

Addressing social sustainability through everyday life: Experience from a pilot study in four Nordic city-regions

Richard Langlais, Christian Dymén, Aslı Tepecik Diş, Liisa Perjo & Veronique Larsson

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Nordregio
P.O. Box 1658
SE-111 86 Stockholm, Sweden
nordregio@nordregio.se
www.nordregio.se
www.norden.org

Analyses and text: Richard Langlais, Christian Dymén,
Aslı Tepecik Diş, Liisa Perjo & Veronique Larsson

Cover photo: Richard Langlais. This photo illustrates the way our rapidly changing society is mixing up ordinary types and categories of traditional planning, as well as notions of work, location, place, zoning and everyday life.

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Stockholm, Sweden, 2017

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Preface

This working paper has been written within the scope of the Nordic Council of Ministers' activities as part of the initiative by Working Group 4 under the Nordic Committee of Senior Officials for Regional Policy, Nordic working group for green growth – sustainable urban regions (2013–2016). In 2014, the Working Group commissioned Nordregio to prepare an overview of concepts and policies in relation to green growth and spatial planning in the Nordic countries; that resulted in a working paper titled, *Green Growth and Spatial Planning in the Nordic City-Regions: An Overview of Concepts and Policies*, which concluded that the social dimensions of sustainability are often excluded in green growth strategies. A further conclusion was that adoption of an everyday life perspective in planning

could help “reintroduce” social dimensions into green growth and sustainability discourse. In response, the Nordic Working Group commissioned Nordregio to investigate whether everyday life issues are considered in Nordic city-region planning and, if so, how they are integrated. The findings from that research are presented in this working paper.

The authors would like to thank the representatives of the Working Group, as well as Nordregio's Director, Kjell Nilsson, and Senior Research Fellow, Lukas Smas, who provided valuable input to earlier draft versions of this working paper.

Norlife Project Team members,
Stockholm, December 2016

Summary

Increasing globalization, climate change and shifting demographics are creating a new context for discussion of development and its spatial distribution. This is a new challenge for planners and politicians, who are expected to develop and approve plans encompassing the existing built environment, new settlements and urban infrastructure, at the same time as the context rapidly shifts. This forces a re-assessment of how growth and development are envisioned in planning interventions.

Some policymakers support a major shift towards green growth, based on radical improvements in energy systems, as the new paradigm leading to sustainability. Green growth has been embraced in order to mobilize green investments and to mitigate the current economic and environmental crises. It is often criticized, however, for neglecting the effects on the everyday lives of the individuals who reside in the city-regions where green growth is envisioned. Nordic cities are not only growing, but becoming more culturally and socioeconomically diverse. In that context, the quest for green growth raises profound professional, technical, theoretical and ethical questions for planners and politicians, including implications arising from increased socio-cultural diversity and associated perspectives.

The objective of the pilot study presented here is (1) to consider whether, and if so, how, knowledge about everyday life practices of different groups of women and men are present and integrated into Nordic city-region planning; and (2) to test the usefulness, for researchers and planners, of assessing city-region planning through the eyes of everyday life theory. The research included several interviews, a workshop, and text analysis of documents concerning city-region policy and the processes of sustainable urban and regional planning. Local perspectives were scrutinized through the lens of gender, then extended to consider intersectionality. Intersectionality is a theoretical tool that attempts to foster understanding of a multiplicity of social contexts, including the different discourses of power and their implications for individuals and how they relate to their social, economic and ecological situations.

Preliminary findings indicate that although the theory of everyday life is not a highly visible and literal component of Nordic city-region planning, the four city-regions all, to varying degrees, express its philosophical inclinations. Awareness of everyday life conditions and perspectives, and consequent fundamental objectives, present particular challenges to planners, who are responding with a number of innovative practical approaches.

1. Introduction

The diverse impacts of climate change, and the financial and social risks associated with them, have become central to the worldwide growth agenda. Urban areas, through their continuous expansion and demand for yet more space and resources, are highly accountable in this regard. Along with climate change, the depletion of critical natural resources, and increasing global demand for goods and services, are challenging issues for society. For many, this has led to greater awareness of the need to move towards a more sustainable, low-carbon economy. It is increasingly essential to understand the multiple levels of complex interactions between climate change and urban development. These parallel, or mutually enmeshed, phenomena raise fundamental questions about the future, changing the way that growth, its impact and its compatibility with environmental and social objectives, is perceived. In this context, knowing how the dwellers of increasingly populated urban spaces actually inhabit and interact with those spaces is essential to effective planning.

