



Toward Inclusive Cities: Exploring Migrant Participation in Swedish Urban Planning

A case study of Stockholm's Hagsätra-Rågsved

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Abstract

The city of Stockholm grapples with significant challenges related to social exclusion and segregation. This particularly affects vulnerable groups such as individuals of migrant background residing in low-income suburbs around the city centre. The comprehensive plan of Stockholm underscores the importance of inclusive planning where inhabitants directly participate in the democratic urban development processes. Ideally, all inhabitants should be able to influence spatial change that affects their local built environment through participatory planning processes. However, studies show that persons of migrant background seldom participate in such processes in Stockholm. This thesis aims to critically examine the theoretical ideals of social inclusion and public participation and compare how these concepts are translated into Stockholm's city planning documents and how they are implemented in practice in local urban development projects. The study operationalizes right to the city urban theories as analytical tools to investigate three levels of Stockholm's city planning namely, comprehensive municipal planning, district level planning and their implication on the community level. The thesis employs a case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved, a suburb in the south of Stockholm municipality. Through the study of relevant planning documents and by interviewing appropriate stakeholders, the present study sheds light on the experiences of migrant groups and the barriers they face in participating in Stockholm's planning processes. This thesis underscores the need to build trust between planning practitioners and underrepresented groups through improved outreach methods as well as tackling possible language barriers. This thesis argues that a right-based approach can provide planning with the necessary tools to overcome participation challenges that hinder achieving inclusion ideals.

Keywords: Social inclusion, participation, the just city, right to the city, spatial justice, sense of belonging, city planning.

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Definitions and abbreviations

Migrant/foreign-born [utrikesfödd]	Are used here as synonyms and refer to residents who were born outside of Sweden.
Foreign background [utländsk bakgrund]	A person with one or two foreign-born parents.
City Plan (CP) [översiktsplan]	The comprehensive plan of Stockholm, which guides urban development projects in the municipality.
Focus area	An area highlighted in the CP by which the city focuses its resources to encourage urban development (Stockholm City Plan 2018)
Area plan	The proposed strategies for urban development of an area produced by the City Planning Office [stadsbyggnadskontoret].



Part
1

1. Introduction

The rise in global mobility and resettlement has resulted in a shift in the demographic landscape in Sweden whereby 20 percent of the Swedish population in 2022 are foreign-born (SCB 2023). As the city of Stockholm grows, urban segregation becomes more evident leading to a number of integration challenges. (Stockholm City Plan 2018:3). The comprehensive plan of Stockholm (CP) highlights the issue and provides guidance towards social inclusion in the participatory planning process of the growing city. The *city* here refers to the municipality of Stockholm, one of the twenty-six municipalities in the region of Stockholm (Länsstyrelsen n.d).

This study looks at two obstacles facing the planning practice that arguably hinders achieving the ideal of social inclusion in Swedish planning processes, namely the limited migrant participation (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz 2020) and overlooked migrants' needs and practices (Foroughanfar 2022). This thesis addresses those challenges facing the contemporary Swedish urban planning through an analysis of the issue from both the perspective of the City of Stockholm, including their planning practitioners, as well as from the standpoint of those mostly affected by development plans enacted by the city, namely the city's inhabitants, and in the case of this thesis inhabitants that are foreign-born i.e. migrants.

The primary objective of this research is to enhance the understanding behind limited migrant participation in city planning and thereby contribute insights that can be incorporated into real-world planning practices. This aim is achieved by studying the disparities between the theoretical ideals of social inclusion and participation in city planning and their implementation in practice.

To fulfil this objective, the research delves into city planning processes at three levels, encompassing the municipal, district, and migrant community perspectives. The first aspect of this research entails an investigation into how the comprehensive plan of Stockholm conceptualizes the principles of social inclusion and participation. This understanding is subsequently contrasted with the actual practical implementation of these concepts in district-level planning, with a particular emphasis on the Stockholm suburb of Hagsätra-Rågsved. These two top-down approaches are finally complemented by a third, bottom-up approach, conducted by investigating migrant groups' everyday practices and experiences

with regards to their (non)-participation in the city planning processes in Stockholm.

This study adopts a substantive approach on which I focus on certain aspects of the landscapes such as values, and experiences of the life of migrants to investigate the practice of planning and its implications on the everyday life. The study further employs a case study of *Hagsätra-Rågsved*, one of Stockholm's suburbs. The data is collected using qualitative methods including conducting interviews with stakeholders, and on-site observations. Here, I analyse the data using NVivo software following abductive thematic analysis methods.

The main findings of this thesis indicate that while the theoretical ideals of social inclusion and participation are broadly present in the official planning documents of Stockholm City, their practical implementation does not align to the same extent. In Hagsätra-Rågsved, there is a clear lack of individuals of migrants participating in local planning processes, despite the City's efforts to remedy the problem. The research found that barriers to the inclusion of this demographic in planning processes include lack of direct contact between planning practitioners and residents and lack of sufficient knowledge among residents of the participatory mechanisms. This is in addition to Stockholm City's policy to limit its publication languages to Swedish and English which does not reflect the city's heterogeneity and acclaimed inclusive vision.

Building on theories of Henri Lefebvre, Susan S. Fainstein, and Edward Soja, I argue that changing the rhetoric around migrant participation in planning practice in Stockholm from visions to urban rights and as a justice issue can contribute to more fruitful results. Planning practitioners can gain comprehensive awareness of the political aspects of the landscape they transform and seek to achieve a power-balanced participatory process to enhance its democratic legitimacy. Understanding that incorporating the needs of marginalized groups in participatory planning leads to their well-being, and consequently to the well-being of the society as a whole.

Personal statement

During my one-year internship at the municipal city planning office of Stockholm, I became increasingly interested in social inclusion issues related to public participation in planning. Having worked mostly with development projects in the mid-southern part of Stockholm, including Hagsätra-Rågsved, and having resided in Högdalen, a nearby neighbourhood, for three years, I was able to gain a better understanding from both the top-down and bottom-up views. I was also able to conduct interviews for this research through my professional network, practical experience, and Egyptian,



Arabic-speaking, background. As a migrant myself in the field of urban planning, this study represents a personal journey to deepen my comprehension of my professional role, while also delving into potential ways in which city planning can effectively address the distinct challenges faced by migrant communities.

1.1 Background

The IOM's World Migration Report (2020) reveals that the number of individuals residing in countries other than their country of birth is on the rise due to global migration. In Sweden, this has resulted in demographic shifts in recent decades, which have brought new national issues to the forefront. In the 1960s and 1970s, Sweden was praised among its European neighbours for its multicultural welfare state model, which accommodated the growing number of immigrants and refugees (Schierup and Ålund, 2011). In 1975, Sweden implemented a new immigration policy based on the idea of multiculturalism, which aimed to promote an inclusionary vision of migrant integration rather than assimilation to the dominant culture. The multicultural reform aimed for “equality, freedom of choice, and partnership” echoing the French revolution's principles of ‘equality, liberty, and fraternity’ (Schierup & Ålund 2011:47).

However, as time passed, the model of multiculturalism resulted in unforeseen consequences such as urban segregation, the rise of populism, increased rates of criminality among migrant groups, and unemployment (Schierup and Ålund, 2011). These issues were exacerbated by the economic crisis of the 1990s and the turn towards a neoliberal market economy, particularly affecting vulnerable groups, including migrants (ibid). Laleh Foroughanfar (2022:250) concurs with these previously cited authors, noting that contemporary neoliberal policies have further limited the access of vulnerable groups to socio-economic opportunities and resources through urban planning processes.

Neoliberal urban policies have resulted in urban renewal programs in Sweden primarily aimed at large-scale urban housing in deprived neighbourhoods that are often stigmatized (Foroughanfar 2022:40). These programs target problem areas that originated from the modernist Million Homes Programme (1965-1974) and are now predominantly inhabited by low-income residents and migrant groups (ibid). The comprehensive plan of Stockholm (2018) highlights Sweden's increasingly segregated urban landscape, as different groups encounter each other less and less.

“Because although Stockholm is growing, we are not integrating and growing together as a city in all the ways that we should. Instead we are becoming more segregated and Stockholmers from different backgrounds are encountering each other less and less as they go about their lives” (Stockholm City Plan, 2018:3).

Spatial segregation, partly stemming from the effects of the Million Homes Programme, has resulted in social exclusion of the Swedish suburbs dwellers (Castell 2010:10). This social exclusion has been exacerbated by the perception of these suburbs among the public, which produces negative connotations, including criminal reputation and ethnic conflicts, generating a sort of ‘mental separation’ between the majority culture and the suburbs (Sernhede, 2002: 56; Masoud Kamali, 2006:17, see Castell 2010:10-13). A mental separation in the sense of a division between “us and them” which strengthens social exclusion or the “otherisation” of the suburb dwellers (ibid). Socio-spatial segregation can also be seen in the economic differences between inner city districts and unprivileged suburbs that primarily consist of rental tenures (Olsson 2008:3).

Densification policies of the suburbs have emerged to address the housing shortage issue in the country (Foroughanfar 2022:40). However, these policies have created challenges, such as the displacement of tenants due to housing renewal, for example in Uppsala (Baeten et al., 2017; Polanska & Richard, 2021; Pull & Richard, 2021 see ibid). Moreover, Laleh Foroughanfar asserts that there is a lack of recognition of migrant practices in the planning processes in Malmö (Foroughanfar 2022:250). Practices are here understood as, firstly, everyday activities and perceptions of migrants that takes into consideration their carried past experiences (Foroughanfar 2022:62). Practices, secondly, refer to the material places in which socially meaningful activities occur (ibid). Foroughanfar states that “migrant practices remain ‘off the map’, discursively and materially invisible in planning and design policies and practices” (2022:250). On its part, the concept of migrant is in this thesis used to refer to individuals who have left their country of birth, temporarily or permanently, to reside in Sweden including for the purpose of work, joining family members, seeking asylum and studies.

Given the increasing challenges of social inclusion and resource redistribution in the regional urban policies, Sweden's planning practices have been significantly impacted by political and societal transformations over the last half-century (Castell 2010:18). The latest comprehensive plan of Stockholm recognizes these challenges, particularly in the suburbs of the city inhabited mostly by migrants and seeks to address issues such as lack of access to housing and work. Nevertheless, as scholars have concluded, equal access to material resources and opportunities alone is insufficient to achieve genuine social inclusion, a topic to be further discussed in the next chapter.

1.2 Purpose:

The primary goals on an overarching level to investigate the potential variation between, on the one hand, how planning ideals are conceptualized and understood

in official planning practice and, on the other, the ways in which they are, or are not, reflected in real-world projects. The ideals to be investigated include social inclusion, and public participation in relation to migrants. These ideals, particularly inclusion and participation, were chosen since they, firstly, are included as goals in the UNSDGs and, secondly, because they figure in the research problem and the Swedish planning discourse. This study aspires to rationalize the challenges associated with effectively incorporating the planning concepts of social inclusion and public participation into ongoing development projects in migrant-dense suburbs within the city of Stockholm. Through this study, I aspire to contribute to a more nuanced approach to participatory processes, one that considers the diverse needs and perceptions of all social groups of the Swedish society.

1.3 Research questions:

Three research questions are formulated to help understand the underlying issues behind limited migrant participation in contemporary city planning processes. The first research question critically examines the social inclusion and participation ideals in contemporary city planning practices. This is done through thematic analysis of the current Swedish planning processes. The second part further investigates its application in a case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved and its relation to social inclusion and participation ideals. This is done through interviewing city planners and examining development project documents of the area. The third question sheds a light on migrant groups perspectives on the planning process in the Swedish planning practice through interviews with migrants residing or working in Hagsätra-Rågsved. The three research questions are applied to the empirical study and are devised as follows:

RQ1: How does the municipality of Stockholm understand the concepts of social inclusion and participation in planning in comparison with their theoretical counterparts in the scholarly literature?

RQ2: How is this understanding reflected in development projects in Hagsätra-Rågsved?

RQ3: How are migrant groups in Hagsätra-Rågsved experiencing ongoing development projects in their area and what are the barriers to participation they face?

Together, these questions aim to bring insights into the potential tensions that exist between theoretically formulated ideas in planning practice, how these ideas are applied and how the people that are affected by these projects are experiencing them in their everyday lives.

1.4 Delimitations

Theoretically, this thesis explores the ideals of social inclusion and participation from a justice lens. It looks at how these ideals translate into practice in the context of city planning processes of Stockholm city. Empirically, this thesis studies the comprehensive plan of Stockholm i.e. the City Plan (CP) as it guides the urban development processes in the city. Other relevant planning documents may benefit this study, however not explored due to time limitations, such as *the regional development plan for the Stockholm (RUFs)*, *the slippery soap*, and *the city of differences*. The thesis further employs a case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved, a suburb built in the 1950s and located in the south of Stockholm (see fig.1). Studying Hagsätra-Rågsved is deemed important for this thesis as it is one of the focus areas identified by the CP suitable for densification to achieve its inclusive vision *Stockholm for everyone*.



Figure 1. Illustration showing the geographical scope of the study.

1.5 Research outline

This thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part is composed of three chapters (1-3), it introduces the thesis and brings up discussions of urban rights and migrant participation challenges and provides an understanding of social inclusion and participation theories in planning. It further introduces the substantive approach that guides the methods used in the research. The second part presents and discusses the empirical material of this thesis and consists of three chapters (4-6). The analysis chapter includes three sections which corresponds to the three levels of urban planning I investigated while also responding to the three research questions (see fig.2). Chapter 5-6, conclude the research and provide reflections.

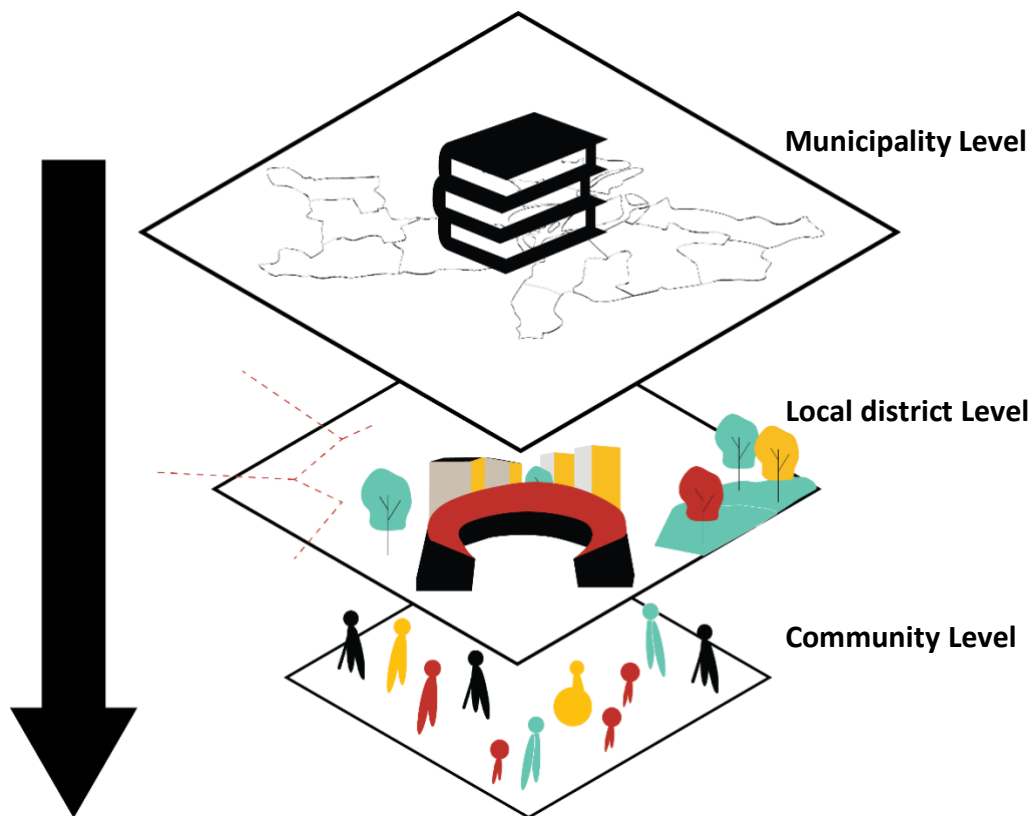


Figure 2. Diagram showing the three analytical level this thesis focuses on.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter positions the thesis within the relevant debates about social inclusion, and public participation in urban planning in the context of migrant inclusion. It explains why it is important to use these concepts to understand the relationship between urban planning ideals and their practical applications. The first section explores social inclusion relevant to Henri Lefebvre's *right to the city* concept, the second section surveys public participation, while the third section operationalizes the concepts which this thesis employs to guide the research.

