that are mostly mixed residential developments scattered across the district's territory (Stockholm stad 2018). These projects vary in scale, with some being mega-projects spawning totally new neighborhoods, and others being single, low-rise buildings. Aiding the mixed residential densification are transport infrastructure, parks, plazas, and pavilions, and educational projects.

The urban development projects are strategically located to either bridge spatial and physical barriers between neighborhoods within Järva and between Järva and adjacent districts, or to make otherwise underused geographies attractive to locals and visitors (Stockholm stad 2018:22,23). The public and semi-public spaces generated by these projects are meant to be a catalyst of social interaction between different social groups that currently meet seldom (Stockholm stad 2017c). Social interaction is to be achieved by making these urban spaces inviting, attractive, safe, and adapted to the local needs (ibid.).

Likewise, the new private spaces, such as residential units, commerce locals, office spaces, and school facilities, are meant to host a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse population that will then meet in the urban space (Stockholm stad 2023g). This diversity is to be achieved by procuring a mix of uses, sizes, prices, and forms

of tenure within a block scale. This diversity shall be complemented by a mix of building ages at a neighborhood scale (Stockholm stad 2018).

To ensure these conditions are met, urban planning and architecture are conceptualized as tools creating social value, beyond economic and ecological value (Dahlin 2016). This mindset is implemented through the integration of a social sustainability perspective in municipal urban planning (ibid.). The social sustainability perspective also implicates the decentralization of municipal urban planning, further democratizing the planning process and recognizing the value of local knowledge. The local entities, be it municipal, private, or civil, are seen as the experts in the existing social values and needs knowledge (Dahlin 2016: 34). As such, they are to be consulted since the very beginning of the planning process, making their inputs the starting point for any urban development proposal.

5.1.3 What are the recurring themes present in the urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation?

Cohesion

The concept of cohesion is the most frequent theme in the urban development plans and projects related to segregation and counter segregation. Furthermore, cohesion is identified as an overarching theme, as the rest of identified themes either belong or serve to the purpose of cohesion, be it social, spatial, stylistic, or urban. Repetition of the term 'cohesion' can be found in both municipal visions, the CP, the CSSS's housing and urban environment reports, and Fokus Skärholmen's urban planning strategies for social sustainability. The most frequent iterations of the term are "social cohesion" (e.g. Stockholm stad 2018:50) and "cohesion in the city" (e.g. Stockholm stad 2017c), which can be also traduced to 'urban cohesion'.

However, the term is most ubiquitous by concept of recurrence. Cohesion is recurrent through related and opposite concepts. The former refers to synonymous words, or words very close in meaning. The latter refers to words that clearly state antagonism to the concept of cohesion. Such terms are usually used to describe problems to which cohesion is the solution, e.g., segregation. Among the synonyms, the most interesting is 'integration' due to its recurrence in the historical context, although its meaning has changed from being synonym of immigration politics to a wider social term. For instance, the closing statement in 2020 municipal vision states that "segregation needs to decrease and integration increase" (Stockholm stad 2020:34). Then, there are terms more directly related to spatiality, like 'connection' and its opposites.

The other themes presented later in this chapter are also interpreted as a recurrence of the concept of cohesion. Equalization makes the living conditions of every

citizen correlatively coherent. Diversity is both a requisite and a proof of social cohesion, as heterogeneity is product of social, architectural, and spatial mix (Loit 2014). Densification becomes spatial cohesion by bridging physical and spatial barriers (Stockholm stad 2020). Attractiveness is conceptualized as a socially binding force present in every neighborhood in the city.

Finally, forcefulness is conveyed by the instances in which cohesion is used, being the best example its appearance in the second overarching development goal of the CP. Cohesion and its recurrent terms can also be found in introductions, operative goals, planning guidelines and even titles, e.g., the CSSS report *From a divided to a united city*. Moreover, social cohesion is in itself one of the prime social sustainability goals (Dahlin 2016). Segregation is to be broken to achieve social cohesion.