Whether cities can provide a high quality of life for their inhabitants is an increasingly pressing question. To address that question, climate change and the notion of “limits to growth” are finally beginning to inform debate within the study and practice of spatial development. The current situation is forcing a re-assessment of how growth and development are envisaged, and of the extent and appropriateness of planning interventions (Davoudi et al., 2009). Many policymakers support and promote a major shift towards “green growth,” framing it as the new growth paradigm: offering sustaina-

bility through improved energy efficiency and radical changes in energy systems. Green growth, which is often espoused as a policy concept but not embraced, is also claimed as a way of mobilizing green investments in order to mitigate the current economic and environmental crisis, while still stimulating growth.

Specific steps towards these objectives, however, rarely take into account the microeconomic implications of the everyday practices of individuals and groups of women and men who inhabit our increasingly dense and complex spaces and structures (Jarvis et al., 2001; Tepecik Dis et al., 2014). The present pilot study sits at this juncture of contending policies. Its objectives are (1) to consider whether, and if so, how, knowledge about everyday life practices of different groups of women and men are present and integrated into Nordic city-region planning; and (2) to test the usefulness, for researchers and planners, of assessing city-region planning through the eyes of everyday life theory. Ultimately, the extent to which these approaches generate useful outcomes in the everyday lives of all urban dwellers—not just those for whom the planning work is undertaken, but even the planners themselves—will be the evidence of their success. Following this introductory section, the conceptual framework and a number of theoretical considerations are presented. With the pilot study’s contextual, technical and theoretical underpinnings in place, Section 3 takes up the main themes and objectives of the pilot study, with reflections on the way forward and suggestions for an approach to the application of everyday life perspectives in city-region planning.

2. Methodological framework: everyday life, gender and intersectionality as analytical tools

In the Nordic countries, green growth policies generally focus on attempting to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation. In the context of planning, on the other hand, urban form is often considered as explicitly connecting spatial planning with green growth. For example, policies that explicitly promote more compact cities, and thus a reduction to transportation distances, are proposed as a way to lower greenhouse gas emissions. When applied in the Nordic context, which is one of growing and increasingly diverse cities—in terms of cultures characterized by different lifestyles and socio-economic conditions—the notion of green growth raises profound professional, technical, theoretical and ethical questions for planners and politicians. In policy-making, the concept of the compact city is often framed as an important way to contribute to increasing economic, environmental and social benefits. Scrutiny of the concept's current formulation reveals a more complex interplay of factors. As an example, a substantial body of literature, including feminist literature, criticizes the prominent role of the compact city concept in the sustainable development discourse. That critique is based on research showing that compact cities do not fulfil their proponents' expectations in terms of positive economic, environmental and social consequences (Tepecik Dis et al., 2014, 12). An illustration provides another way of considering how the compact city concept is contested and, in turn, resolved. A major Swedish newspaper carried a debate, which ran for several weeks, on the role of the compact city, and especially densification, in efforts to achieve sustainability. On one side of the debate, Göran Bengtsson, a well-known professor, pointed out that gentrification, increased housing costs, social inequality, overcrowded green areas and the effects of weather extremes are the negative implications of densification. He asked why the European discourse on

polycentricity is no longer discussed. In response, Alvar Palm, an environmental economist and Patrik Andersson, co-ordinator for YIMBY Göteborg (YIMBY stands for “Yes In My Back Yard”), argued for densification's positive effects, namely attractiveness, energy efficiency, and improved public health (Bengtsson, 19 May 2014; Palm and Andersson, 27 May 2014; Bengtsson, 7 June, 2014). In other words, the most challenging task for planners may not be the identification of specific negative or positive impacts of the compact city concept, or of densification more generally, but rather evaluation of its overall influence on social, environmental and economic sustainability. Comparison of specific pros and cons relative to the imperative of overall sustainability of urban spaces may in fact prove that the concept reduces values. In the present study, a conundrum emerges when the way in which planners in the Nordic countries plan urban space is considered in practical terms. Green growth can be (and is) seen as a policy concept that mainly addresses the economic and environmental aspects of sustainability, while in parallel, and on the other hand, the social benefits of urban compactness are questioned. We are genuinely interested in knowing how, in practice, Nordic city-region spatial planning addresses the relationship between urban form, spatial planning and social dimensions of sustainability. This is especially interesting when considering that, in the earliest stages of the present study, we received indications from the project's Nordic stakeholders that even though social and everyday life dimensions of planning for sustainable development are commonly mentioned in planning discussions and processes, they tend to be invisible in the resulting concrete planning strategies and visions. This observation led to the question: are goal conflicts resolved, at least in part, by reducing the priorities of certain social dimensions of sustainability?