2.1 Social inclusion and the right to the city

The concept of social inclusion is a fundamental aspect of the UN Sustainable Development Goals' vision of creating a more equitable society. Their aim is for all people to participate in society and access resources, opportunities and a decent standard of living in urban areas (Vereinte Nationen 2016:17). The emphasis on social inclusion in relation to urban living raises the question of equal *right to the city*, a concept first developed by French urbanist Henri Lefebvre in the 1960s that discusses urban challenges in terms of rights. However, Lefebvre maintained that providing equal access to material resources and opportunities is not enough to achieve an equal right to the city. In his understanding, this right meant a "demand...[for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life" (Lefebvre et al. 1996:158). In other words, right to the city is not only having the ability to access, but it is also a necessity for urban reform to ensure socio-spatial justice.

Since its inception, several other scholars have built upon and developed Lefebvre's right to the city. Urban theorist David Harvey expands on the idea stating that the right to the city is "far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city" (Harvey 2008:23). In this way, Harvey emphasizes this right as a collective rather than an individual one further asserting that it involves practices of shaping and reshaping the cities we inhabit. His notion of the right to the city can thus be linked to social inclusion as it highlights the right of *all* people's active participation in cities continuous reinvention.

The right to the city can also be understood as an umbrella term encompassing various notions of justice that other scholars have developed. For instance, Edward Soja, renowned for his conceptualization of spatial justice, understands the concept as “an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice. As a starting point, this involves the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them” (Soja 2009:2). In that sense, right to city does not discuss the simple forms of justice, neither does it aim to replace them, but instead it offers a critical approach to the understanding of the spatial dimension in achieving those ideals (Soja 2009).

On her part, Susan S. Fainstein’s concept of *the just city* underlines the importance of diversity (2014). Following feminist and cultural critiques to materialist-focused justice theories that ignores group identity, Fainstein maintains that the recognition of cultural, sexual, and ethnic diversity is equally important in relation to the realization of urban rights (ibid). She stresses the importance of group differentiation that is, acknowledging the differences between social groups rather than insisting on viewing them as having the same needs and wants. Referencing influential thinkers on diversity such as Iris Marion Young, Fainstein emphasizes that achieving social justice within heterogeneous societies is dependent not on assimilation but rather on institutions that respect and actively reproduce differences between social groups while at the same time preventing unequal treatment and discrimination (Young, 1990:47 see Fainstein 2014:9).

In relation to diversity, minority demographic groups are often disproportionately affected by processes of socio-spatial marginalization that arise from struggles related to democracy, representation, and political power in urban environments, as highlighted by Fincher and Iveson (2008). Such struggles are linked to the power dynamics involved in shaping the social and physical aspects of the urban spaces we occupy (see Jacklyn Kohon & Kohon 2018:15). Unequal power dynamics often result in social exclusion that exists across different levels of society, including interpersonal, intergroup, community, national, and global levels (Taket, Crisp, Graham, Hanna, & Goldingay, 2014 see ibid). Social exclusion is manifested in the inability to participate in different aspects of society that are otherwise available to the majority, which in turn affects the quality of life of the excluded groups and may pose a threat to the social cohesion of society (Levitas et al., 2007:9 see ibid).

In contrast to social exclusion, social inclusion can be seen as involving what Lefebvre refers to as the right to participation and the right to appropriation. They respectively refer to the right to engage in the ongoing production of urban places, which will be explored in the next section, and to the right to access, use and claim these places as one’s own (Short 2021:3). Lefebvre advocates for the right to the city, which requires giving city residents the ability to appropriate city spaces to claim and utilize city spaces as their own (Lefebvre 1991:26-46 see Olsson

2008:11). Appropriation has the ability to change a space physically but also provide it with new meanings (Lefebvre 1991;1996 see Olsson 2008:11). Appropriation can therefore contribute to creating meaning (Olsson 2008:11), or in other terms a *sense of belonging*. According to Wood and Waite (2011:1 see *ibid*), belonging “is a dynamic emotional attachment that relates individuals to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience”.

In relation to this, Lefebvre’s (1991) theory of spatial co-production uncovered that the real value of a *place* comes from the human experience who belong to said space, a *lived space* as he refers to it (Akbar & Edelenbos 2021). Harvey expands on the idea of transforming places, as socially constructed spaces, and stresses their relation to social justice. In his book *Social justice and the city*, Harvey argues that urban spaces should be developed in consideration of the social conditions of its residents (1973 see Fainstein 2014). In a similar vein, Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) express the importance of transforming places in relation to people before the design and planning process take place (Akbar & Edelenbos 2021:2). The right to *make place* is therefore not reserved to policy makers and planners but also to residents (Akbar & Edelenbos 2021). Healy (1998) on the other hand, calls for community empowerment for place-making activities (see *ibid*) which is similar to Lefebvre’s concept of appropriation in the sense that empowering residents to use and claim their space can promote creating a sense of belonging.

Social inclusion can thus be defined based on the expositions presented above as having access to societal resources and the ability to participate in practices and establish relationships that most people in a given society have access to. This study further understands social inclusion as a right and a justice issue. Social inclusion also involves heeding the differentiated needs of various groups, the representation of vulnerable groups, and the fostering of a sense of belonging. This thesis operationalizes this joint definition when investigating the potential disparities between ideals and practice and is explored further in the third section.

2.2 Participation

Public participation in urban planning has been a significant topic of debate in the academic literature since at least the 1960s (Innes & Booher 2004). There is an extensive literature on the subject and this subsection will only be able to highlight some of the most important research for the present study.

Many scholars repeatedly discuss how to attain a genuine participation. On the one hand, Lefebvre contend that a genuine civic participation entails a right to engage in society's on-going "production of space" (Short 2021:3). Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of place, usually overlooked, on impacting the development of societies and results from it. *Places* is compared here with

landscapes that is defined by the European Landscape Convention as “an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (Jones 2007:615). The European Landscape Convention of the Council of Europe came into force in 2004 and was signed by various countries including Sweden (Jones 2007:615). The convention stresses the role of landscapes to determining the quality of life to all people that interact with it (ibid). Landscapes are here understood in relation to the values given to the landscapes by people and thereby asserting their significance in the city development participatory processes. While Lefebvre's theory on the right to the city asserts the importance of understanding societal relations that form a place (Short 2021:3). It further explains that society's social and power dynamics are reproduced in social space, which serves as a tool and medium. In other words, ‘place’ as a socially constructed space, can be used as a tool in planning for exploring social and power dynamics. This rather philosophical view of participation warrants a need for a deeper understanding of how these places are formed to achieve a genuine civic participation.

On the other hand, Innes and Booher (2004) uncover the dualistic reality of the participation ideal and its practice. They maintain that it often results in the exclusion of minority groups’ voices due to unbalanced power dynamics (ibid). Instead, they propose that participation should be viewed as a “multi-way set of interactions” between citizens and other stakeholders to influence the planning process (ibid). They suggest that collaborative participation can effectively address such complex, critical issues such as budget decision-making and foster more favourable conditions for future action in socially divided communities (ibid). To move forward with the participation practice, it is necessary to develop new practice frameworks, set up venues for public engagement, adjust the decision-making processes, and provide the necessary training and financial support (ibid). The theory presented by Innes and Booher (2004) provides a nuanced process-based roadmap for improving participation practices in urban planning. By highlighting the importance of ongoing collaboration and diverse stakeholder engagement, the theory offers a model for promoting more inclusive communities. This collaborative theory is hence valuable as it presents a practical framework for inclusive participation in planning that is central for this thesis.

In contrast, Calderon and Butler (2020) contend that participatory planning should focus on the substantive aspects of landscapes, such as values, experiences, interests, and democracy, rather than just the procedural aspects of planning, which Innes and Booher (2004) proposes (Calderon & Butler 2020:155-156). Calderon and Butler (2020) claim that the normative practice-orientated approach typically describes unattainable ideals of participation. Often, the normative approach illustrates that a ‘genuine’ form of participation is inclusive of all social groups of stakeholders, power-balanced and, draws from consensus-based decisions.

(Ibid:152). However in reality, this ideal is rarely translated into practice (ibid:152). In fact, the most common participatory processes mainly include gathering information and surface-level consultation with citizens (Butler & Berglund, 2014; Conrad et al., 2011 see ibid). The authors (2020:157) argue that this approach to participation creates “intergroup differences” between different groups of participants and secondly, “state-citizen differences” between market values and social values between various stakeholders. In other words, it fosters social division between community groups, which are even magnified under the current neoliberal housing market (ibid). This demonstrates the failure of this type of participatory practice to equally include the various groups of stakeholders (Ibid). The authors claim that the challenges present in today’s participation practices are due to the predominance of the normative approach in the field, while the substantive approach remains underdeveloped (ibid:159).

Substantive theory focuses on public values and recognizes the dynamics of power exercised in the process of transforming a place (ibid). The authors claim that a substantive understanding of power, is needed in order to recognize that a place is generated through the interaction of a wide range of stakeholders who have access to different levels and sources of power (ibid). Similarly, Flyvbjerg (2004) asserts that placing power in the centre of the debate is imperative when discussing planning processes. Comparably, Arnstein (1969) maintains that citizen participation is a reflection of citizen power. This means that the citizen’s level of impact on the process of spatial transformation, directly reflects how much power they possess. Since power distribution is not equal between stakeholders, public participation in this case can lead to differentiation between different groups of participants leading to the emergence of vulnerabilities (Calderon & Butler 2020). In fact, Arnstein (1969) labels this as a form of ‘non participatory’ planning, in the sense that it excludes vulnerable groups’ voices from the process of participation.

According to Butler et al. vulnerability is “politically produced, unequally distributed through and by a differential operation of power” (Butler et al. 2016 see Björgvinsson & Keshavarz 2020:261). The causes of vulnerability that Butler refers to here, is created and perpetuated through political and power structures. This systematic differentiation threatens vulnerable groups’ ability to weigh against that of the majority who possess more power despite the fact both occupy the same physical place (Olwig 2007;2016 see Calderon & Butler 2020:157). Knowledge is another source of power, in the sense that those who acquire more knowledge, or in a position where they are perceived as knowledgeable, naturally possess more power (ibid). In other words, stakeholders that have more knowledge can impact other stakeholders and have more influence on the process on behalf of the vulnerable groups (ibid).

“Power is inherent, ever-present and exercised through the day-to-day, taken-for granted beliefs and actions of people, producing and reproducing conceptions of what is considered to be true,

normal and acceptable. In landscape planning, this relates to the influence that powerful actors have on the knowledge, information and ideas that guide decisions and practices relating to the landscape” (Calderon & Butler 2020:158).

However on the topic of migrants, Kärholm et al. (2023:282) argue that the label ‘vulnerable’ may negatively reflect on the group and that a "new sensitivity" is needed when a place undergoes physical transformation. Similarly, Michael Jones (2006) states “Participation requires developing a form of democracy that balances majority rule with sensitivity to minority interests (see Jones 2007:621). Here, Jones presents one of the challenges of public participation stated by the European Landscape Convention, he points out that local communities are not homogenous and mirrors the local power structures that often tend to be biased against the interests of minorities including migrants (ibid). Participation thus should be focused on rebalancing the current power structures by empowering those who are frequently circumscribed by the majority. That means that everyone’s perceptions, needs and interests of their immediate built environment should be incorporated in participatory planning (ibid; Kärholm 2023). This includes all stakeholders such as residents, vulnerable groups, visitors, land developers and specialists (Jones 2007:616). This, however, poses another challenge in the current multicultural Europe (Jones 2007:620).

Kärholm et al. maintain planning's vital role towards migrant and vulnerable groups in general, but it needs to gain awareness of the problem and include it in its discourse to remain relevant (2023:282). For this to happen, the planning practice needs to detail producers that help eradicate the challenges mentioned earlier to promote a truly legitimate participation (Jones 2007). The procedural aspect of participation should also be paired with the critical study of the substantive elements embedded in the landscape, such as understanding how politics and power structures impact the landscape undergoing development, and how it is affecting the legitimacy of the democratic participation process (Calderon & Butler 2020). It is also imperative to recognize the impact of inclusive participatory processes on marginalized groups such as migrants. For one thing, inclusive participation that prioritize increased communication leads to building trust and increased collaboration (Jones 2007:618). Anna Zachrisson, a Swedish researcher on the topic of co-management of natural resources, asserts “When people are listened to, paid attention to, treated politely and with respect, the legitimacy for the final decisions is increased” (2004: 24 see Jones 2007:617-618). Another impact of inclusive participation is incorporating the otherwise invisible needs of migrants in the planning processes which implies balancing out the power structure against the majority. Migrant needs in Europe have been overshadowed by the majority rule despite their legal residence in the countries and their given right to vote, building mosques for example remains a topic of debate to this day (Jones 2007:622).

The above exposition highlights the tensions involved in reconciling urban planning ideals with their practical application. Relatedly, it is important to recognize the significance of power structures in planning and their impact on participation. This is relevant to the present study due to its focus on the relationship between how a city understands participation and how that understanding is implemented in practice. This thesis looks at how one such vulnerable group – migrants – experiences and negotiates the substantive approach theories of planning. This includes investigating the perceptions, interests and needs of the vulnerable group. Admittedly, using the label ‘vulnerable’ might risk painting the group in a passive light and take away their agency (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz 2020). However, despite of this risk, it is useful for this study to understand migrant groups as vulnerable due to their power[less] position as minorities.

2.3 Concepts

The theoretical framework used to guide this research is based on two main concepts: *social inclusion*, and *public participation*. In this thesis, I position urban challenges related to migrants' inclusion in participatory planning as issues of justice and employ a *right to the city* as a guiding approach. This is to provide a more concrete basis for measuring social inclusion and participation in the empirical material. The following diagram (see fig.3) presents a set of principles derived from urban justice theories that are deemed relative to this thesis. The principles are used as instruments to evaluate social inclusion and public participation in this study.

2.3.1 Social inclusion

Following Lefebvre, Soja and other scholars, social inclusion is here understood as strengthening the notion of socio-spatial justice in the urban environments we inhabit. It can be defined as a deliberate redistribution of urban resources and opportunities to ensure equitable access to societal services. Here, I use this definition to examine how the notion of social inclusion is reflected in the development plans in the CP as well as that of the case study.

In addition to this materialist definition, this study also follows Fainstein and Young and understands social inclusion in participatory planning as recognizing the heterogeneity of its society and the right to differentiated needs. Social inclusion further highlights the importance of the representation of minority and vulnerable groups in the democratic process of planning. This social understanding of inclusion is therefore important to the study of migrant inclusion. I employ this social definition by exploring how the heterogeneity and diverse needs of the area inhabitants are reflected in practice.

This in addition to the collective ability of people to participate on all levels of society where they can claim, change and use their immediate urban spaces. This can be reflected in the case study by investigating the ability of migrant groups to appropriate urban places. Acknowledging the spatial aspect of social inclusion includes an understanding of it as fostering a sense of belonging through the built environment. Here, I use sense of belonging is an indicator for assessing social inclusion in my interviews with residents. I do so by examining the perceptions and everyday activities of migrant groups in Hagsätra-Rågsved. This joint definition is applied when analysing the tensions between ideals and practice.

2.3.2 Participation

Public participation in planning is here formulated as one factor in the process by which to achieve social inclusion. It is understood in instrumental terms as a tool to reach the broader goal of inclusion. As an active engagement in the production of space, Lefebvre refers to participation as part of his concept of the right to the city.

Here, participation is understood as both a process and an outcome. Following Innes and Booher, and Jones, participation is seen as an ongoing process of collaboration and communication among stakeholders and at the same time reflecting society's power structures. Looking at the outcome of participation, meaning who participated and who did not, helps shine a light on the power dynamics of the planning process.

In this thesis, public participation is also taken to mean societal engagement by vulnerable groups affected by urban development projects in their areas of residence. More specifically, and with the focus of this thesis in mind, participation is taken to refer to residents of migrant backgrounds residing in Hagsätra-Rågsved actively engaging in Stockholm's development projects, such as consultation meetings, focus group workshops or the like.

This thesis also addresses the impact of the political and power structures existing in the landscape. Here, participation serves as an intentional act of balancing the society's power structures between majority and minority groups. This is done through acknowledging and empowering vulnerable groups by emphasising and incorporating their needs. The relationship between power and social needs is analysed by investigating who's needs and values are incorporated in the planning process and who may have been left out. Knowledge of participatory processes in the landscape, as another indicator for power, is also investigated through interviews with residents.

The definitions of the themes exhibited in this section are meant to inform the methods and analytical tools used in this study, which are explored further in the following chapters.