Equalization

Equalization as "the process of making things or people equal" (Cambridge 2023) is at the base of the social sustainability approach in urban planning advanced by Stockholm municipality. Social sustainability is achieved through equalization, mostly of living conditions among citizens, but also of urban amenities across the different areas in Stockholm. Being social sustainability the current platform from which segregation is combated, equalization becomes a central concept addressing segregation in Stockholm.

Repetition of the term is not found in municipal documents, but in media accounts talking about statistical data on social markers and living conditions. However, recurrence of the term is widespread in the form of 'decreasing the differences' (Bremberg et al. 2015; Dahlin 2016; Stockholm stad 2017c; Stockholm stad 2018), referring to socioeconomic equality, living, and local environmental conditions. Historically, equalization is recurrent in the discourse of 'lifting up' Järva (Stockholm stad 2007), meaning to equalize the status and living conditions in the area to the rest of the city. Similarly, city averages for living conditions statistics are used as equalization goals for social sustainability strategies within urban planning. Equalization is recurrent in function of opposites as well, mainly when the data refers to inequality.

Equalization is emphasized by depicting it as the desired effect of breaking segregation (Stockholm stad 2018), and as a requirement for social cohesion and consequently social sustainability (Dahlin 2016).

Diversity

The concept of diversity is present in all of the current municipal planning documents addressing segregation, as well as those from the past twenty years.

Diversity is a versatile term used to refer to demography, socioeconomic composition, architecture, land use, housing stock, urban services, and public spaces.

Diversity is perhaps the most frequent theme by concept of repetition, due to its aforementioned versatility. Diversity is one of the core postmodernist urban ideals that has been adopted as a solve-it-all strategy in Swedish urban planning (Loit 2014). Through diversity in the built environment, social sustainability is achieved. Common issues, such as all the types of segregation and even gentrification, can be countered through urban diversity. The terms 'mixed' and 'variety' are the most usual form of recurrence of diversity, as in 'mixed city', 'mixed use', and 'variation in the housing stock', among others. A less obvious case of recurrence are the terms 'urban character' and 'lively streets' or 'urban streets', which essentially refers to the public environments resulting of blocks with a diversity of uses and architecture.

Diversity is presented as the ultimate urban manifestation of cohesion, vis desegregation. In other words, every municipal desegregation urban planning strategy conveys diversity. The candid tone with which diversity is referred to in municipal planning documents and reports, as well as media accounts and private studies regarding urban segregation, is the way in which forcefulness is conveyed.

Attractiveness

The theme of attractiveness gained strength first during the early 2000's with the municipal approach of developing Stockholm to be an internationally competitive city (Loit 2014). Since then, the theme has somewhat fallen out of the center of urban development strategies and mutated to a more local scale. Now it is not about making Stockholm attractive for the rest of the world, but to make the different areas within the city attractive for the residents of the city. Furthermore, attractiveness is an integral aspect of densification and diversity. Densification should be made in a way it appeals the taste of future inhabitants. Diversity is positive in the degree it makes the urban environment attractive.

The whole municipal scheme for breaking segregation depends on the densification projects success in being perceived as attractive. Social cohesion is achieved through the social interaction facilitated by the combination of urban diversity and attractive urban environments. Thus, if the urban environments are not attractive for the different social groups, achieving social cohesion would become more difficult.

Repetition of the term is overtly found in all of the municipal visions up to date. The exception is the 2017 vision, which is less explicit in the use of the word

'attractive'. Hence, the current CP is discreet with the use of the word as well. However, similar words are used instead, representing instances of recurrence. The clearest example of this is the word 'inviting' (Stockholm stad 2020:21), being very close in meaning and intention to 'attractive'. However, the most prominent instance of recurrence of attractiveness in the current urban planning context is the phrase 'for all' (e.g. Stockholm stad 2017c). 'For all' is currently the dominant Swedish planning discourse (Yigit-Turan & Ågren 2022) and could be paraphrased in making the urban environment universally attractive. Thus, the success of any urban development action in Sweden is determined by the level of attractiveness achieved.