2.1 A middle way through contradictory views of sustainability

To address the questions raised above, a “middle way” was designed, which we hoped would allow us to see past the contradictory reception that green growth has received. That middle way was to choose the level of the city-region as the unit of enquiry. Our choice was based on the consideration that cities are not fixed entities (for example, in terms of socio-economic and commuting structures), but change rapidly in the context of their region. Given those conditions, it becomes important to understand cities in functional terms, beyond their notional administrative boundaries (Tepecik Dis et al., 2014, p 12). We understand city-region planning as being strategic spatial planning that has a focus on land-use and transport planning, and that integrates functional urban regions formed by human mobility related to socio-cultural and economic considerations. This broader scale is already embedded in the integrative nature and domain of spatial planning; it considers coordination of land use, development activity, infrastructure investment across urban areas and socio-cultural and economic activity as having the capacity to deliver on green public policy goals. As Jarvis et al. (2001) demonstrate, this implies that everyday life experiences—the ways of living, producing and consuming of individuals and households—should be included as important units of analysis in studying Nordic city-region planning documents.

2.2 The relevance of everyday life

To fill a gap in research and at the same time to provide useful guidance for planners in their work, it is necessary not only to better understand the relationship between urban form/spatial structure, spatial planning and the social dimensions of sustainability, but to do so through the complementary dimension of *everyday life theory*. Adoption of everyday life theory in spatial planning can also contribute to the discovery of various possibilities for connecting the diversity of household practices with the vision of sustainability. We considered different narratives of the city, rather than singling out the concept of the compact city as the only way to create a sustainable city. Our work with different narratives was enriched by the notion of everyday life theory as developed by Jarvis et al., and then expanded through two complementary analytical perspectives. On the one hand, our work was nuanced by searching for dimensions of intersectionality, which problematizes various identities and power relations

within and among population groups (see Section 2.3 below for more discussion of intersectionality; see also de los Reyes et al., 2005). On the other hand, this study was also inspired by an extension of gender studies; in particular by a feminist critique that encompasses spatial planning (see Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). The everyday life perspective can then be understood as the interaction between production (paid work), housing, transportation and social reproduction (child care, elderly care, grocery shopping, etc.).

2.3 A framework of analysis of “the secret life of cities”

To assess whether everyday life issues are presently considered in Nordic city-region planning and, if so, how they are integrated, we adopted an analytical framework with three main components: 1) the content and nature of everyday life theory, in light of gender and intersectionality; 2) the relation between everyday life theory and spatial development/urban form; and 3) the representation of everyday life theory in planning and methods for planning for everyday life. Even though the pilot study began with a fundamental standpoint about everyday life theory, as described below, we have made efforts in our data collection and analysis to allow for new understandings to arise. In relation to the *first component* of the analytical framework, we understand everyday life in the seminal sense of Jarvis et al. (2001), as “the secret life of cities.” That view is informed by a feminist critique of planning to represent an overly narrow understanding of people’s everyday lives. It calls for moving beyond the duality of “home–work” and pays much more attention to social reproduction as the missing component. Jarvis et al. propose that an everyday life perspective should encompass knowledge of the relationships across four main dimensions: employment, housing provision, mobility and social reproduction. The latter includes all activities that make up our lives, but that are not covered by the home–work relationship. Social reproduction, in other words, can be about unpaid work, shopping, education and recreation, along with various associated forms of transport. Jarvis et al. provide a useful foundation not only because of their conceptual deliberations, but because their main concern is: “... the fact that many people do not live close to where they work. People do have some choice over their home location, but they are constrained, to a greater or lesser extent due to income, and by a range of other factors such as housing costs and availability, travel costs and commuting time, as well as the similar considerations of others that they may share their household with”