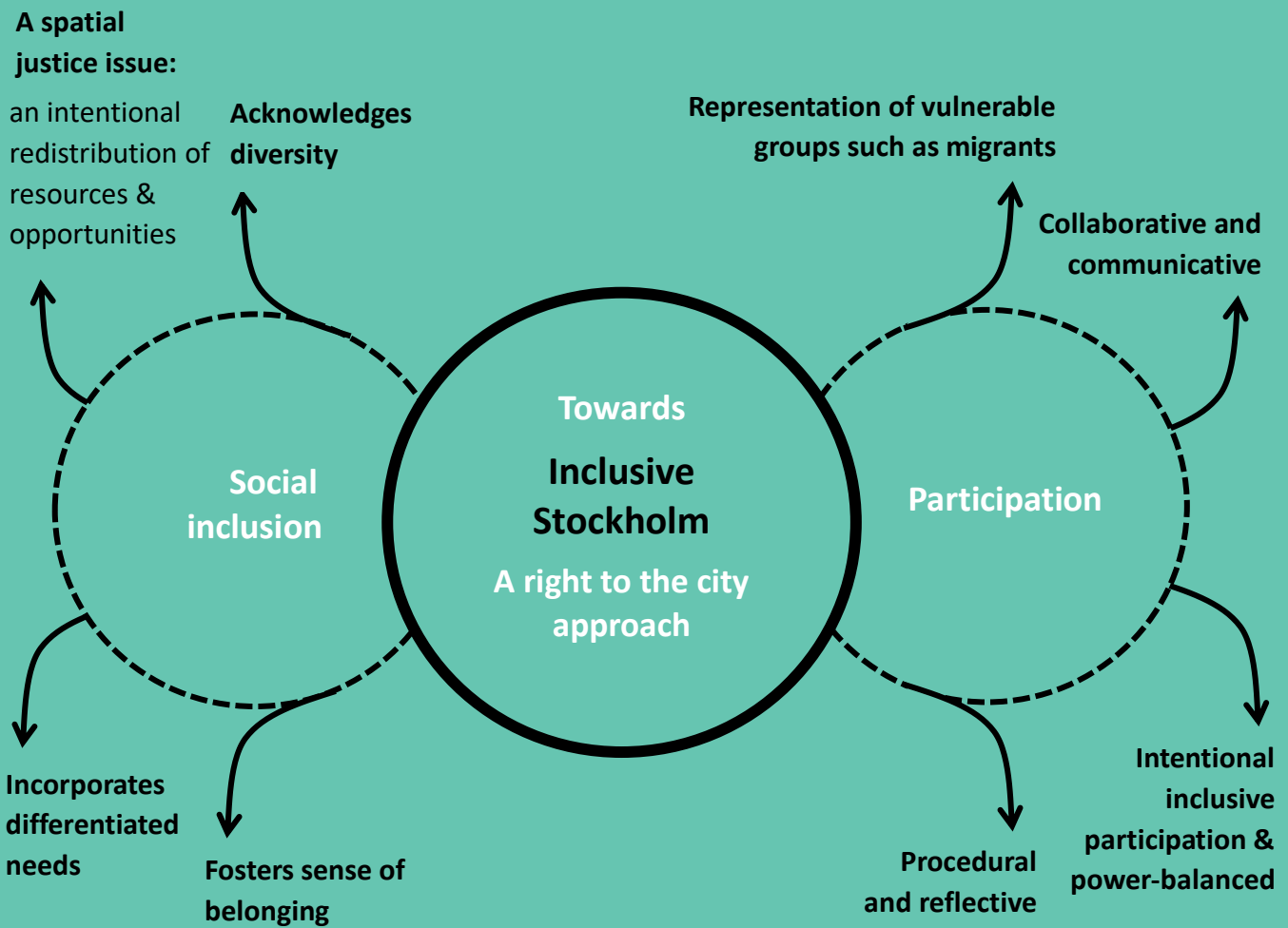


Figure 3. Diagram showing the theoretical framework for the analysis of the empirical material.

3. Methodology

This section describes the approach, data collection, and analysis methods used in the study in relation to its main themes. The study employs mixed qualitative methods to achieve three objectives: (1) gain an understanding of how planning ideals are conceptualized and understood in official planning discourse, (2) grasp how these ideals are reflected in real-world projects, and (3) bring forward the perspectives and practices of migrants with regards to the study themes. As Yiftachel (2001) maintains, we, as practitioners and researchers, need to critique the object of our study, planning, without assuming that it is inherently good in order for it to thrive (see Flyvbjerg 2004:296). Instead, planning in this study is viewed as a phenomenon to observe, engage with, and criticize, recognizing that it may have both positive and negative aspects to make meaningful contributions to progress in the field (*ibid*). To do so, this study employs a set of methods to gain a better comprehension of the planning problem at hand, and to uncover the underlying struggles of differences to better inform planning practices.

In a broader perspective, this study follows a substantive lens to investigate the practice of planning and its implication on the everyday life of migrant groups. In other words, I identify values present in everyday life, while also investigating the power relations to better inform the planning practice. Focusing on the planning in terms of everyday values in practice is viewed as more important than researching discourse for example (Flyvbjerg 2004:296). Michel Foucault asserts that “discourse is not life; regular, daily practice is life” (1991:72; 1981:5; Foucault in Eribon, 1991:214–216 see *ibid*). This means to focus on practical knowledge, as Flyvbjerg (2004) argues, is the only way to evolve within planning, like any other discipline and the way to do it is through in-depth case studies.

As such, a single case study is chosen in this research for its ability to provide an in-depth analysis of social practices (Gerring 2004:341). Here, this means examining the real-life application of city planning ideals and their implications for migrant groups. This study targets migrants from diverse cultural backgrounds residing and working in the area. Other key stakeholders are also selected on the same grounds. The case study investigates the implementation of planning ideals in Hagsätra-Rågsved.

3.1 Approach

This study adopts a combination of inductive and deductive approaches, otherwise known as abductive reasoning. This means that the main themes of the research are developed from both the collected data as well as the pre-existing literature (see fig. 4). A deductive approach implies that theoretical concepts or themes are predetermined before data collection begins in order to examine or hypothesize around them. (Berg, 2001; Catanzaro, 1988; Polit & Beck, 2006 see Bengtsson 2016:10). This contrasts with an inductive approach, where themes emerge from the collection of data and are used to form concepts and draw theoretical conclusions (Bengtsson 2016:10). The present research is guided by a set of main themes that are derived from a cyclical process of reviewing both the data and the relevant theoretical literature. This motivates the employment of an abductive approach (Vila-Henninger et al., 2022).

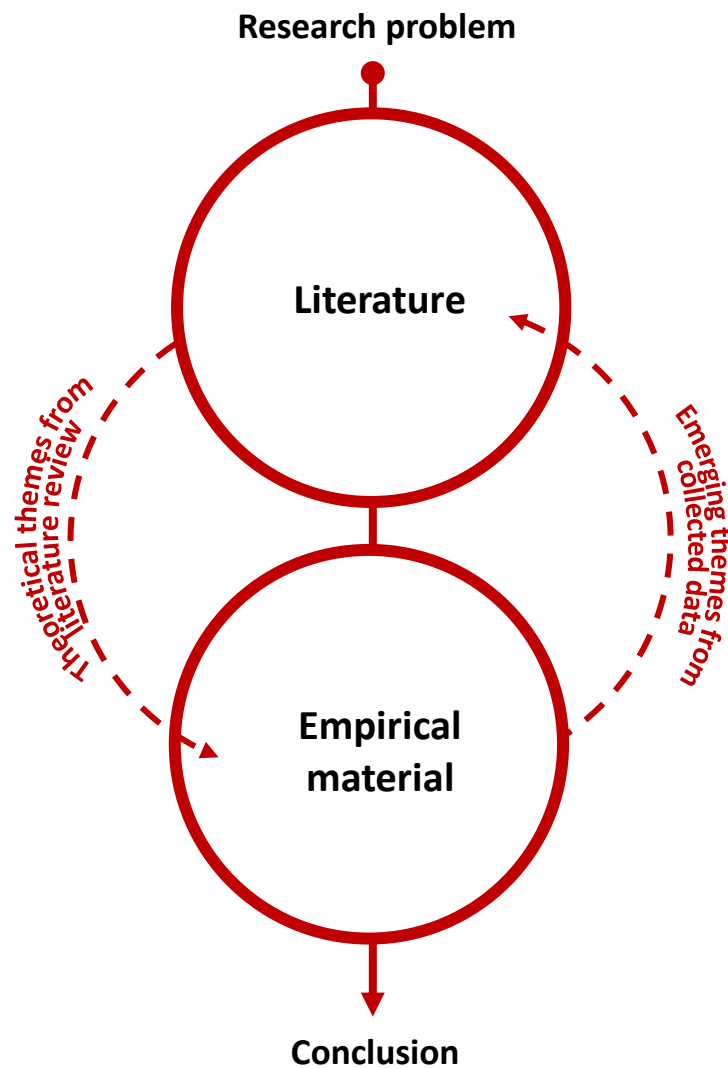


Figure 4. Diagram explaining the abductive approach this thesis follows.

Abduction is adopted in this study to utilize themes and examine relevant concepts derived from both the data and literature in tandem. Akbar and Edelenbos (2021) assert that using a mixed deductive and inductive methodology is preferred to fully understand the conditions that lead to achieving a sense of belonging when transforming the physical aspects of a place. Therefore, the use of an abductive approach is fitting for the present study as it provides a deeper examination of the social practices in the case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved.

3.2 Data collection

This study employs Yin’s triangulation principle i.e. gathering evidence from different sources of data such as documents, interviews, participant observation, observations and fieldnotes (2009 see Aberdeen 2013:2). Documents entail gathering the relevant municipal planning of the City of Stockholm in addition to development proposals for the suburbs of Hagsätra-Rågsved. Other relevant official documents providing cultural and social analyses of the area are also gathered. An inventory of the documents reviewed are presented in detail below.

Analysed documents
1. Stockholm City Plan (2018)
2. Stadsbyggnadsstrategier - Hagsätra-Rågsved_9938549_2_6
3. Strategi för socialt värdeskapande stadsutveckling - Hagsätra-Rågsved_8966636_2_6
4. Socialt värdeskapande analys - Hagsätra-Rågsved_6565000_2_6
5. Kulturlivsanalys - Hagsätra-Rågsved_8918011_2_6
6. sva-fokus-hagsatra-ragsved
7. Bästa platsen - digital dialog - Hagsätra-Rågsved_6564885_2_6
8. Dialogsammanställning 2017-2018 - Hagsätra-Rågsved_8037031_2_6

Table 1: Documents used for analysis.

Another method collects data through semi-structured interviews with residents of Hagsätra-Rågsved, and in-depth interviews with other key stakeholders. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and sought to explore the implementation of planning ideals in practice and the experiences and perspectives of residents regarding ongoing development projects. In total, 26 individuals were interviewed, including practitioners from Stockholm’s city planning office, a representative from a local land development company as well as local residents and visitors in

Hagsätra-Rågsved. The residents and visitors to Hagsätra-Rågsved were reached by spontaneous encounters in the area as well as through a local Facebook group. Contacts with Stockholm's planning office were facilitated by the fact that I worked as an intern there for one year and thus had a network of contacts there.

The interview questions for the residents were designed to evaluate the main themes of the study in Hagsätra-Rågsved, namely social inclusion and participation. To assess the concept of sense of belonging, residents were asked to answer questions such as 'Where do you usually meet friends or family?', 'What do you like to do in your free time?' and 'What places do you like to visit that feel like home?'. To evaluate participation, residents were asked whether they had taken part in recent development plans and if they had read about new plans, and if so, why they did or did not participate. The complete interview guide is found in Appendix 1.

3.2.1 GDPR

This study follows the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as stated by SLU. All the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the interviews and were briefed on the topic of the thesis. They were also assured that their personal information would be anonymized. The interviews were then carried out after receiving verbal consent. Some interviews were audio recorded, for which the interviewees also gave consent. No personal data about the interviewees is revealed in this study.

3.3 Thematic analysis

As a method of analysis to structure and interpret the collected material, the study employs qualitative abductive thematic analysis. This means that the main analytical themes emerged both from the academic literature that were reviewed before primary data was collected as well as after doing so. The study begins with initial research questions that are revised continuously as the research progress and knowledge deepen through reviewing the data and literature, followed by devising a coding scheme. This abductive thematic analysis approach is deemed appropriate for this study as it allows the use of preconceived themes rather than allowing codes and categories to emerge solely from the data (inductive), or solely from the literature (deductive) as in conventional qualitative content analysis (Nair 2018:3). In this study, the method of thematic analysis, or rather a version of it, is used for its ability to qualitatively analyse data from both documents and interviews. While content analysis may offer a more systematic and reliable results (Bengtsson 2016:9), it is mostly used in identifying core concepts in text documents for the purpose of quantifying data (Coe & Palmer 2020:14).

Thematic analysis on the other hand requires more involvement and interpretation from researchers compared to content analysis. It involves recognizing and describing both obvious and underlying themes within the data and developing codes to represent these themes (Guest et al. 2012:11). Reliability is a concern with thematic analysis; however, it is nevertheless deemed useful in this study for its ability to capture the complexities of meaning within a textual data set and, is the most commonly used method in qualitative research (ibid). Other key factors that contributed to the choice of thematic analysis include its ability to analyse data by searching for core concepts or themes that cut across the data and, in addition to the focus on the descriptions provided by the participants, with the purpose of categorising emergent clusters of codes under subthemes and themes (Coe & Palmer 2020:14). This is to compare the themes to form a comprehensive understanding of the data and synthesize the themes (ibid).

In this study, thematic analysis is used to analyse two different types of data and to answer different research questions. First, it is used with the aim of exploring what the official planning documents say about the study themes such as the comprehensive plan of Stockholm, area plan of Hagsätra-Rågsved, and relevant planning documents previously mentioned. Second, it is employed for interpreting the primarily verbal data collected through interviews with stakeholders. The goal of using the qualitative abductive thematic analysis is to identify any discrepancies between the theoretical ideals and practical implementation of planning ideals in Hagsätra-Rågsved. In other words, the thematic analysis tool offers a way to understand the strategic plan of Stockholm and how it informs planning practices while also providing insights on how migrant groups perceive those ideals.

However, the data collected from documents and transcribed interviews were lengthy and required using an additional analytical tool. In this study, NVivo QDA software is used to easily manage, organize, and cross-code different types of qualitative data. This is in addition to visual display advantages and convenience (Thompson 2022:5). The next subsection explains how NVivo is utilized abductively in this study.

3.3.1 Steps of abductive thematic analysis in NVivo

This section outlines the steps of the thematic analysis phase of this study. The importance of explaining the analysis steps is to address the reliability issues of the thematic analysis previously mentioned. Jamie Thompson (2022) developed a guide specifically tailored to abductive thematic analysis to address the criticism and to provide a transparent structure to the analysis. This study largely follows Thompson's guide, however modified and shortened to suit the time limitations of this study. Before starting the analysis process, relevant literature was reviewed, and the research questions were formulated in parallel with data collection in

cyclical as in typical abductive research. This is to determine the initial codes used to analyse the data as seen in step 2.

Step 1: Transcription and Familiarisation - In this step, audio recordings or field notes are transcribed, and the different datasets are organized in NVivo. This step also involves actively reading the data to and identifying potential patterns and codes within it.

Step 2: Coding - This step engages with categorising and minimizing the data. It involves colour highlighting certain sentences and paragraphs and assigning each highlighted piece of text into codes in NVivo. The code is named depending on what the related text refers to.

Step 3: Development of themes – This step includes defining the themes (broader categories for the codes). They are distinct from the codes and relate more closely to the research questions.

Step 4: Theorising – This step refers to reflection by examining the relation between the themes and the entire datasets.

Step 5: Data display - This step involves producing a diagram to visually illustrate the themes and their correlations.

Step 6: Writing up and Dissemination - This last step involves writing up the analysis with subheadings from the main themes of the analysis. The written analysis shows how literature and empirical data are linked. The written analysis is supported by quotes from raw data. This is to provide empirical evidence important to draw final conclusions (theorisation).



Part
2

4. Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of the research questions detailed in the first chapter of the study. The primary aim is to investigate the planning ideals of social inclusion and participation as understood by Stockholm municipality and compare them with their practical execution in development projects. It further seeks to explore how these planning practices influence the daily lives of migrant groups residing or visiting the case study area of Hagsätra-Rågsved. The analysis is executed in NVivo software, and the results are presented below with themes extracted from NVivo as subheadings (see fig.5).

- The codes initially identified in the literature review include social inclusion/inclusivity, exclusion, segregation, participation, sense of belonging, group differentiation, daily practice, underrepresentation.
- The codes emerging from the data include local needs, local knowledge, social values, participation challenges, area, area plan, and country perceptions, safety concerns, improving dialogue methods, increasing collaboration.