Taking into account the examples of recurrence cited above, identifying forcefulness becomes a matter of locating in what type of documents these instances are being used. The 'for all' particle is found in titles, slogans, main goals, and concrete urban development strategies across all of the municipal planning documents, including those advancing social sustainability.

Densification

Densification is the main urban development strategy the municipality proposes for the Järva district (Stockholm stad 2018). Accordingly, it is a frequent theme addressing segregation. Repetition of the term is found at the comprehensive planning level, being a concrete but wide development strategy. At more detailed planning instances and media accounts, the term becomes implicit in terms of 'residential development' (e.g. Ahola 2023) and 'new production', representing recurrence of the concept. Recurrence of 'densification' is also conveyed by more concrete actions, such as 'build together' and 'connect', both referring to the neighborhood scale. The phrase 'porous borders', referring to the neighborhood scale again, can also be interpreted as an instance of densification, as this urban porosity is achieved through the construction of new buildings, parks, or plazas, rather than through demolition of existing ones. Forcefulness is conveyed by the way in which the data refers to densification as an obvious strategy.

5.2   Step 2: Closed coding phase

5.2.1 Subordination of local scale needs to city scale needs as oppression made to sounds equitable

Making use of the CTA critical questionnaire's third question, *'what are examples of oppressions (and/or new exclusions) that are being made to sound equitable through various discourses?'*, oppression was identified in the way in which

Stockholm municipality applies the ideal of 'common good' while addressing segregation through urban planning.

Densification is justified in every instance of municipal urban planning by the city level housing deficit affecting Stockholm. In other words, densification is a solution to a city scale need, and satisfying it is depicted as a prioritization of the common good over particular interests. Using the term 'common good' implies that solving the housing deficit will eventually benefit each and every citizen of Stockholm. Based on this, densification becomes an equitable strategy for urban development regardless of the collateral effects it may carry. This principle is what makes densification the best alternative to achieve cohesion, equalization, and diversity, and consequently break segregation. However, due to market prices, only those with enough purchase power have access to the benefits of densification in reality (Tahvilzadeh 2018). This invalidates the claim that densification is always equitable, which represents a contradiction at the base of the whole municipal urban development strategy to break segregation.

The claims for 'common good' not only bring contradictions regarding densification. Within the theme of 'attractiveness', the significance of providing every neighborhood with public spaces that are inviting for both residents and visitors is lifted. This is one of the main ways public spaces create social value and is especially important if segregation is to be countered, as social interaction and cohesion between neighborhoods depend on the capacity of urban spaces to attract visitors from different parts of the city. One way in which this inter-neighborhood attractiveness is achieved is by identifying city-scale interests and programing them in the development of public spaces in segregated neighborhoods. In other words, procuring city scale appeal in local public spaces is taken as beneficial for locals and visitors alike, vis an instance of common good. However, this has led to local needs and interests to be ignored and subordinated to those of the urban majority in the development of public spaces of segregated neighborhoods.

Extreme cases of this exist in Järva, where urban spaces with great social and recreational value for the locals are being transformed to serve city-scale needs and interests. Namely, the municipal graveyard project projected during Järvalyftet has been highly contested by the locals, as it would negatively affect one of the most successful recreational facilities in the district without bringing proportional benefits to the residents (Johansson 2023; Nygård 2022; Hatzipavlis 2018). What's more, this dynamic has a historical precedent, seen in the multiple iterations of municipal planning actions in Järva (see chapter 4.2.2).

Another contradiction of the concept of 'common good' can be identified within the theme of equalization. Equalization in municipal desegregation strategies is

based on socioeconomic statistics, meaning that decreasing socioeconomic differences between residential areas is good for the city as a whole. However, this entails a risk of validating gentrifying urban developments as equitable, as they effectively decrease socioeconomic differences between residential areas. In practice, such projects benefit only the white middle class while excluding and impairing the current residents.