(Jarvis et al., p 2). The issue of intersectionality is implicitly addressed in the work of Jarvis et al. However, to make it more explicit, intersectionality advances the understanding that questions of class and ethnicity influence what aspects of everyday life gain power in the corridors of spatial planning departments. An intersectional perspective helps us to understand and reflect on how the interaction of ethnicity, class and gender contributes to inequality (Tepecik Dis, et al., 2014). Social groupings and issues, in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, age and different cultural backgrounds, are often excluded from the planning process, or reduced to simple variables, or indicators, in plans and analyses (cf. Berger & Guidroz, eds, 2009; Kaijser & Kronsell, 2013, de los Reyes et al., 2005). More concretely and aptly described by Larsson and Jalakas (2008), individual- and group-dependent choices of everyday life practices are subject to restrictions that depend on factors related to, for example, gender and ethnicity/race. Women and girls may feel restricted in their everyday life choices because of fear of crime in certain public spaces; persons from ethnic minorities may feel restricted in their choice of housing because of discrimination; whereas parents are struggling, on the one hand, to perform at work and, on the other, trying to avoid their children's needing to stay "too long" at day care. (How long is "too long"? For whom?) As responses, individuals, families and groups adopt strategies to cope with restrictions related to the housing market, transport structures, the labour market and requirements related to social reproduction.

One concrete example of the usefulness of an intersectional perspective arises when it is compared to that of gender equality in the Nordic countries. Although the desire for gender equality has been making inroads, its proponents have been able to champion it without calling into question the idealisation of concepts such as economic growth, market economy and paid work. Gender equality is regarded as focusing primarily on the equal access of women to the labour market. Adopting an intersectional perspective would allow a more thorough and critical examination of gender, class and ethnic inequality (de los Reyes et al., 2005).

In relation to the *second component* of the analytical framework, and similarly to our reflection in the Introduction, above, that concepts such as green growth and the compact city can be understood as missing the social dimensions of sustainability, Jarvis, et al., argue that planning the compact city as an antidote to urban sustainability is problematic, and even simplistic. Firstly, the notion of the compact city takes for granted a particular lifestyle, which is based on a particular home-

work relationship. Secondly, the compact city model is based on assumptions of daily radial commuting and that people use local shops and services, at the same time as it maintains an asocial notion of the household. Such an asocial notion derives, in other words, from the understanding that members of households live their everyday lives in their immediate neighbourhoods. Thirdly, the compact city template is not based on a credible model of human interaction (ibid.).

When scrutinising the state of the art regarding the understanding of the compact city, the picture becomes more complex. In addition to Jarvis, et al., a substantial body of research has criticised the prominent role of the compact city in the sustainable development discourse, since current research shows that compact cities do not fulfil the expectations ascribed to them in the policy debate, in terms of positive economic, environmental and social consequences. When it comes to social consequences, for instance, it has been noted that the elevated pollution levels of densely-built environments can have an impact on the health of their residents and lead to a lower quality of life. On the other hand, when an existing built environment undergoes retrofitting, the resulting houses can be more expensive, which in turn can increase the vulnerability of those who are more economically disadvantaged.

Burton (2000), for example, finds that social equity is more often than not affected negatively by urban compactness (as cited in Neuman, 2005). Related to the second issue above, decreasing the need to travel is often given as a major positive environmental benefit of compact cities, but this has been debated by, for example, Breheny (1992) and Williams et al. (2000), who argue that while short trips for local activities might decrease, travel distances for those seeking specialized employment, unique shopping and so on, can be independent of urban density (as cited in Neuman, 2005). The issue of social equity can be accentuated even further: "The common pattern is that cities are arranged so that it is easiest for the rich to get around in them; the irony is that they have the greatest resources to overcome difficulties, yet they have least need to draw upon them" (Jarvis et al., 2001, p. 161). To illustrate from the Nordic countries, a study from Copenhagen shows that density, as such, makes a very minor contribution to sustainability, and this is heavily dependent on historic, economic and demographic differences in the city (Jensen et al., 2011).

There is reason to suspect that it is crucial to consider factors related to gender and intersectionality. In other words, given that physical changes, in interaction with collective structures, have the potential to con-

tribute to sustainability (Jensen et al., 2011), considering gendered and intersectional aspects of everyday life of people ought to be crucial.