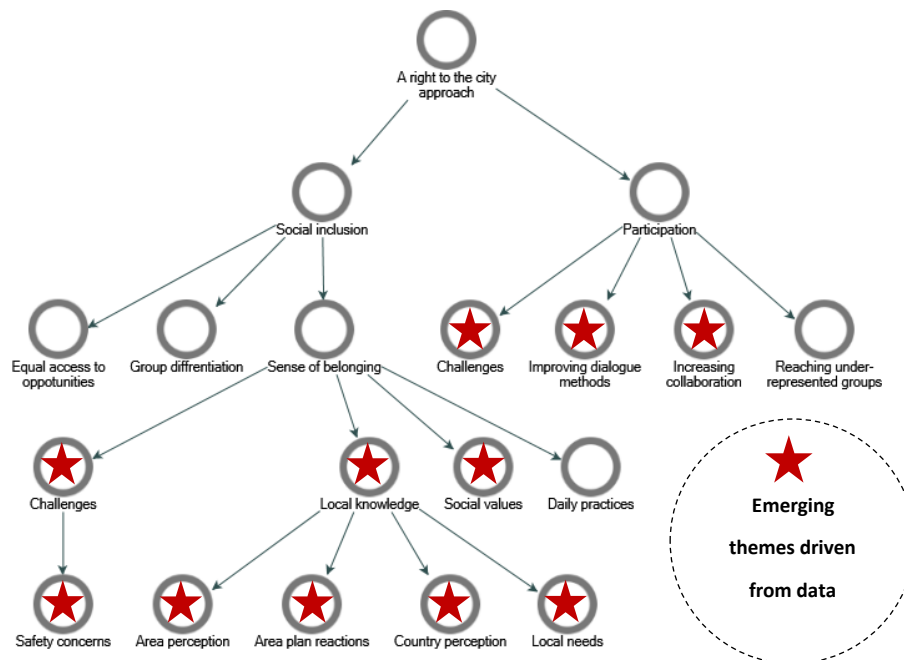


Figure 5. Thematic analysis map detailing the main themes and subthemes resulting from the analysing the data. The diagram is extracted from NVivo Software. [Date: 08-08-2023]



4.1 Ideals of social inclusion and participation in Stockholm's comprehensive plan

This section explores how the notions of social inclusion and participation are understood in the comprehensive plan (CP) of Stockholm in comparison with their theoretical ideals in the scholarly literature on urban justice.

4.1.1 Social inclusion

Equal access to opportunities

The concept of social inclusion in the literature is similar to the notion of social cohesion in the CP where it denotes a right of all individuals to access opportunities and resources, encompassing work, public transport, shopping, educational and healthcare services, and cultural amenities (Stockholm City Plan 2018:52). Here, the notion is similar to that of Lefebvre's understanding of social inclusion as a "demand" for access to material urban resources (1996). Additionally, social inclusion in the CP is defined as a right to inhabit safe and high-quality urban and outdoor environments, which encourages participation, prioritize independence and an enhanced quality of life (Stockholm City Plan 2018:52).

Moreover, The CP mentions child-and-disability rights as ordained by UN conventions stating that everyone has a right of decision and participation in every aspect of the civil society (Stockholm City Plan 2018:52-53). Here, the social inclusion notion is comparable to Harvey's view of the right to the city that exceeds the basic freedom of accessing urban resources where he argues that it also includes the right to be involved in the practice of transforming cities (Harvey 2008).

Furthermore, the City Plan (2018) acknowledges the existence of an uneven distribution of businesses in Stockholm, with a concentration in the city's northern and inner regions. In this regard, the CP emphasizes the creation of an attractive environment for businesses to thrive in the southern parts of Stockholm, leading to an improvement in the quality of services, including schools, hospitals, public spaces, transportation facilities, and recreational and cultural sites. Here, the CP is intentionally redistributing material resources to ensure an equal access across the city that promotes the notion of spatial justice (Soja 2009).

Group differentiation

The CP specifies children, people with disabilities, young and elderly people to be especially considered in the planning processes. Gender equality and the notion of safety for women and girls is also taken into consideration (Stockholm City Plan, 2018:53). The CP explains that area planning should add social values and stem from local needs (ibid:39). The CP further acknowledges the significance of incorporating differentiated needs, knowledge and daily practices of diverse groups

as a basis for spatial transformation (ibid:53). Moreover, the CP identifies people with low income, including students and migrants, recognizing the negative effect of lack of access to opportunities for the vulnerable groups (ibid:20).

However, it is important to note that the term 'migrant' is not explicitly mentioned, but the context makes it clear that the CP is referring to them, using terms like "new arrivals" (Stockholm City Plan:20), "new residents" (ibid:52), and "mixed population" (ibid:12). Nonetheless, the CP asserts that the diversity of Stockholm's demographic makeup calls for group differentiation when it comes to urban needs, an important aspect of urban rights. As argued by Fainstein (2014), the recognition of diversity and the need for differentiated group planning is crucial for achieving socio-spatial justice. Moreover, the lack of power among migrant groups is reflected in their underrepresentation, leading to socio-spatial marginalization (Jacklyn Kohon & Kohon 2018), as well as economic segregation (Stockholm City Plan 2018:12). The CP further maintains that such socio-spatial and economic segregation can prohibit achieving the desired social inclusion and cohesion between the different urban areas (ibid:50).

Repercussions of segregation and increasing visibility

Social inclusion is thus essential to combat spatial segregation and social division between the suburbs of Stockholm. The proof of segregation can also be seen in the socioeconomic differences between the various suburbs and the underlying differences in nationality, educational level and work fields resulting in a "clear social difference" (ibid:20). Segregation is defined by the CP as follows:

"Segregation is when different groups of people live in different places in the same city, usually in districts or neighbourhoods with different social status and physical conditions. Instead of society being mixed and people with different backgrounds – different socioeconomic status, skin colour, religion, and ethnic origin – meeting naturally as they go about their lives, in a segregated society people mainly only meet other people who are like themselves" (ibid:167).

The way to decrease segregation, according to the CP, is to create opportunities for people to encounter one another. Spatial segregation manifests itself through urban elements such as roads and tracks, or natural typography elements (ibid:52). However, the plan proposes connectivity between suburbs to combat criminality and social exclusion (ibid:52). These segregated areas, mainly inhabited by migrants, are usually stigmatized in the collective minds of the Swedish population (Foroughanfar 2022), leading to social division and a sense of alienation for the excluded group (Castell 2010) while projecting a sense of insecurity for the majority (Foroughanfar 2022).

The CP furthermore gives priority to accessible public spaces of attractive content where different groups of people can spontaneously meet to promote social relations and improve integration (2018:50-53). This is especially important for the

integration of migrants as it encourages meeting on a daily basis which in turn can increase the sense of safety and mutual understanding of the otherwise spatially and socially excluded groups (ibid:50-53). Arguably, increasing methods of connectivity between the social groups can contribute to the “visibility” of migrant practices as discussed by Foroughanfar (2022) and Kärholm et al. (2023), which in turn can further promote integration.

In conclusion, the notion of social inclusion presented in the CP of Stockholm is to a large extent similar to its theoretical equivalent in this thesis. Both include equal access to opportunities and resources, in addition to the importance of diversity of various groups, and the representation of vulnerable groups, such as migrants. Contrarily, the given rights to social inclusion, seems to be only mentioned in the CP in reference to gender equality, children, and people with physical disabilities, while excluding the migrants’ rights.

4.1.2 Participation

A democratic process and a right for all

The City of Stockholm understands participation as a tool for democracy, human rights, and sustainability issues, which are prioritized issues for the growing city (Stockholm City Plan 2018:41). Much like Lefebvre’s theory on the right to the city, it views a genuine civic participation as a right to engage in society’s ongoing place transformations (see Short 2021).

In the comprehensive plan of Stockholm, public participation is a matter of concern for all. However, the comprehensive plan of Stockholm (2018:41) places special emphasis on the need to improve public participation methods with children, young people, and under-represented groups. The City Plan, however, lacks clarity regarding the identification of underrepresented groups and the methodologies for doing so. As Fincher and Iveson (2008) highlight, struggles of underrepresentation are associated with fostering social exclusion in urban contexts (see Jacklyn Kohon & Kohon 2018). In other words, the underrepresentation problem presented here can be managed through fostering inclusive planning.

Local knowledge and improved methods

To achieve the vision of creating a more inclusive Stockholm, the city has committed to adopting a more proactive approach in establishing effective communication channels with its actors and residents. This approach, as outlined in the comprehensive plan, highlights the importance of participation, local knowledge, and value creation. In particular, the comprehensive plan encourages the use of innovative participation methods, such as digital tools, and emphasizes the need for a comprehensive evaluation (ibid: 41).

Collaborative and reflective

The comprehensive plan further emphasizes the promotion of collaborative efforts among various stakeholders to incorporate diverse perspectives in area planning (ibid:41). The CP also stresses the need to develop new forms of collaborative participatory methods to work with the key elements of area planning such as children's perspectives, social sustainability and gender equality (ibid:39). Such a collaborative approach offers a model for fostering inclusive communities. Innes and Booher (2004) assert a similar viewpoint in their theory, which emphasizes the importance of multi-way interactions and diverse stakeholder engagement in promoting participatory practices in urban planning. Comparable to Fincher and Iveson (2008 see Jacklyn Kohon & Kohon 2018:15), Innes and Booher (2004) associates social division with unbalanced power dynamics in the planning practice. A collaborative-diverse participation is thus particularly significant for socially divided communities (Innes & Booher 2004).

Regarding the concept of participation, the comprehensive plan thus emphasizes the importance of establishing an ongoing collaborative, diverse and innovative participatory processes, which is especially beneficial to underrepresented groups such as migrants in order to counter urban segregation. The CP moreover recognizes the significance of value-knowledge planning gained from local needs.

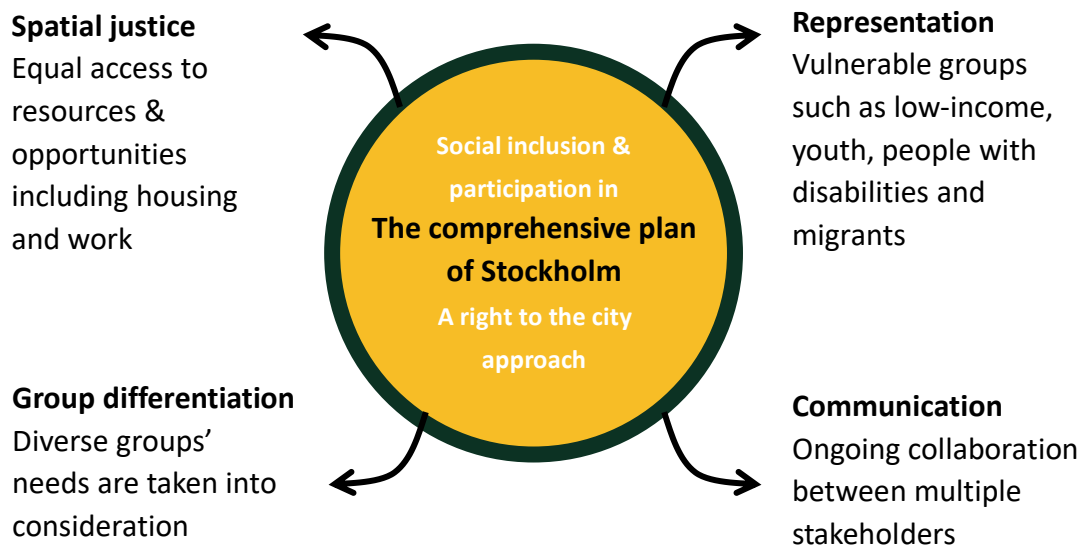


Figure 6. Diagram showing similarities between the ideals of social inclusion and participation in urban justice theories and the comprehensive plan of Stockholm



4.2 Focus Hagsätra-Rågsved and inclusive development

This section explores how the planning ideals of social inclusion and participation are implemented in real-world development projects, aiming to answer the second research question. The analysis is partly carried out by studying the planning strategies for the area and other area analysis documents such as cultural and social analysis. The section also relies on interviews with a city planner and a communication officer from the city planning office of Stockholm City, as well as a project manager from Sveafastigheter, a real estate company active in the area. By focusing on these two types of materials – planning documents and interviews with planning actors – this section attempts to investigate how high-level urban planning ideals that are described in *strategic* planning documents are implemented and negotiated in operational-level development plans and in the work of practitioners in the case study area.

4.2.1 Area and project facts

Hagsätra-Rågsved, located in the south of Stockholm, is one of the focus areas selected by the comprehensive plan for spatial development. Today Hagsätra is composed of 60.8 percent residents with foreign background (Områdesfakta Hagsätra 2022), while 72 percent Rågsved’s population is of foreign background (Områdesfakta Rågsved 2022). An area plan proposal of Hagsätra-Rågsved was produced in 2022 to provide a holistic vision and guidance for subsequent property development work there (Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier 2022:4). Area planning in Hagsätra-Rågsved started in 2016 and was carried out in accordance with various analysis reports, including social, and cultural analyses (ibid). The ambition was to build 3000 to 4500 new housing units in accordance with the comprehensive plan and relevant building laws (ibid; Stockholm växer: Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved).



Figure 7. Diagram reflecting the diverse demographic of Hagsätra-Rågsved

The area plan is composed of five stages and projects in relation to the city’s analysis of “energy points” that host a cluster of functions that act as attraction points/destinations for both residents and visitors (ibid:7) as seen in figure 8 below. Energy points are either to be strengthened like Rågsved’s centre, or created for example in the case of Älvsjö’s swimming pool that has the potential of developing into a district park (ibid: 22,26). Due to its strategically central location, Rågsved’s centre is to be developed with a focus on cultural life, safety, increasing commercial activities and workplaces, in addition to developing the centre with a clear orientation towards Rågsved’s street (Rågsvedsvägen) that connects the area with its adjacent suburb Högdalen (ibid:22).

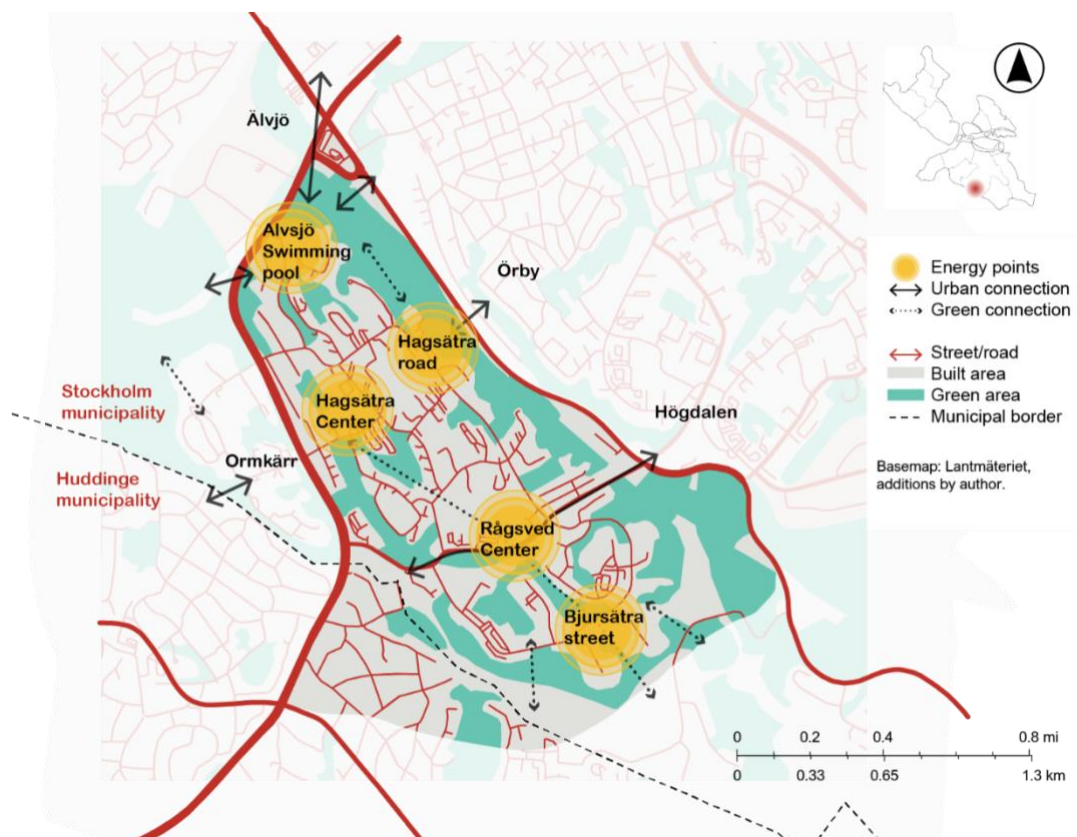


Figure 8. Illustration showing the location of energy points according to area-strategies (Hagsätra-Rågsved strategies 2022:7).

4.2.2 Social values in focus

Tracing the theoretical concept of social inclusion in the area plan is based on the analysis of the comprehensive plan carried out in the previous section. According to the *Focus Hagsätra-Rågsved Strategies* document, the development is centred around strengthening and creating social and cultural values, in addition to reducing spatial segregation in the city (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier*

2022:4). The area plan claims to have a variety of activities for everyone to encourage meeting between people within the area as well as with the neighbouring areas (ibid:6). This in addition to a special attention given to enhancing the experience of safety in the area through opening up dead-end pathways as well as transforming back alleys to open and connected spaces (ibid:10). The area plan further promises various ranges of housing, workplaces and better access to services and meeting points (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier 2022:6*). Moreover, the area plan claims to be based on the area's local needs and conditions (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier 2022:6*).