5.2.2 Racial colorblindness silencing knowledges

As the theoretical chapter of this thesis evidenced, the official discourse of segregation mostly focuses on the socio-economic factors of the phenomenon, obscuring historical issues of racism, white hegemony. This discourse of segregation transitions into urban planning to spawn a series of colorblind desegregation projects.

Colorblind desegregation obscures the proven role of perpetrator that white hegemonic groups have in the production of residential segregation (Marcińczak et al. 2015; Andersson 2013; Östh et al. 2015 see Tunström & Wang 2019), subsequently concealing the power dimension within segregation. This in turn creates an incomplete picture of the segregation, which causes neighborhoods with high concentration of non-whites to remain on the spotlight of segregation discourses, while the self-perpetrated, radical homogeneity of white neighborhoods is rarely discussed. In the context of Järva, this misreading of segregation has historically hindered the effectivity of anti-segregation actions, which have focused on intervening multicultural, multiethnic MHP neighborhoods (Tunström & Wang 2019), while adjacent white wealth enclaves remain untouched. In Järva, this is evidenced by the proportion of densification projects in the MHP in comparison to those in the Spånga area (see chapter 4.1.2).

Colorblindness is present throughout the themes of equalization and diversity. Equalization in urban development means procuring that each neighborhood has the right number of services, working places, recreation, and other urban amenities. However, the concrete proposals to achieve this do not take into account the local context and history, using predesigned spatial proposals that end up looking the same regardless of the location. Hence, equalization starts to become homogenization, which antagonizes directly with true urban diversity, reducing it to mixed uses in an otherwise uniform urban environment.

Colorblindness silences the non-white perception of attractiveness as well. The market prices combined with income inequality make the attractiveness procured by urban development in Stockholm elitist. This elitism, while apparently only economic, becomes racialized due to the racial pattern in Swedish socioeconomic stratification. This causes the perception of attractiveness of only a few social

groups, namely the hegemonic white middle class, to be generalized over the whole population. Hence, public spaces and densifications appeal exclusively to these blocks of society, disregarding by default everybody else's taste.

5.2.3 The urban morphology of white nostalgy as a rhetoric defined by elite groups

The market-driven dynamic in Swedish urban development causes the same urban morphology to be reproduced constantly. A closer look at this specific urban morphology, with special attention to where it came from and what it evokes, reveals hidden discourses of whiteness and white supremacy. Loit (2014) asserts that Swedish urban planning has been dominated by the postmodernist theories of Jane Jacobs and her new urbanism. Accordingly, Jacobs's work is determinant in the way urban cohesion, diversity, densification, and attractiveness are applied in desegregation plans. However, Steil and Humm (2019) have proven the racist rhetoric in Jacobs's new urbanism, that romanticize the urban characteristics of nineteenth century Europe while demonizing modernist urbanism. Jacobs's narrative is most aligned with the concept of Swedish white nostalgy as theorized by Hübinette and Lundström (2014), where a romanticized white past is counterposed with a decadent, multi-ethnic present to highlight the benefits of the former.

Due to the universal adoption of new urbanism in Swedish urban planning, all the main themes identified in urban development plans in Järva addressing segregation advance this urban morphology of white nostalgy. New urbanism is fixated on the physical attributes of the urban environment, which leads it oversees the systematic socio-economic structures at play in each of these urban paradigms (Steil & Humm 2019). This perspective is most evident in the way Jacobs theorizes urban diversity, which is central in Swedish urban planning. Jacobs uses poor, non-white neighborhoods in American cities as bad examples of urban diversity, despite them being the most ethnically and culturally diverse areas of the city. Meanwhile, she praises the rich white neighborhoods as vibrant urban utopias for complying with the romanticized European urbanism of yore, despite them being homogeneous in every other aspect.

Stylistic stigmatization as an everyday discourse enabled by white nostalgy and racial colorblindness

If there is a desired urban morphology or style, there is an undesired one as well. By locking the liveliness of an urban spaces to specific, unnegotiable morphological and functional characteristics, life in other urban environments rather than the one envisioned by the hegemonic group is discarded, obscured, and denied.