In relation to the *third component* of the analytical framework the question of methodology is important and an intrinsic element of everyday life theory. As a theory, everyday life is explicit about the need for a particular way of working, as the content and operative principle of the process of planning. More specifically, in the studies underlying the work by Jarvis, et al., and synthesized in their book, *The Secret Life of Cities*, different forms of interviews, of both personal and ethnographic character, with individuals and representatives of households, are a prominent method. The emphasis was on large numbers of qualitative interviews, or, in other words, quantitatively qualitative approaches. To put it in everyday terms, lots of knowledge about a lot of people in many locations was required.

Based on the three components presented above, and to be able to address the pilot study's two objectives we have developed a question framework to apply in the investigated Nordic city-regions¹⁾. How the selection of city-regions was done and how the question framework is applied can be read about in the next section.

Nonetheless, before moving on, we want to emphasise that, in the following, the term everyday life theory is used whenever we explicitly refer to the everyday life perspective developed primarily by Jarvis et al. When the term an everyday life perspective or everyday life issues or similar are used, we refer to any notions developed by planners, to address people's everyday lives.

2.4 Characteristics for selecting the cases

Two characteristics of this study imposed particular conditions on the selection of cases. The first characteristic was the fact that the study's first objective was to *consider whether, and if so, how, knowledge about everyday life practices of different groups of women and men are present and integrated into Nordic city-region planning*. That ambition is in keeping with the mandate ascribed to it by the Nordic Working Group on Green Growth—Sustainable Urban Regions, which is especially concerned to provide practical assistance to planners throughout the Nordic countries.

That first characteristic—the emphasis on the practical side of planning work—meant, in turn, that direct empirical observations would need to form the basis for the new practical knowledge that was eventually to

be of use to planners. Planners, by definition, usually work in planning departments. Since the focus of the pilot study was on the planning of city-regions, then, by inference, it was necessary to observe planners in planning departments that were busy with planning city-regions. This called for a selection of city-regions. Once selected, contact with planners in planning departments would have to be made, in order to request interviews with them. The analysis of spatial plans through the question framework (see Section 2.3) would provide the primary empirical material, although supplemented by interviews with responsible planners (8 interviews and 1 workshop). The supplemented interviews would provide us with relevant insight on issues that are not directly stated in the spatial plans.

The second characteristic is related to the pilot study's second objective, *to test the usefulness, for researchers and planners, of assessing city-region planning through the eyes of everyday life theory*. In order to understand how to advise especially planners on how to use everyday life theory in their own work, it was first necessary to know more about how planners already work, so that a comparison with the theory could be performed and so that the city-regions can learn from each other. This would then entail a prescriptive, almost therapeutic approach, to borrow medical terminology, to implementing everyday life theory. This second characteristic, clearly, complements and is indeed embedded in the first characteristic, which in turn provides a satisfyingly consistent approach to addressing the objectives of the pilot study.

With the above two characteristics clearly in place, the next step was the actual selection of the four city-region cases.