To ensure social value creation in the development project, Stockholm City initiated a pilot model for social value-creation analysis entitled 'SVA' [Socialt värdeskapande analys] (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Strategi för socialt värdeskapande stadsutveckling 2020:3*). The purpose of the SVA-model is to determine if urban development goals of the comprehensive plan can be achieved in a given area (ibid:4). The assessment is done based on the City's analysis of the current situation including a social-values map that presents what is there and what is missing in the area (ibid:4). Area analyses are carried out according to investigations requested by the City as well as public participation results (ibid:4). Some of the goals set by the SVA-model for Rågsved project are the following: adding varied and affordable housing, enhancing mobility, increasing workplaces in the area and cultural opportunities, and increasing the sense of safety, visibility and catering to the local identity.

One focus of Hagsätra-Rågsved's area plan is improving the sense of safety in the area. Foroughanfar asserts the link between the sense of insecurity and socially segregated areas (2022:40), such as Hagsätra-Rågsved. According to this logic, aiming to increase a given community's sense of security can contribute to achieving social inclusion. Although the area plan does not specify working towards social inclusion in its strategies, it does so in its ambition to enhance access to services, affordable housing and work opportunities. Arguably, increasing access of the vulnerable groups in Hagsätra-Rågsved, i.e. low-income households and migrants, to material goods such as housing and other opportunities would lessen their social distance to Swedish majority society, which thus contributes to social inclusion. This is also closely related to Soja's understanding of spatial justice (2009) as it aims towards an intentional redistribution of socio-spatial resources. In his view, the spatiality of the distribution of socially valued resources is an important perspective to include when analysing the interrelation between people, opportunities and the material world. Additionally, the focus on social values, local needs and the area plan's claim to provide different activities 'for everyone', can be related to Fainstein's (2014:9) understanding of spatial justice in the sense that the area plan acknowledges site-specific differentiated needs.

Local needs

In an interview with a city planner (2023) working in Stockholm municipality's planning office, they explained that local needs are assessed by conducting area analyses. These analyses look at the existing situation and determine the desired outcomes. Area analyses are based on varied types of investigations early on in the planning process including involving the residents and local communities. For example, a digital survey named *best places* was conducted to determine local values. This is in addition to an on-going collaboration with the district administration that, according to the city planner, has the best knowledge of the area, and other administrations such as the environmental and land exploitation administration. Together, these administrations form the project's steering group (ibid). However, the city planner also mentioned an obstacle the city usually faces; they do not necessarily have access to all land properties to implement the desired spatial transformations. Another obstacle mentioned is resources, however in the case of a 'focus area', the local district administration can share resources and therefore contributes to a larger budget for the project.

“These overall investigations were to find out what the place looked like. But then also fairly early on, we involved the district administration. And because they are the ones with the best local knowledge, they were part of the project group early on, and then it has developed so they are part of the steering group now (...) we have had a lot of contact with them, and they are part of the project group. And that's what makes the difference, you could say” [Author's translation from Swedish] (Interview with a city planner, 2023).

The above discussion describes a procedural approach, in the sense that acquiring knowledge about local needs can be comparative with the collaborative participation theory by Innes and Booher (2004) that stresses the importance of ongoing cooperation between diverse stakeholders. The theory claims its ability to combat complex issues including social division and budgeting, thus promoting more inclusive communities. However, such normative approaches have been criticized to genuinely account for an inclusive and power-balanced participation. As Flyvbjerg (2004); and Calderon and Butler (2020) advocate for shifting the focus towards a substantive approach, this thesis employs the study of real-life experiences and practices to assess and inform the current participatory planning practices which will be explored further in the next question.

Vision to Detailed-Planning

The social goals set by the SVA-model serve as a basis for the next stage of planning, detailed planning [*detaljplanering*], where real-estate companies and property owners and other actors must see to implement those desired goals in their project (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Strategi för socialt värdeskapande stadsutveckling* 2020:1). A contract between the city and the actor includes

requirements for implementing the social goals and the exact measures taken by the actors to achieve them in order to make them accountable (City planner at Stockholm City, 2023). Some actors include increasing work opportunities in the area by locally employing workers for the operation and maintenance during the construction period. Others include providing a homework room in the building such as in Bjursätragatan street project, while others include a form of an artistic or cultural addition such as a graffiti wall (ibid).

One of the real-estate companies working in Bjursätragatan is Sveafastigheter (ibid), one of the well-known property developers in the country. I sat down with a project manager from the company to trace the next step of the planning process. In their winning tender proposal to the municipality, Sveafastigheter chose to work with marginalized groups as their core concept following the area plan's direction to work towards increasing social values in the area (Project manager at Sveafastigheter, 2023). Usually, the real-estate company tailors their proposals to accommodate the zoning, or the area plan laid out by the municipality (ibid). Their chosen target group for this project is financially struggling families such as single-parent households or other types of families facing economic challenges (ibid). This is done through focus group meetings with the target group and collaborations with communication experts. Another aspect of their proposal is focused on children's wellbeing and safety. This is achieved by creating a traffic-separated green path for the children to move between their home and school safely while also developing their mobility (ibid).

Developing the project to accommodate two vulnerable groups, financially struggling families and children, is agreeable with Fainstein's (2014) understanding of spatial justice, in the sense that creating group-differentiated projects can contribute to inclusivity in planning. In other words, by acknowledging the groups' different needs and making it visible, the notion of social inclusion can thus be achieved. However, migrants as one of the vulnerable groups were not addressed, neither in the area plan documents nor in conversation with the property developing company. Admittedly, there are other developers working in the area that could have included other social targets. Nevertheless, not including a group that makes up 72 percent of the area population might, arguably, help reproduce the status quo of socio-spatial segregation mentioned in the CP as one of the challenges facing the city.

4.2.3 Participation methods

Participation is critical for this development project as the outcome of the dialogue forms the basis for acquiring knowledge about the local needs and existing urban qualities (Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier 2022:6). The local needs further guide the development conditions to create and develop housing,

workplaces, better access to services and meeting places that are safe, open and identity-creating.

A multiway collaboration between the city, residents and other stakeholders is promised to achieve a higher level of quality as well as the use of more effective and efficient methods. These methods usually include a digital survey aimed at the residents and workers early in the process called *early dialogue* and a public consultation meeting at the site (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Strategi för socialt värdeskapande stadsutveckling* 2020:4). As mentioned previously, the participatory process explained here follows Innes and Booher's collaborative theory that claims its ability to solve complex issues such as social division (2004). It can thus be considered a suitable method for Hagsätra-Rågsved. However, even though this normative participatory process seems ideal, it has been challenged by scholars for being unattainable (Calderon & Butler 2020:152). Therefore, this analysis does not look into the procedural aspect of participation, instead it looks into how it affected migrant groups, as it is the focus of this thesis. In other words, this analysis aims to identify the 'winners and losers' of participation, to borrow Flyvbjerg's words, in order to demonstrate the power relations at play. I do so to effectively understand how the ideal of participation is translated in this stage of planning. I seek to find out who actually participated, and if it represents a true reflection of the demographic makeup of the area.

Reaching underrepresented groups

The digital survey titled *best places* took place for ten weeks in 2017 and received 567 replies (*Bästa platsen! - Digital dialog - Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved* 2017:4). At the time of the survey, both Hagsätra and Rågsved, displayed a high percentage of foreign-background residents, 39 percent and 51 percent respectively (ibid:9). Different methods were used to reach residents and workers in the area such as sending out brochures to 10,000 households and on-site meetings in different venues including a language-exchange event and schools (ibid:5). Despite these efforts, only six percent of the respondents were foreign-background (ibid:9). The agency that carried out the survey, Spacescape, further recommended targeted efforts to reach the under-represented group (ibid:9). According to an interview with a communication officer from the city planning office (2023) referencing the digital survey in 2017, almost everyone who participated were middle-aged with an ethnically Swedish background.

In efforts to reach the under-represented groups in the survey, the City organized five focus group meetings in five locations between November 2017 to January 2018 (*Dialogsammanställning Hagsätra-Rågsved* 2019). However, its respective report fails to mention if it actually succeeded. In fact it does not mention migrants at all, it only refers to the participants in terms of their age and gender. Presently, Hagsätra-Rågsved is composed of 72 percent foreign born residents in Rågsved

(Områdesfakta Rågsved 2022) and 60.8 percent in Hagsätra (Områdesfakta Hagsätra 2022). Despite this fact and continuous efforts from the city, underrepresentation of migrants in the participatory processes remains a problem (Communication officer interview, 2023). They further relate the issue to language barriers and education levels of the target groups. At other times, it is not always possible to know the participant's background due to the anonymity possibility in the online participation method (ibid).

Nevertheless, to receive such little engagement from the main demographic in the area directly reflects their power[less] position. Power distribution in this case is not equal and leads to reinforcing migrants' position as vulnerable (Calderon & Butler 2020). Higher education levels and knowledge of the Swedish language are other sources of power that are lacking in the area and further emphasises the power imbalance between the different social groups. This in turn threatens the integrity of the process. According to Arnstein (1969), excluding vulnerable groups is a form of "non participatory" planning.

Improving dialogue methods

The interview with the communication officer provided insights into the strategies employed to facilitate community engagement and reach diverse target groups. The communication officer (2023) emphasized the importance of participating in various public events, from flea markets to safety days, to fostering connections with the community. This approach aims to create a more accessible and informal environment where individuals can easily approach and ask questions. The interviewee acknowledged the challenges of reaching all target groups, particularly those who may not rely on digital platforms such as websites and social media. While social media and local Facebook groups are effective for certain demographics, they do not encompass everyone, they said. Therefore, the communication officer explored alternative methods such as brochures, mailings, and posters in town. However, language barriers can still pose obstacles in effective communication.

The communication officer highlighted the significance of enabling direct community participation in decision-making processes. They expressed a desire to involve individuals in concrete ways, such as influencing the design of public spaces and tangible elements like park benches. This approach aims to create a sense of ownership and investment within the community. They also emphasized the importance of visible results along the way to maintain engagement and prevent disconnection. They gave an example of an opening of a playground called Rymdparken that took place during the writing of this thesis and was not included in this research due to time limitations. Children have been involved in the design process, including painting patterns in the park. Such initiatives aim to increase engagement and provide a sense of accomplishment and impact within the

community. Moreover, collaborations with local artists and organizations, such as Project Rågsved, and Juice Studios, a music studio who are being considered to enhance the communication efforts. By involving artists in events and openings, the aim is to create engaging and visually appealing experiences for the community.

This approach to participation mirrors what Lefebvre (1991 see Olsson 2008) calls ‘appropriation’, in the sense that it allows residents and stakeholders to establish a sense of belonging to the place by actively engaging in shaping it. Belonging can connect the emotional side of people to the physical place they experience (Wood & Waite 2011). Achieving a sense of belonging can arguably strengthen the notion of having a right to the city and therefore contribute to social inclusion.

4.2.4 Challenges to inclusive planning

The interview with the communication officer sheds light on the barriers that hinder community participation in consultation and information meetings. One of the primary challenges mentioned is the discrepancy between the demographics of Hagsätra-Rågsved and the participants of these meetings. This disparity calls for proactive measures to address the issue. One such challenge highlighted in the interview is the city of Stockholm's policy that restricts communication in languages other than Swedish and English. The communication officer recognized the limitations of this policy and advocates for finding alternative ways to reach out in multiple languages to engage diverse communities. This solution can arguably help balancing out the power between the different groups of stakeholders.

“If you look at the consultation meetings and information meetings that we have, the people who come there do not at all reflect what the demographics look like in Rågsved, that's just the way it is. So then you have to do something about it. In part, we have discussions, you heard them talking here, in the city of Stockholm you are not allowed to communicate in text in languages other than Swedish and English, it is like policy for the city. Those of us who work with communication have said that we don't think it's that good and we work to find ways to reach out in other languages, it's one way of trying to develop that work” (Communication officer at Stockholm City, 2023).

Another barrier to inclusive participation is limited resources. The communication officer explained that dedicating more time and attention to this specific project would allow for increased presence and engagement. An additional obstacle is the lack of willingness to participate. According to the communication officer (2023), young people and some minority groups are largely absent from participatory forums. Another issue is that projects usually take a long time to execute. By the time a project is done, the residents involved in the process may have already relocated (ibid). Regardless of the reason, everyone should receive the information (ibid).

In conclusion, the theoretical ideal of social inclusion can be traced in the area plan of Hagsätra-Rågsved through its ambition to enhance accesses to resources and opportunities. An intentional redistribution of resources can also be traced back to Soja's spatial justice theory (2009). The area plan is based on their investigation of local needs which indicate the plan's acknowledgement of differentiated needs (Fainstein 2014:9). However, the area plan does not clearly state which and who's needs were considered. Upon studying the participation reports, it is clear that migrant groups, that make up most of the area population, were largely not included which rendered the planning process as non-participatory (Arnstein 1969). On a more local level, one land development company stated their intention to include economically vulnerable groups to achieve the social-creating goals of the area plan. However, it is still unclear if migrant groups would be included.



4.3 Perceptions and practices among migrants

This section attempts to answer the third and final research question, namely, how are residents of migrant background in Hagsätra-Rågsved experiencing the ongoing development projects in the area and what are the potential barriers to participation they may face? Here I aim to highlight the migrants who live, work or visit the area own perceptions, practices and needs and shed light on potential obstacles they encounter when it comes to participating in the planning process. The main goal is to explore the potential disparities between the theoretical ideals of inclusion and participation in the planning practice, and how these ideas are applied in practice as well as how the people that are affected by these projects are experiencing them in their everyday lives. I use Calderon and Butler (2020) notion of the importance of studying places from a substantive perspective to identify and understand potential hindrances to the democratic process of participation. When critically looking at the substantive side of participation processes, meaning studying the values in the landscape and experiences from a bottom-up perspective, it can help bring awareness to the underlying issues of planning practice related to power dynamics, potential conflicts and differences between the participating groups (Calderon & Butler 2020:160).

The data used for this analysis are derived from my interviews with 23 individuals who live, work, and visit Hagsätra-Rågsved including six representatives from two civil society organizations namely the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra and the Islamic Centre in Rågsved. Interviews were conducted in Arabic, English and Swedish. Almost half of the interviewees were from Arabic speaking countries, while others were from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. I spoke with an equal number of men and women, however when excluding the civil society organizations, the interviewees from residents, workers and visitors were mostly women between the ages of 30 and 50. I approached most of interviewees

while they were sitting or waiting in different locations including Rågsved centrum, Hagsätra centrum, Rågsved park (bollplan), Medborgarkontoret, Falafel Amo, Amouris, the Ethiopian Church and the Islamic Centre. This in addition to two in-depth interviews with residents who I reached via a post I shared on Rågsved's Facebook group. All of the interviews were conducted between March and May 2023. Most of the interviewees either live or live and work in the area, see figure 8. Four main themes emerged following the analysis of the data, namely, perceptions of the area, daily life practices and needs, and views on the area plan and participation.