Parallelly, micro-level and macro-level discourses highlighting solely the positive side of parts of the city with this urban morphology, while highlighting exclusively the negative side of other parts of the city that do not comply with that style, infuse additional values in the urban morphologies. In the case of Järva and many other MHP areas in Stockholm, the functionalist urban morphology has been coupled with poverty, criminality, and social exclusion. At the micro-level, this coupling is advanced by media and political elites. At the macro-level, it is institutional urban planning that advances such imaginaries through neighborhood effects discourses. This perception of urban styles makes urban development projects proposing transforming functionalist suburbs to inner city-like neighborhoods unquestioned. This situation is further galvanized by racial colorblindness, as it obscures the racist rhetoric of such actions that would otherwise pose a counterweight and opposition to such actions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The research design incorporating case study with an analytical tool was appropriate to answer the research questions motivating this research effort. Furthermore, being able to incorporate the research questions in the CTA made it possible for detailed answers to emerge organically from the data.

Nevertheless, the research process was not without its challenges. Namely, planning the investigation based on the lack of information on Fokus Järva at the beginning of the study and needing to constantly update due to new information incoming throughout the five months of investigation. However, far from derailing the exploration of segregation in Swedish urban planning, this condition led me to uncover otherwise unsurfaced aspects about the subject. More precisely, discovering the relevance of the historical evolution of municipal urban development actions and plans in current and upcoming urban development in Järva was only possible due to the deep exploration of Fokus Järva's context, which came from the need of completing the initial lack of information on the case study.

Contextualization of the case study was utterly necessary to answer the first two research questions. Answering the first research question required a historical review of urban development in Järva, as the current urban development projects were proven to be defined by their preceding counterparts to a high degree. Furthermore, most of the projects directed to Järva did not have a closure, with the clearest example being Järvalyftet, that has inherited its portfolio to Fokus Järva. Similarly, appropriately answering the second research question required locating and situating the development projects under Fokus Järva in the planning process of Stockholm municipality. Without this, an incomplete understanding of how municipally-lead urban development projects engage with segregation would have resulted.

The contextualization and resulting impressions and discoveries became useful inputs for the CTA as well. The historical context of urban development in Järva hinted the presence of concealed power dynamics hindering desegregation and development in general in Järva. This comprises a reaffirming application of Steil's antisubordination planning theory, where a historical perspective is needed to better uncover structures of power, oppression, and hegemonic ideologies. Similarly, looking at the urban planning context uncovered the rigidness and verticality of the protocols governing planning in Stockholm municipality, which enables subordinating power dynamics within urban planning in Järva and further conceals racism and discrimination practices within Swedish planning institutions.

Lastly, it is important to recall that this investigation's goal is not theoretical generalization, but the understanding of the phenomenon of residential segregation, and that this goal comes from my personal interest in the subject and my ambition of becoming a better planner and landscape architect. Thus, the value of findings of this thesis is primarily in function of the knowledge I as the researcher acquired. Nevertheless, the communicative nature of this academic text makes it possible for third parties to participate in my learning experience, which gives additional value to the knowledge conveyed in this work.

6.1 Recommendations

CTA, as every other methodology grounded in the critical epistemology, seeks to devise lines of action for social change rather than producing passive theories. This intention is consummated in the final question of the closed coding phase: *how can individual subjects become aware of dominant ideologies and work toward challenging them and promoting social justices?* Although answering this question properly is out of the scope of this thesis, it is possible to reformulate it to better fit the context of Fokus Järva. Doing so would turn the reflections contained in this work into tools advancing equity and social justice, complying with the critical approach pursued throughout this thesis. The result of this contextualization is the rephrasing of the question as a recommendation: **Stockholm municipality should deliberately identify and challenge the ideologies hidden in urban development actions aiming to break segregation, chiefly across the themes of cohesion, equalization, diversity, densification, and attractiveness.**