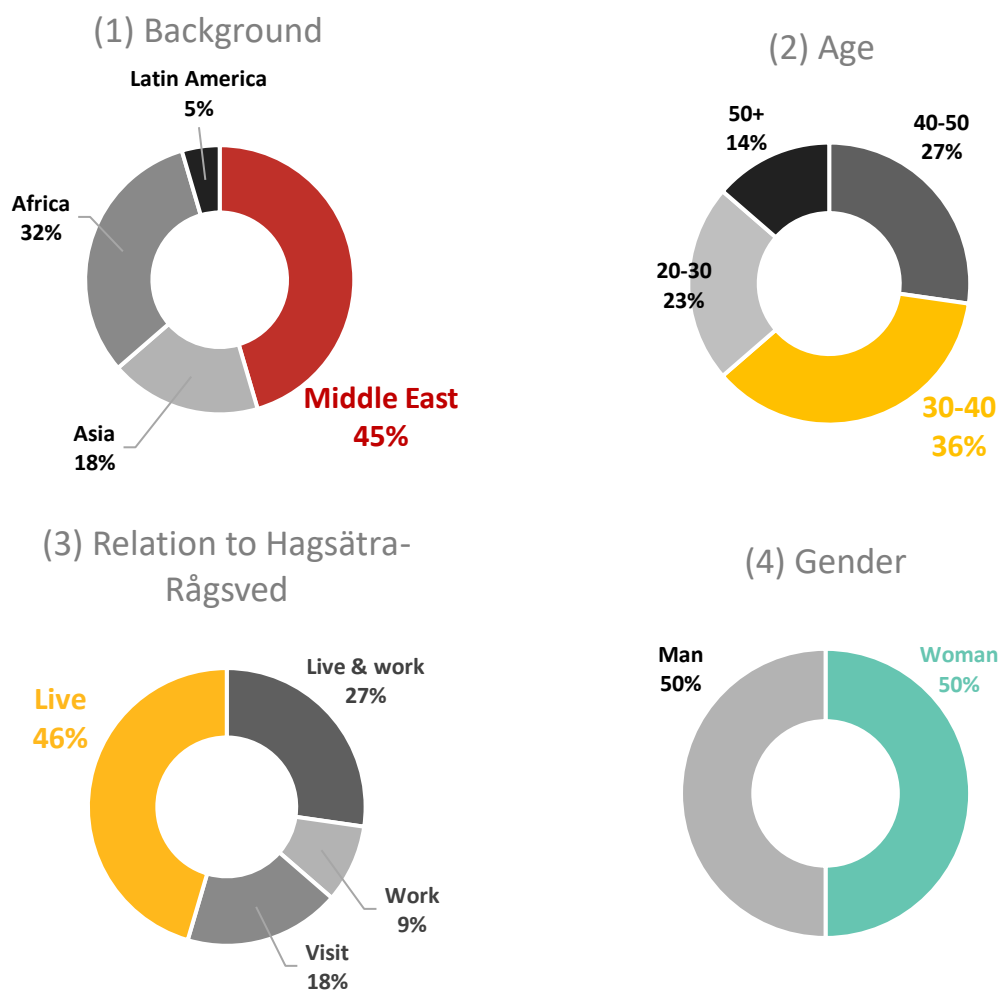


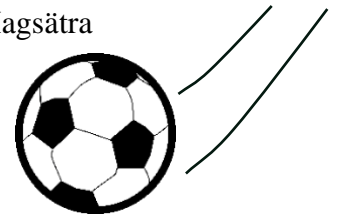
Figure 9. Diagrams illustrate the background, age, relation to Hagsätra-Rågsved and gender of the interviewees respectively.

4.3.1 Area perception

Studying migrant group perceptions can provide a window into their emotional connection with the place where they reside, their social life and experiences, or in other words, their sense of belonging (Wood & Waite, 2011). Understanding this complex relation can shed light on whether or not the ideal of social inclusion is

achieved in Hagsätra-Rågsved. Following Lefebvre's spatial co-production theory (1991), understanding the human experience of places can uncover the actual value of them (see Akbar & Edelenbos 2021). In its simplest form, and as Wood and Waite (2011:1) understand it, belonging can be conceived as "dynamic emotional attachments" to the material and the social spaces we reside in. This conjures up Lefebvre's concept of "lived space", that is, the actively experienced spatial reality where social relations are formed and enacted in everyday life (1991 see Akbar & Edelenbos 2021).

In the interviews for this thesis, most of the residents expressed a strong sense of attachment and pride in relation to their area. This is especially apparent with migrants who lived in the area for a long period. One person for example said that she was raised in Rågsved and chose to return to the area to live with her small new family. Most of the interviewees who had kids appreciated that there are many places for kids to play and do different activities, such as the library in Hagsätra and Älvsjöbadet (swimming pool) during the summer. Some pointed out the sports culture, one person said proudly "the best sports players in Sweden come from here (Rågsved)!", while others appreciated that Rågsved is a hub for their daily needs.



Many also pointed out how well-connected Rågsved is, seeing that it takes less than 30 minutes to get into the city centre and to higher education institutes in Huddinge. The centres of Hagsätra and Rågsved offer various shops that are cheap and serve products from other countries that bring the migrants a little closer to home. Some of interviewees were former residents in the area. I met them while they were running errands and enjoying the services that they seem to lack in their current neighbourhood. This shows how specific values related to migrant preferences existing in the landscape can impact the feeling of belonging to the area.

I feel at home. When I travel out of Stockholm, even in my country I long to Stockholm.

[Own translation from Swedish]

-Worker in Rågsved, 2023

You have everything here, Amo has the best falafel, Dimas great sweets, the best in Sweden (.) I come back here for the hair salon for me and my son because he's cheap, maybe the cheapest in Stockholm, also there's an excellent meat store here right around the corner. I come here to shop.

[Own translation from Arabic]

-Previous resident in Rågsved, 2023



As for leisure time, most people mentioned meeting friends and family either indoors or grilling in the parks, and sunbathing. Some stated the importance of serviced parks for the well-being of their children and for their convenience. Other residents mention training in the gym, and playing cricket while others preferred a daily nature walk in the nature reserve near Bjursaträgatan street. Other activities mentioned include gardening, volunteering in charities, and shopping.

Most seem to enjoy their time in the park however, they also expressed their frustration towards having limited choices of activities. A married couple mentioned that the area is only nice in one season, i.e. summer. In the winter, most residents stated that they prefer to stay indoors. Many mentioned they miss having more spontaneous meeting

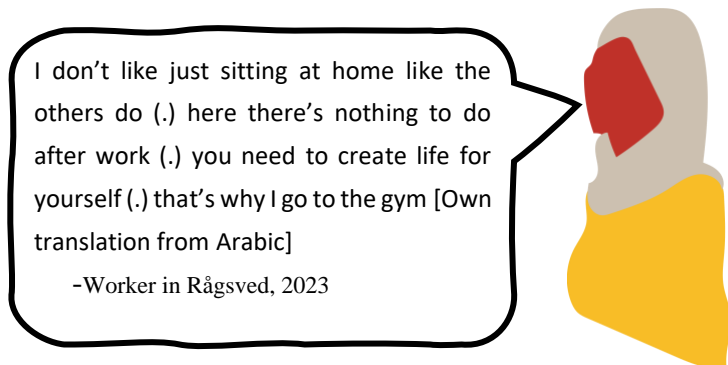
places and more shops. Others pointed out the safety issues and wished for more lighting at night especially around Rågsved centre. Moreover, some residents expressed that city planning should prioritize elderly

people. Meaning considering elderly movement when developing the area, for example by increasing public traffic routes and creating places that can help lonely older people interact with the younger generation. Others said that planning should prioritize creating job opportunities in the area to reduce the time it takes to reach work in other parts of Stockholm. Most also mentioned the need for more affordable housing.

While some expressed their attachment to Hagsätra-Rågsved, these same individuals at the same time stated that they felt a lack of sense of belonging to Sweden as a country and society.

There is no social life here. You know, it's like when a tree gets removed from its original place and gets planted in another place, it's not the same, I only do the basic things (..) Here the services are very good, everything is available but the life essence (..) is not really there (..) Yes, I know people, but it's all superficial (.) we just say *hej* to each other (own translation from Arabic).

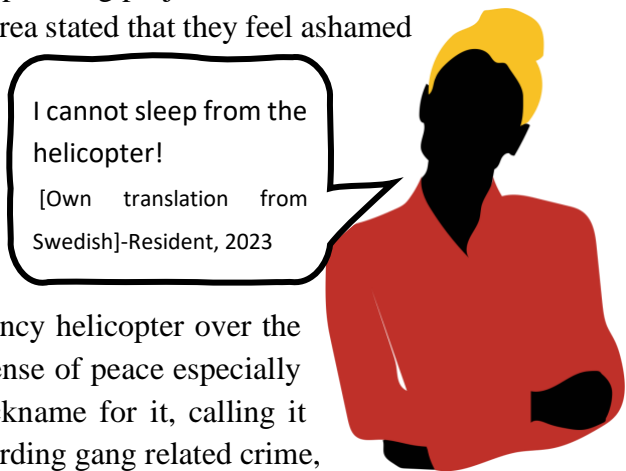
Hooks (1989) explains the duality of perceptions presented above, he argues that everyday perceptions and experiences are also affected by past experiences and knowledge (see Foroughanfar 2022:62). In the context of this thesis, this related to the fact that the experiences migrants carry with them has a direct impact on what they experience on a daily basis. This notion was corroborated when some interviewees brought up with despair the recent manifestations where copies of the Quran were burned when I asked about their perceptions on the area. It is also notable that some residents would hesitate to bring up religion when I asked about



daily habits. Some would pause and ask me if I believe in God before they continue talking, for the fear of being misunderstood or ridiculed. However this was in the case of non-Arabic speakers as there were cultural barriers that later were relaxed as the interview went on. Another noteworthy detail, more people self-identifying as non-Muslims than Muslims brought up the recent protests of burning of copies of the Quran to show support and express frustration, which arguably strengthen the feeling of unity between migrant groups, but also may reinforce the notion of otherisation (Castell 2010), or social exclusion in Swedish society. While this is not directly related to city planning practices, I would argue it sheds light on how the affected groups might feel towards communication with majority societal processes, such as participation in urban planning projects.

Several residents and workers in the area stated that they feel ashamed of the reputation of drug handling in Rågsved or 'Drogsved' as some call it. One mother told me her kids prefer to get off at Hagsätra metro station instead of Rågsved to avoid drug dealers. Another expressed annoyance from the repetitive flying of the emergency helicopter over the area. According to him, it hinders the sense of peace especially at night. The residents even have a nickname for it, calling it 'Rågsved's bird' [Rågsveds fågel]. Regarding gang related crime, the residents I spoke to had not experienced this phenomena first hand but had heard about it. They stated that in the last two years in particular, rise in gang criminality in the area had become a more prevalent topic of discussion among fellow area dwellers. People also expressed their frustration with what they perceived as unsatisfactory health services in the area. Others found Hagsätra-Rågsved to be run down compared to other areas in Stockholm. In my view, these negative connotations attached to the area can arguably feed into the feeling of invisibility and exclusion of vulnerable groups. Edward Soja associates social justice with an intentional distribution of resources (2009:2). In that sense, not having equal accesses to resources can be considered a spatial justice issue.

The European Landscape Convention stresses the importance of understanding landscapes as "percieved by people" to truly grasp all values that exist within these landscapes (Jones 2007). These values should then be translated into needs and incooperated into the planning process (ibid). The above mentioned perceptions present both positive and negative views. They can offer a window into how migrant groups perceptions' might differ from people of Swedish majority society. For exmple, perceptions of favourable activities and safety concerns can be regarded as common among all residents. However, when looking at perceptions such as appreciation for migrant-specific-services and lack of social life, it becomes



clear which values should be highlighted to achieve power- balanced participatory processes.

4.3.2 Are migrant practices and needs invisible?

One of the main problems I attempt to explore in this thesis is whether migrant practices and needs are taken into enough consideration in city planning. Here, practices are understood as the daily activities and embodied experiences of migrants in socially constructed space as well as the physical structures in which their social lives are enacted (Foroughanfar 2022:60-62). According to Foroughanfar, migrant practices are overlooked in planning and design policies and practices resulting in their lack of visibility both in discourse and in official planning documents and policies (Ibid:250). I found however the argument not fully resonating with the findings of my research. In the case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved some migrant practices and needs are indeed mentioned in planning investigation documents. However it is not clear how, and, if those needs are taken into consideration in the area plan proposal. Below, I explore some of the migrant practices and needs I found in these documents. The difference here is that I look at practices that manifest themselves in the shape of physical structure that add meaning to the migrant communities I was in contact with during my research (Mack, 2017: 13 see Foroughanfar 2022:61).

The cultural life investigation analysis carried out by Nyréns consultancy office in 2021 explores different types of cultural activities found in Hagsätra-Rågsved, including religious organizations that are run by migrants and directed towards specific migrant groups. In their analysis, they state the significance of the mosque in Rågsved to the community and its need to expand to accommodate their growing number of visitors (*Kulturlivsanalys Hagsätra-Rågsved* 2021:72). According to Nyréns' analysis, the mosque is considered the biggest in the south of Stockholm in terms of its catchment area, in addition to its role as a meeting place and the services they provide to foreign-born Muslims (ibid). However, Stockholm city's area plan of Rågsved expresses the desire to remove the mosque to make way for an unspecified development of the plot where it is located. This is suggested without proposing an alternative location for the mosque, despite its stated significance to the area according to Nyrén's cultural life analysis (see fig 10). Contrarily, the area plan Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved (2022) quotes Stockholm's building guide (*Stockholms byggnadsordning* 2020) stating that local businesses, cultural and activity premises should as far as possible be preserved and developments should avoid transforming such premises to housing.

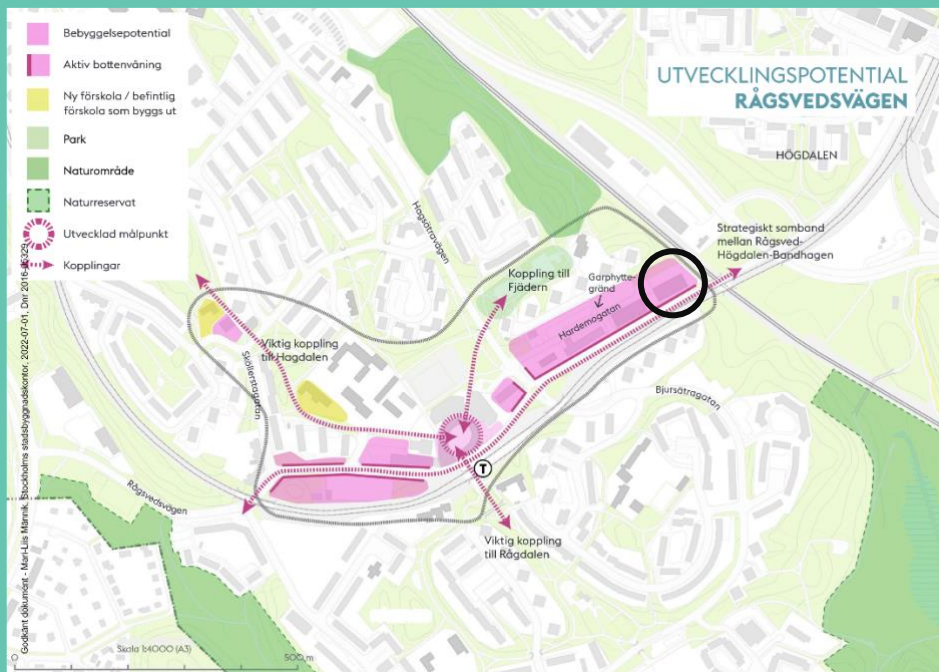


Figure 10. Map showing the development potential in Rågsved (mosque location circled in black by author). Source: (Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier 2022:23)


In an interview (2023) with two imams from the Islamic centre in Rågsved, they confirmed what was mentioned in the analysis by Nyréns. The imams underscored the mosque's role as an important meeting place and attraction point for visitors. One person they mentioned for example expressed the desire to relocate to Rågsved explicitly because the presence of the mosque there. The imams stated that the majority of mosque goers who visit during weekdays are local men from the area. Women on the other hand, do not usually go to the mosque daily. However, on Fridays and special celebrations, the mosque witnesses an influx of visitors, men and women, that would travel from neighbouring municipalities to attend the prayers. One of the imams showed me around the mosque, keen on demonstrating the quality of the facility and pointing out the newly imported carpeted floors from Türkiye (see fig. 11). The imams highlighted their good relationship with other religious civil society organizations in the area, and the proactive role they play in the community (ibid). When I went to the mosque, only a few people were there initially, however as the interview came to an end, it was almost prayer time and a flock of visitors started to fill the place.



Figure 11. A picture showing the interior of the mosque in Rågsved.

The imams (Interview by author 2023) explained that they had an agreement with the local politicians before the last parliamentary elections to find a new place for the mosque. However, after the breakout of the Covid 19 pandemic in 2020, things slowed down. Today the mosque is hosted in a rented space and located in the commercial business area next to Rågsvedsvägen road. Even though the plot was proposed to be developed, the landowner, of Swedish background, did not want to collaborate, according to one of the imams. The exterior façade and the overall look of the mosque is hardly inviting (see fig 12 -14). One resident (Interview by author 2023) expressed the difficulty in finding the place, stressing that it needs to gain more visibility for walkers-by.

My experience going to mosque was similar. I found the industrial atmosphere to the place to be unattractive and to some extent, not safe. The large area designated to parking added to the feeling, not to mention its location beside Rågsved-road. I could understand why women do not visit more often. However, after staying in surrounding area for a while to observe, I found several people, probably working nearby, taking a break to stand in the shade or sit on the side of the street. It is thus clear there is a need to strengthen the social and cultural values found in the place, which is in fact one of the goals of the area plan proposal. However, as per the European Landscape Convention, the plan also should cater to all people's needs and seek not to remove existing values in the process as it directly affects their quality of life and well-being (Jones 2007).



"If no one tells you there's a mosque there, you'll not know".

-Resident, 2023



Figure 12. Image showing the building that includes the mosque in Rågsved.



Figure 13. Image showing surrounding environment of Islamic centre in Rågsved.



Figure 14. Image showing meeting of the buildings with the adjacent road.

Nyréns' cultural life analysis also discusses the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra (*Kulturlivsanalys Hagsätra-Rågsved* 2021:72). The church has existed in the area since 1995 and is considered an important meeting place that attract visitors of Ethiopian and Eritrean background from all over Sweden (ibid). Since 2004, they have had their own building in Hagsätra (see fig. 15). However, it can no longer accommodate their growing number of visitors (ibid). The church's needs have been listened to, as there is in fact a plan for a new church next to today's location according to the cultural life analysis report (ibid). However, in the area plan of Hagsätra-Rågsved, it is not mentioned specifically (see fig. 16).



Figure 15. Image showing the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra.

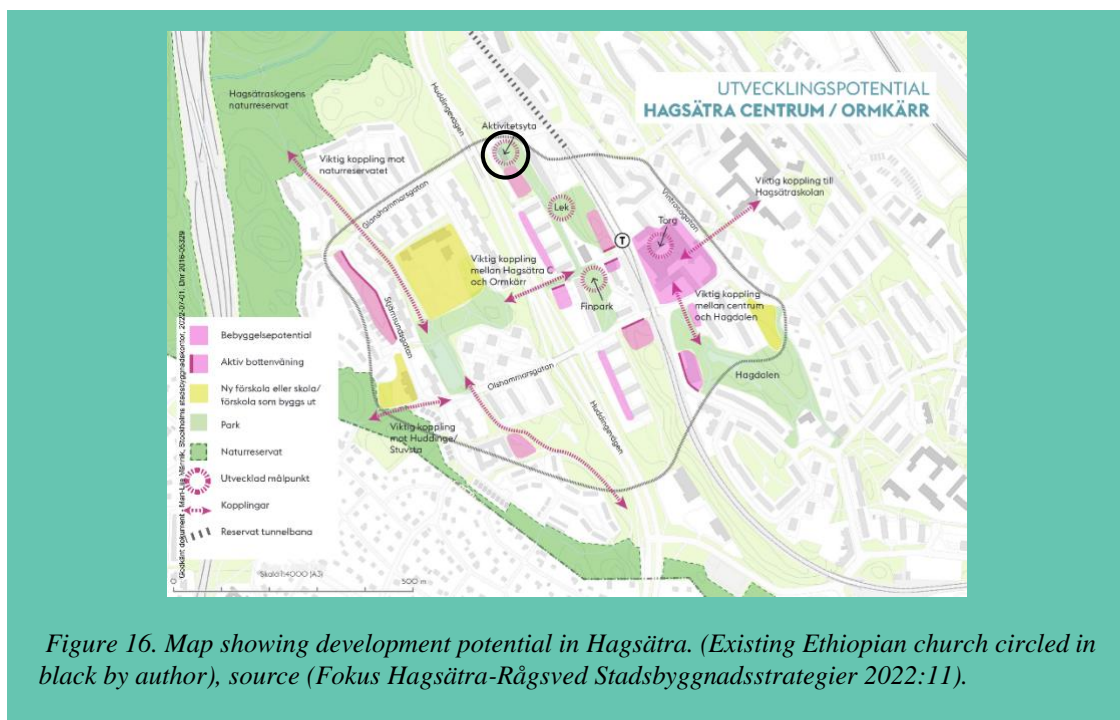


Figure 16. Map showing development potential in Hagsätra. (Existing Ethiopian church circled in black by author), source (*Fokus Hagsätra-Rågsved Stadsbyggnadsstrategier* 2022:11).

In my visit, I interviewed four people from the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra including the vice chairman, a secretary and two community members. They mirrored the imams' a sense of pride towards their cooperation and their role in providing services to the community and the migrant newcomers (2023). One community member of the Ethiopian church stressed the importance of coming together as a community despite the differences of backgrounds and beliefs (ibid). They also provided me with a brochure emphasising the religious community's collaboration (see fig.17).



Figure 17. Photographs of the brochure illustrating the religious community's unity.

The interview mirrored the information provided by the cultural life analysis report. The main take away that should be stressed is that the Ethiopian church is considered a significant meeting place among its visitors that provide meaningful cultural and social values to the area. The church receives between 200 and 300 visitors during Sunday prayers and about 600 on special holidays, which are conducted in a larger out-door area according to the interviewees (see fig 18 & 19). The notion of meeting place was also confirmed by my field observations and other interviews with residents. As I was conducting the interview in the church, I noticed a number of members of the community sat in the kitchen/café area talking and eating, while others were cleaning. Two of the residents I interviewed later mentioned their intention to join the Ethiopian church for the social network it provides as well as for the children to learn their parents' mother tongue.



Figure 18. A picture showing the indoor praying area of the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra.



Figure 19. Image showing people attending a celebration in the outdoors area of the Ethiopian church in Hagsätra (Medhanealem church, 2021)

Other physical structures linked to migrant practices I found in the area were mentioned frequently in my interviews with local residents. Several residents shared that their favourite activity includes buying halal barbeque meat from Amouris or falafel from Amo, and freshly baked bread from Dimas, then heading to the park for spending time with family or meeting friends. These shops in addition to the barber shop were mentioned repeatedly by both residents and visitors. In fact, almost all the area visitors who were interviewed were there to visit these specific shops. These urban interventions reflect the agency of migrant groups and their ability to provide new meaning to the landscape and thus contribute to the well-being of their peers.



Figure 20. Image showing Amouris and Dimas shops that are run by migrants.



Figure 21. Image showing vegetable display in Amouris grocery store.

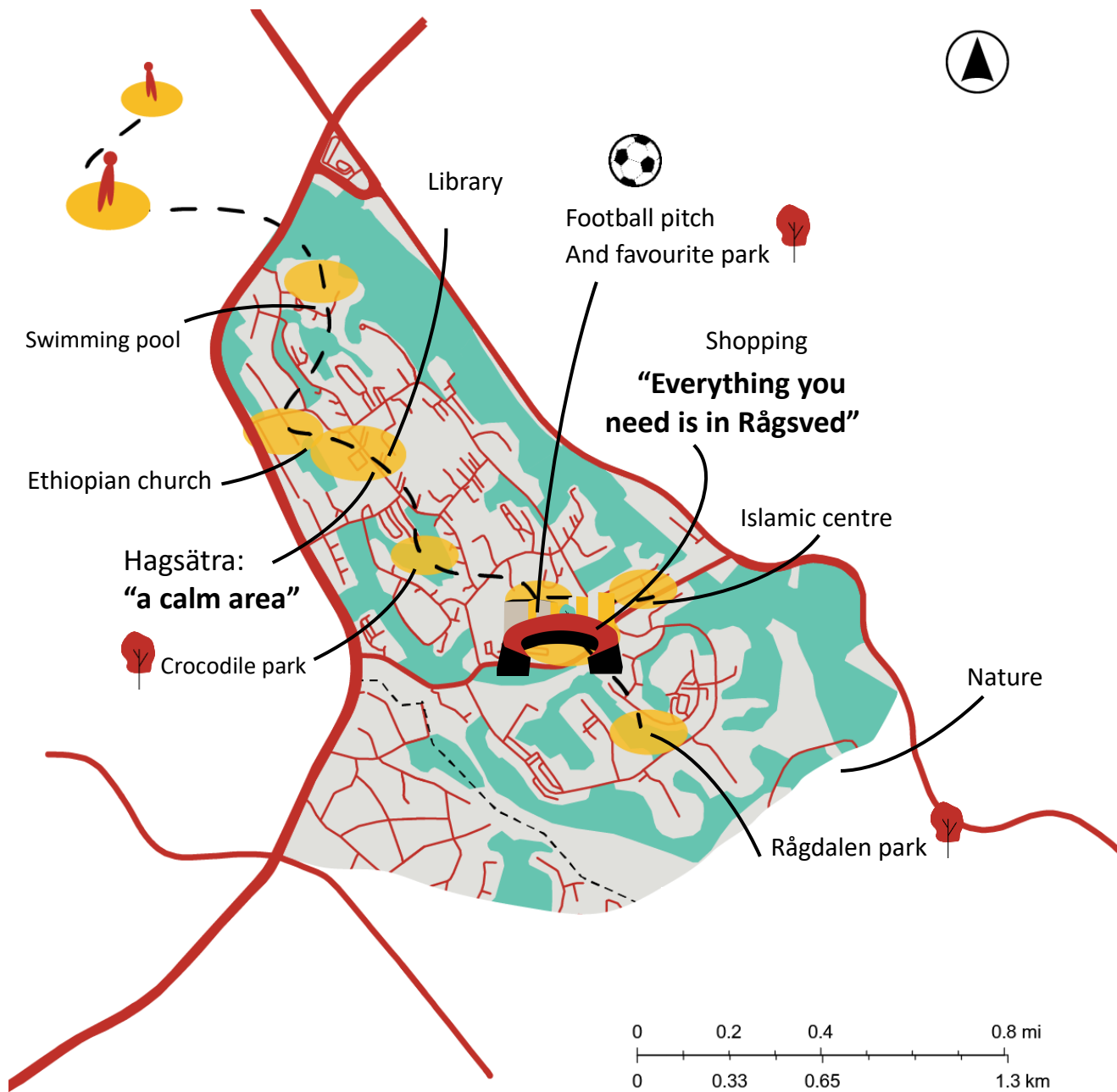



Figure 22. Illustration showing some of migrant perceptions and favourite places in Hagsätra-Rågsved according to the interviews with residents. Basemap data © Lanmäteriet, additions by author.

4.3.3 Area plan reactions and barriers to participation

Most of the interviewees with residents expressed positive reactions towards the new development plans, describing them with words such as “exciting” and “interesting”. The residents were generally looking forward to seeing changes and new opportunities happening in their area. A few were especially interested when hearing about the plan to develop new student housing. Others were more interested in the new preschools and shops that will open up in the bottom floors of the new buildings. To them, the new area plan insinuates that their needs received attention from public authorities.


However, some residents questioned that the area plan considers their best interest. For example, many doubted that the new residential developments are within their affordance limits. The residents expressed frustration towards their economic ability to use the outcome of the development plans.

Excluding the interviewees that are part of the Ethiopian church and mosque community, none of the interviewees from residents participated in any of the participatory events initiated by the city planning office in Hagsåtra-Rågsved. Even though almost half have heard of the plans, their reasoning for not participating can be described as lack of trust towards authorities. Some felt that even though they became attached to the area, it was still not their “place”. This experience was most prevalent among recent asylum seekers as their rental contracts only last for five years, and soon their contract period ends and the hunt for a new one will begin. To them, participating in planning processes was stated to be their last concern.



“But they only build expensive houses (..) No one can afford to live in these places here”.

-Resident, 2023



They already know that many people don't want expensive rents, but they don't care, they build, and they raise the prices of everything, no matter what we say, it doesn't matter [Own translation from Swedish].

-Resident, 2023

Most attributed not participating to their work schedule and busy lifestyle, however, they seem not to have the knowledge of the process, even those who have lived in Sweden for more than 20 years. Some expressed that they thought it would require taking a day off of work, or that participating in the process can take a week. Several mentioned language barriers and lack of advertisement. One couple speculated the lack of participation is probably due to not having direct contact with the city planners which arguably strengthens the notion of top-down planning and dehumanises planners in the eyes of the residents. Participatory planning should thus prioritize increased communications with migrant groups and explore effective methods to reach them. Jones (2007:618) highlights this when noting that “Interaction can facilitate cooperation by creating trust”. In doing so, migrant participation can arguably increase which can lead to achieving a truly “genuine” participation.



One interviewee who works and resides in the area shared an insight into why many minorities do not participate in the democratic processes saying that there is lack of representation in the government. However he condemned this type of thinking saying that “we should empower those who want to support the minorities”. Arguably, many of the interviewees do not seem to distinguish between governmental politics and municipal processes and question their intentions towards them especially under the current increasingly polarised political climate. However, the notion is not farfetched from the truth, because it is in the end political will that drives the plans and make budgetary decisions. It is thus important to look at the landscape from a political point of view in order to prioritize how the city’s resources are spent in a way that empowers the marginalized groups and thus increases the legitimacy of the participatory process (Jones 2007).

In conclusion, the area plan of Hagsätra-Rågsved does not provide enough information to accurately measure if migrants’ needs are taken into consideration. It is further not clear how the different investigations were used and which and whose needs are incorporated. In addition to limited communication with migrants, lack of knowledge of the processes was another major finding in terms of barriers to participation. Migrants mostly showed positive reactions towards the area plan, while some were wary of the potential unaffordable new housing plans.



Figure 23. Word cloud diagram showing expressed needs by residents. [Created in NVivo]



Figure 24. Word cloud diagram showing Area Plan perceptions of migrants. [Created in NVivo]



Figure 25. Word cloud showing daily lives of migrants. [Created in NVivo]

5. Conclusion

I have throughout the research for this thesis attempted to understand the intricate interplay between urban planning ideals, their practical application, and the lived experiences of those directly impacted by them. By analysing the empirical material, including planning documents, interviews and observations, I was able to pinpoint possible gaps between the ideals of participatory planning processes and their actual results. This chapter encompasses these gaps and explicitly detail in which way they are similar to their theoretical ideal and in which way they are not. A right to the city approach enabled me to practically identify key issues that can be developed into strategies for future inclusive planning processes, which is explored in more detail in the discussion chapter. Those key issues were identified upon analysing the empirical material and answering the research questions. In the following I present and respond to each of the research questions explored in this research. The study conclusion underscores the importance of bridging the gap between theory and practice in the pursuit of more inclusive and participatory urban development processes.

RQ1: How does the municipality of Stockholm understand the concepts of social inclusion and participation in planning in comparison with their theoretical counterparts in the scholarly literature?

Upon analyzing the comprehensive plan of Stockholm, I found that the theoretical ideals of social inclusion and participation are to a large extent similar. The comprehensive plan encompasses the notion of social inclusion by first, its intentional goal to spatially redistribute material sources and opportunities to combat segregation such as education, affordable housing, work opportunities and cultural activities, which also feeds into the notion of spatial justice. Second, the CP recognized the diversity of the population and the significance of group differentiation in the planning process to cater to their different needs for spaces and activities. Third, the CP acknowledges the power imbalance between the different social groups in Swedish society and promotes tools to ensure their inclusion in the participatory processes.

One gap is identified between the theoretical ideal of social inclusion and how it is phrased in the CP regarding migrant groups. The CP names the vulnerable groups

including migrants, children, and people with disability, but only specifies children and disability in the frame of rights as issued by UN conventions. However, there is no mention of migrants' rights in participatory planning despite them being painted in the CP as socially and spatially segregated. I would therefore argue for the need to discuss migrants in the frame of justice and rights. Similar to Susan Fainstein's argument in *the just city*, I contend changing the rhetoric in the city planning discourse from visions to social and urban justice issues can lead to a more effective outcome for an inclusive urban planning process. This is especially important in the context of migrants and different marginalized groups that are often seldom represented.

The concept of participation is discussed in the CP which brings up several points that are similar to its equivalent in the literature. The CP recognizes participation as a democratic process and human rights issue. The CP sheds light on underrepresentation challenges and calls for improving dialogue methods to reach underrepresented groups including children, young people and others. It also highlights the importance of incorporating local knowledge to the planning process to achieve social inclusion. The CP further emphasizes the importance of an on-going collaborative and communicative participatory process that encompasses different types of stakeholders. This is especially important to promote social inclusion and counteract socio-spatial and economic segregation that have affected its mixed population including migrants. Participatory processes are reflective and encourage re-evaluation of the tools and methods used.

Two main differences between the concept of participation in theory and the CP are identified. First, the CP mentions the effected underrepresented groups in participatory process implies recognition of unbalanced power dynamics, however it lacks the consideration of the broader political context in which spatial transformation occurs and its impact on the process. An awareness of the political context can provide insight on who's needs require empowering in participatory processes, which in turn achieves urban justice. Second, the CP does not mention the repercussions of failing to incorporate marginalized groups' perceptions and needs in the participatory process. Such failure would impact the marginalized groups' quality of life in society, as scholars have concluded, and compromise the legitimacy of the democratic participatory process, rendering it as non-participatory.

RQ2: How is this understanding reflected in development projects in Hagsätra-Rågsved?

The area planning documents of Focus Hagsätra-Rågsved successfully encompasses the ideals of social inclusion and participation in some parts while it fails in others.

Theoretically, the area plan of Hagsätra-Rågsved follows the notions of social inclusion and participation as expressed in the comprehensive plan. The area plan encompasses an intentional redistribution of material resources and opportunities such as housing, education, workplaces, and cultural and commercial activities, which in turn can lead to achieving spatial justice, as argued by Soja. Additionally, the area plan is based on investigating local needs early on in the process and incorporating them into the proposal. The area plan is based on an on-going collaboration with different stakeholders such as the district administration and other technical experts including traffic planners and landscape architects. This in addition to utilizing various participatory methods to reach the residents of the area, including a digital survey, focus group meetings, workshops aimed at children, and a consultation meeting at the site. Using different methods to reach underrepresented groups implies an intentional act to achieve an inclusive participatory process. Moreover the area plan encourages land developers to work with social values in focus, for instance demanding the developers to hire locals during the building process. One of land development companies working in the area is Sveafastigheter. The company's housing projects aim to contribute to the area plan's social goals by encompassing the needs of financially struggling families through focus group meetings and collaborating with experts. In doing so, it implies a directed focus to balance the current power structures in society.