Likewise, this case study proved the value of antisubordination planning theory for urban planning in Swedish cities. Through the lens of antisubordination theory, it is possible to uncover underlying injustices and contradictions in the current Swedish planning. Furthermore, possible solutions to these contradictions can be found within antisubordination theory. For instance, an antisubordination lens enabled the CTA to problematize the theme of 'equality', ubiquitous in Stockholm municipality's planning. Notwithstanding, antisubordination literature already suggests an alternative to equality in the concept of 'equity'. Equity entails the recognition of durable categories of inequality, supported by historical evidence, which comprise a solid argument for motivating actions benefiting a group over the other with the goal of achieving a more just and equitable outcome (Steil & Humm 2019).

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire 1

1. Om stadsdelsförvaltning:
   - Vad är förhållandet mellan nämnden och fastighetsförvaltare som verkar inom stadsdelsområdet?
2. Om Spånga-Tensta stadsdelsområdet:
   - Hur har det varit att arbeta med ett stadsdelsområde bestående av både socioekonomiskt svaga och starka stadsdelar (miljonprogram och villaområden)?
   - Har det funnits någon fördel med dessa socioekonomiska mångfald inom stadsdelsområdet gentemot försörjning av kommunala servicen och integrationsarbete?
3. Om ny stadsdelsområdet Järva:
   - Vad är syftet med sammanslagningen?
   - Vilka stadsdelarna ingår i nya stadsdelsområdet och varför?
   - Vad är förhållandet mellan sammanslagning och ny insatsen Fokus Järva?
4. Om kommande satsning ´Fokus Järva´:
   - Vad kommer bli nämndens roll i insatsen?
   - Vad förväntar du dig av ´Fokus Järva´, både som tjänsteman och invånare?
5. Om Järvalyftet:
   - Vad gjorde du då projektet togs framme och genomfördes?
   - Förutom genomförda och pågående infrastruktur projekt, finns det något annat kvar från projektet?

Questionnaire 2

1. Vad är din roll inom stadsbyggnadskontoret?
2. Om Fokus Järva och Fokus Skärholmen:
   - Vad är Fokus Järva?
   - Har du jobbat med Fokus Skärholmen eller Fokus Järva? Hur var din upplevelse i så fall?
3. Hur tillämpar ni som stadsplanerare social hållbarhet i planeringen av förtätningsprojekt?
4. Har du förslag på vilka kommunala aktörer jag borde kontakta för att få information om Fokus Järva?

Questionnaire 3

1. Vad gör stadsplaneringsavdelningen på stadsdelsförvaltningen?
2. Hur ser samarbete mellan stadsdelsförvaltningen och privata fastighetsutvecklarna samt centrala kommunala stadsutvecklingsaktörer ut?
3. Om Fokus Järva:
   - Vad är Fokus Järva egentligen?
   - Vad är er roll inom Fokus Järva?
   - Vad innebär projektet för ert arbete?
   - Vad tycker lokala invånare om projektet?
   - Vad tycker ni som lokala experter om projektet?
4. Om lokala utvecklingsprogram (LUP):
   - Är befinnande LUP för Rinkeby-Kista och Spånga-Tensta stadsdelar fortfarande giltiga?
   - Kommer de att användas under Fokus Järva?

Questionnaire 4

1. Vad är din koppling till Järva samhället?
2. Om Tenstabo 06:
   - Vad var din roll i Tenstabo 06 mässan?
   - Vad var syftet med insatsen?
3. Om historiska kronologi av fysisk planering i Järva:
   - Fanns det något innan Hållbar Järva satsning?
   - Har jag missat något från kronologin jag har visat?
   - Vad är södra Järvas invånarens perspektiv gentemot stadsplanering i Järva?
   - Vad är södra Järvas invånarens åsikt om kommunen som stadsplaneringsansvarig?
4. Vad är din åsikt om Fokus Järva hittills? Är det representativt för lokala befolkningen?

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