However, in practice, migrant groups' participation was limited despite the city's efforts and despite the fact that they compose 62 percent and 72 percent of the population of Hagsätra and Rågsved respectively. This does not demonstrate a power-balanced process, which in turn would lead to questioning the legitimacy of the participatory process. Moreover, the area plan proposal does not give information regarding which and who's needs were incorporated in the proposal. It does not show if there was special sensitivity towards specific migrant groups' needs in the area.

Based on interviews with civil society organizations and the cultural life analysis report of the area, a new Ethiopian church is planned to replace the current one to encompass its growing number of visitors. This suggests the incorporation of the needs of one migrant group and therefore facilitating social inclusion. However, the area plan proposes redeveloping the plot where the Rågsved mosque is situated into another use without proposing an alternative location for it. In doing so, it removes a cultural activity that is considered an important meeting place among its visitors.

This is despite the directions of Stockholm's building guide which discourages redevelopment of cultural activities. Removing an existing cultural value can in turn negatively affect the quality of life of the group. Following the European Landscape convention, I argue that recognizing the diversity of the city's residents, and acknowledging the importance of the existing values, they attach to the places they inhabit, can promote social and spatial justice. However, I also recognize that building mosques is a highly political issue, especially in the current political climate in Sweden and in Europe in general. As argued by Schierup and Ålund on the topic of Swedish exceptionalism, the act of excluding migrant groups from participatory processes further exacerbates the urban segregation currently facing Swedish cities.

RQ3: How are migrant groups in Hagsätra-Rågsved experiencing ongoing development projects in their area and what are the barriers to participation they face?

Half of the residents I interviewed stated that they did not hear about ongoing development projects. While the other half did hear about it, they did not show knowledge of what the area plan entails. After providing the residents with a brief description on its details, most showed positive reactions towards the new area plan especially towards development of student housing and preschools. However some expressed doubt towards certain aspects of the plan such as affordable housing and including different types of development other than housing.

The main barriers to participation found in the analysis include a lack of knowledge of the participatory processes and what it requires. For instance, some thought it would require days of their time. Another finding is lack of trust towards public authorities in general. This feeling is magnified by the lack of direct communication with residents. Therefore I argue that increasing the interaction between planning practitioners and underrepresented groups can facilitate building trust and promote inclusive participatory processes, similar to what Anna Zachrisson and Jones highlight in their research. Another major finding is language barriers. The city of Stockholm only allows publications in Swedish and English, which does not reflect its mixed population and its proclaimed inclusive vision.

In my interviews with residents of migrant backgrounds, visitors and workers, I also uncovered their perceptions towards their immediate landscape, their everyday life, their needs and, most importantly, how their past experiences and knowledge impact their perceptions and emotional connection to the study area today. The analysis demonstrated that migrant groups generally reflected a strong sense of belonging to their area. This is evident in their pride when they mention that best football players are from the area, or that Rågsved fulfil all their shopping needs.

This was also clear when I spoke to several visitors who used to live in the area, but often visit for the specific shops owned by mostly migrants. These migrant urban interventions presented in shops, reflect their ability to appropriate the place and thus implies an exercised right to their city. However, other indicators showed lack of a sense of belonging to the country as a whole, which expresses a state of exclusion. A possible, but within this research unexplored explanation, could be that the current political climate where critique against Sweden's immigration policies is being increasingly normalized. The feeling of exclusion among migrants in Hagsätra-Rågsved is magnified by the recent Quraan burning demonstrations.

Together, the three research questions have explored perceptions and applications of social inclusion and participation in urban planning in Stockholm. In theory, Stockholm municipality's understanding of these concepts aligns with their respective scholarly ideals, particularly highlighting the equitable redistribution of resources, the recognition of diversity, and the promotion of participatory processes. However, practical challenges, primarily limited participation by migrant groups and transparency concerns, highlight the need for improvements. This thesis underscores the importance of nurturing trust between key stakeholders through improved outreach initiatives, addressing language barriers, as well as fostering inclusive dialogue. Finally, aiming to shed light on underrepresented groups in urban planning, this thesis hopes to contribute to ultimately achieving a more socially and spatially just urban planning practice.

6. Discussion

This section provides a brief discussion of different aspects of the present study. Here I explore some reflections on the methods used, findings of the study and its limitations. I also present some reflections on how this study can contribute to the planning practice as well as potential further studies on the research topic.

6.1 Methods

In my experience cultural barriers played a role when approaching and interviewing the residents. I found it much easier to interview people who share somewhat similar language or culture, such as people from Arabic speaking countries, Africa and south-east Asia. Approaching people from other parts in Asia, or Latin America was a much harder task. Establishing trust based on the assumption of mutual understanding was key to make sure I receive genuine reactions to my questions. This highlights the importance of representation, not only as an outcome of participation but as a prerequisite among practitioners to attain inclusive planning processes.

On another note, there is one data collection method I intended to use, however refrained as it did not yield an outcome relevant to this study. I attended two separate forums in Stockholm on urban planning with the title “inclusion” of different scale and audience. The topics, although insightful, did not include migrants. The discussions were heavily focused on kids, followed by women, and briefly, people with disability. Invisibility of migrant therefore does not only exist in the material form but also in dialogue among planning practitioners.

6.2 Findings

The empirical material provides insights into the challenges of achieving inclusive participatory planning in Stockholm municipality, with a particular focus on migrant groups. Although theoretically the ideals of social inclusion and participation can be traced in the planning documents, several discrepancies were identified when looking at their practical implementation. For instance, the comprehensive plan recognizes the heterogeneity of its residents, while at the same

time, the city of Stockholm limits its publications to Swedish and English. Another example is that the comprehensive plan emphasizes the importance of inclusion and highlights the problems of segregation at the same time as the representation of migrant groups is still limited, as shown in the case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved.

As urban theories suggest and following the research questions, I realized that the complexities of the exclusion problem and that it may not be manageable at the municipal level but may rather be attributed to the political will on the national level. However, the findings also revealed other shortcomings that may be manageable within municipal planning. The current participation processes appear to put emphasis on the methods as an end rather than as a means to achieve the desired inclusive planning. These shortcomings can largely be traced to the way inclusion visions are formulated in the comprehensive plan of Stockholm. They lack a clear definition of the term and the consequences in case of non-participation. As urban theories suggest, participation is inherently inclusive. However, if the process is not representative or reflective of the needs of minority groups, it cannot still be counted as participation. Shifting the focus to emphasise the outcome of the democratic process can contribute to inclusive participation. I argue that using urban justice theories as a basis for planning can facilitate that shift as they explicitly incorporate the ideals of inclusion.

6.3 Study limitations

The topic of inclusion is complex and multi-layered. To further enhance the depth of this study, conducting additional in-depth interviews with both residents and planning practitioners, combined with an exploration of additional planning documents, would have brought additional insights into the problem at hand. Furthermore, the study's time limitations did not permit a comprehensive analysis of the political dimensions which would have provided a more thorough understanding of social inclusion and participation challenges in the Swedish context.

Theoretically, the study focuses on social inclusion and participation, however the scope of the study did not permit a thorough study of *migrant* as a theoretical concept about which there is a comprehensive literature. I also acknowledge the complexity of using the term *migrant* in practice and the surrounding political and cultural debates in the Swedish context, this thesis however does not engage with such topic due to time limitations.

Furthermore, upon reflection on the findings, I found that using the term migrant has its own limitations. To elaborate, the outcomes of this thesis that explore inclusion and participation barriers do not exclusively relate to migrant groups but can also apply for other minority groups in Sweden and might reproduce the dynamics of exclusion. For example, implying that a mosque is a migrant practice

may inadvertently exclude Swedish Muslims. Using the term migrant therefore might have been too broad of a term, however it also uncovered the unique relations formed among the diverse migrant groups such as, in the case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved.

6.4 Further research

This study mainly expresses the need to frame urban challenges as a justice issue to ensure migrant inclusion in participatory practices. Developing practical participation methods based on social and urban justice theories is needed to facilitate the ideal of more inclusive participation. On a different note, this study does not explore barriers to participation in terms of age-groups. The empirical data, however, did bring to light the challenges related to the involvement of teenagers in planning processes, a topic that warrants further investigation.

Furthermore, this study sees the importance of identifying migrants as one among other marginalized groups to effectively incorporate their values and needs in participatory planning processes. However, as the reviewed literature suggest, the term *migrant* is often stigmatized in the Swedish political discourse. Therefore, further research is needed to explore methods and a suitable terminology that helps voice the needs of this marginalized group in a respectful way to effectively reach the desired inclusion in Swedish participatory planning.

6.5 Contribution to the planning practice

This study contributes to highlighting the importance of including underrepresented social groups in contemporary urban planning practice. It hopes to inspire planning practitioners to re-examine current approaches to foster a more inclusive and just urban planning process. Furthermore, this research underscores the value of comparative analysis, particularly when it comes to juxtaposing social phenomena as they appear in theoretical discourse with how they are manifested in practice. Based on the conclusions and the planning theories reviewed on socio-spatial justice, inclusion and participation I make the following recommendations:

- Planning practitioners can extend the current discussions surrounding social inclusion beyond children, women and people with disabilities to actively bring migrant groups' inclusion into the conversation.
- Emphasising the outcome and the legitimacy of participation.
- Acknowledging the existing power structures in society and the political aspect of urban transformation processes and its implications on the marginalized groups' participation in the planning processes.

- Seeking to rebalance the current power structures by catering to both the spatial and social aspects of just and equitable urban planning processes.
 - Intentionally redistribute material resources spatially across the city. The case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved shows there is a need for more work and recreation opportunities in the area.
 - Acknowledging the heterogeneity of society and actively work towards removing exclusion mechanisms such as language limitations.
 - Recognizing that people make the places they inhabit, by extending the capacity of place analysis to include how people use said places and the values they give them, and not only rely on analysing the physical aspects of places i.e. what is there and what is not. This presents a clearer image of the area values important to different groups and provides indications on who and what values to prioritize in planning.
 - Putting the effort into devising methods that reflect its diverse inhabitants. The study shows that direct contact and practical attending to the language barriers by changing the city's policy to incorporate more languages and employing experts of foreign backgrounds. This in turn can lead to building trust with underrepresented groups and by that increase participation.
 - Placing more weight towards the needs of marginalized groups of society against the majority. Empowering the powerless can help rebalance the power structures in society. This can be achieved through adding values that benefit marginalized groups and-/or avoiding taking away such values.

- Increasing the level of visibility of marginalized groups' practices and needs in the planning documents in addition to increasing transparency by showing who's needs and values are incorporated and who's needs are not and what were these decisions based on.

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Popular science summary

This thesis aims to examine potential differences between the theoretical ideals of social inclusion and public participation and their implementation in the urban planning practices in Stockholm through a *right to the city* approach.

The goal is to explore potential barriers to inclusive participation while shedding particular light on the experiences and daily lives of migrant groups in a case study of Hagsätra-Rågsved. I do so through exploring three levels of city planning namely, municipal, local district and community levels.

Key findings

- Underrepresentation of migrant groups and their lack of knowledge of participation processes reflects power imbalance and highlights the need for improvements.
- Direct contact with inhabitants and addressing language barriers can foster trust and facilitate inclusive participation.
- Shifting the focus towards urban justice issues can provide solid basis towards achieving inclusion.

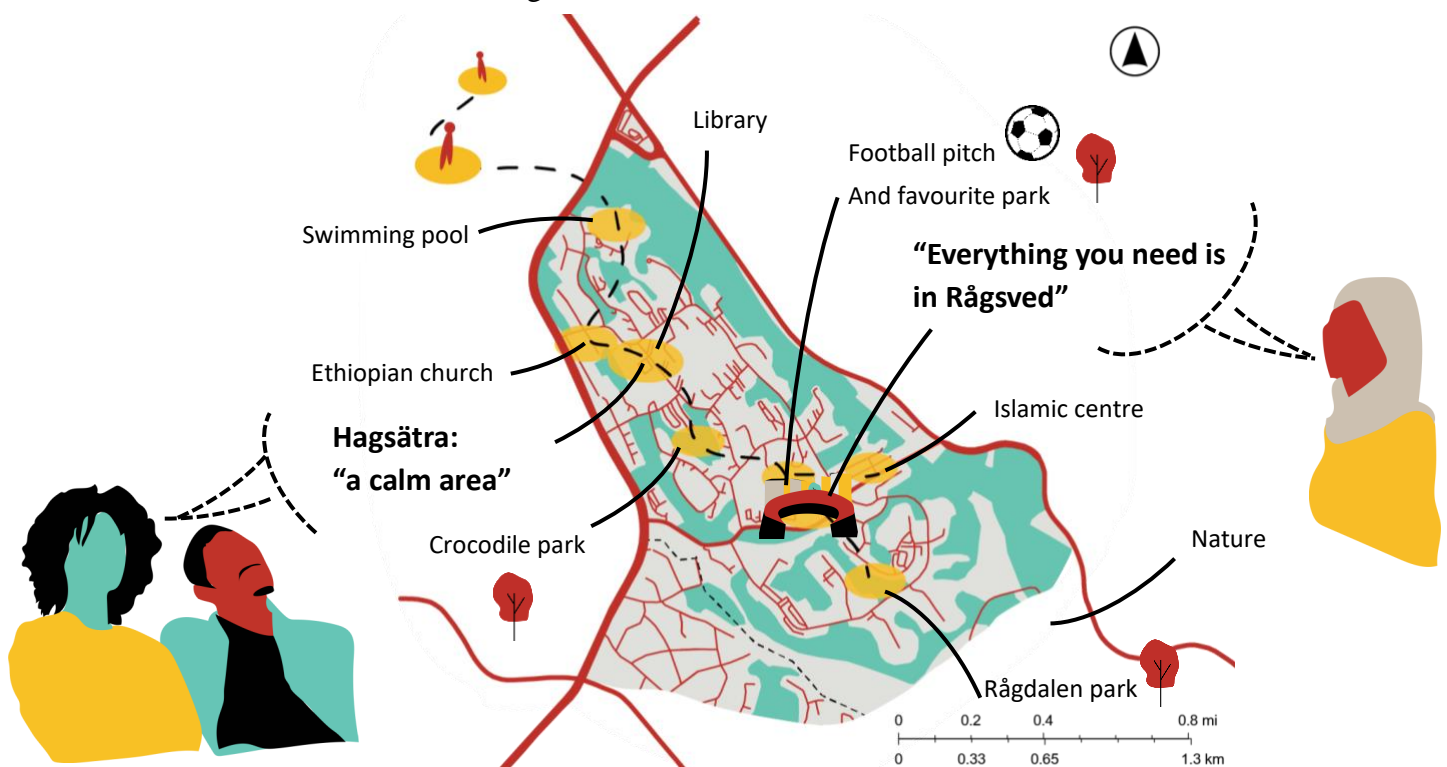


Illustration showing migrant perceptions and favourite places in Hagsätra-Rågsved.

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Appendix 1

Structured questions for the inhabitants/business owners in Rågsved

- Why did you choose to live in Rågsved?
- What are your favourite places in Rågsved where you like to hang out in your free time? Why?
- Where do you like to take walks in Rågsved?
- Which places do you like to avoid? Why?
- What do you wish you can do in Rågsved but can't?
- What is missing?
- Have you read about the new development plans? What do you like about it? What don't you like about it?

Semi-structured questions for the city planners

- Rågsved is picked out as one of the focus areas in the Comprehensive plan (ÖP), how do you, as a city planner, start to tackle such project? What is the starting point?
- What social values (sociala värden) does the development proposal of Rågsved add?
- Area planning focuses on local needs, what are some of the needs considered? and who's needs is it?
- The Comprehensive plan focuses on improving dialogue with 3 groups namely children, people with disabilities and migrant groups, how is that reflected in the plan of Rågsved?
- What are some of the challenges you faced during the process?
- Who are the main stakeholders (aktörer)? How do you deal with potential conflicts of interest? What do you prioritize and how do you prioritize?
- How did the residents react to the projects? Is there something that you missed?
- The City Plan is centred around social issues, such as urban segregation, how did you work with that problem in the project?
- Are the new housing developments rentals or owned (hyresrätter eller bostadsrätter)?

- How do you think Stockholm stad can tackle urban segregation in terms of access to affordable housing, education, and employment?
- How does the Rågsved plan tackle the issue of safety (trygghet) in the area?
- Many of the migrants I interviewed expressed that they didn't feel a sense of belonging in Rågsved/Sweden. How can urban planning contribute to this?

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