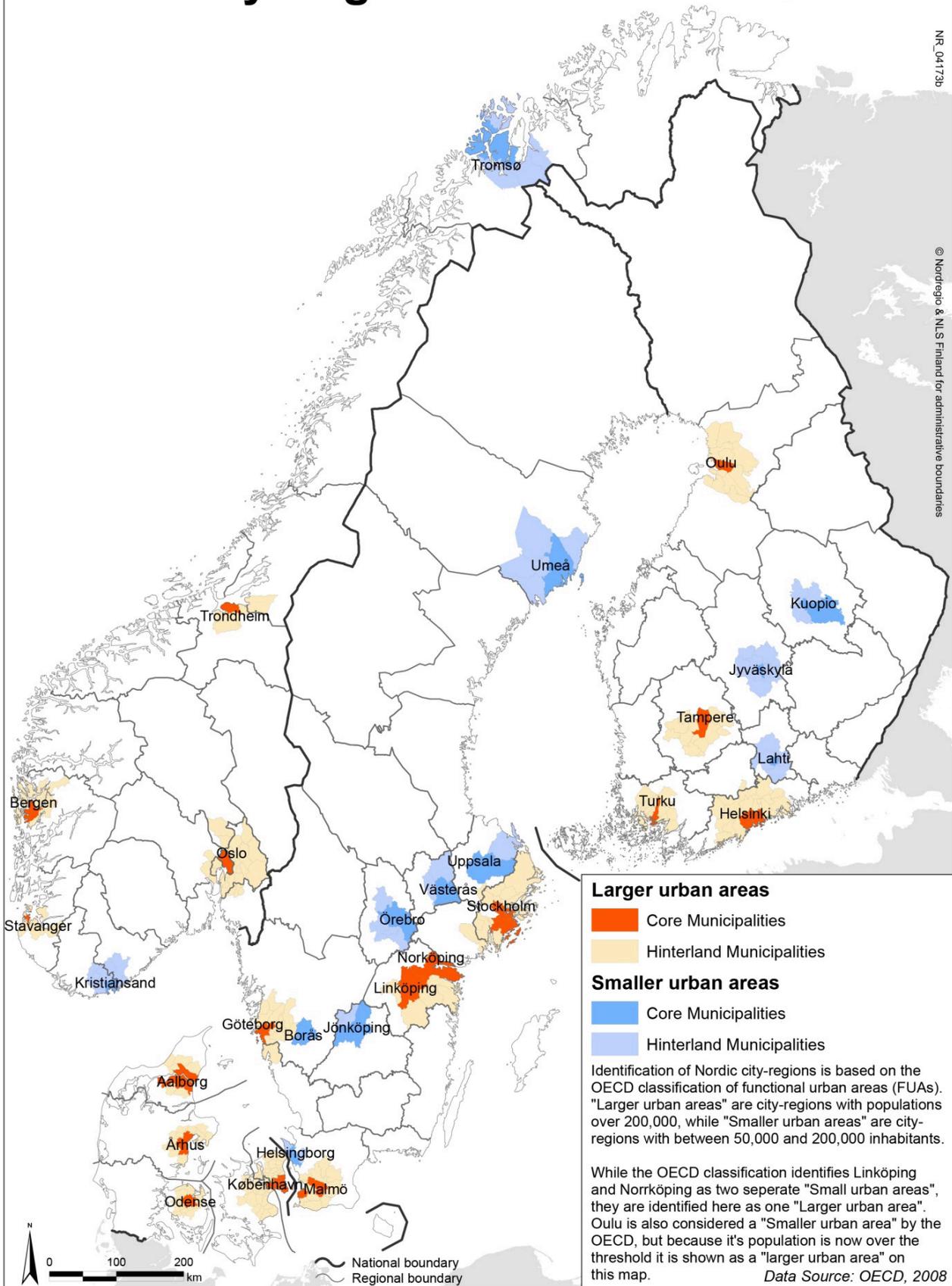
2.5 The cases

It was first necessary to consider the definition of urban regions as applied in Nordic regions. The pilot study could benefit from earlier work done in this regard at Nordregio (Nordregio, 2015). This is described in the text box included in Map 1 below. Once the identification of city-regions was in place, it was possible to select the specific cases for this pilot study. The selection of the four cases had both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Quantitatively, because of the limited resources at the disposal of the pilot study, only a small number of cases could be chosen. After much deliberation and calculation, and given the time and personnel available for undertaking the study, the number of cases was set to four.

Qualitatively, determination of which four cases (each case was a city-region) would be most suitable

1) The question framework is found in Appendix 6.

Nordic City-Regions



Map 1: The map of Nordic city-regions shows and, in its text box, explains the definition of urban city-regions that form the basis of this pilot study (Nordregio, 2015).

was based on several criteria. The cases should be different from one another to increase their potential for illustrating how everyday life issues can be approached in a variety of ways. Clear distinctions between planning levels should be possible, so that more knowledge of how the application of everyday life theory is being integrated into the interaction between levels could be gained. Each case could then be studied as representing the result of the interaction between at least two different planning levels. Since it was also important that the study take into account the particular characteristics of each planning system, another criterion was that the different levels of plans relevant for the analysis were readily available. These criteria were not only the basis for selecting the cases, but were simultaneously retained for their continued analysis, in the form of a question framework that was used for structuring and analysing both the interviews and the analysis of the planning texts. The question framework is based on the conceptual framework developed in Section 2.3 of this paper. As a reminder of the intent of the framework, it was important to discover not only the way in which everyday life theory is considered in planning practice, but how it is actually perceived and implemented by the very experts who are actually engaged in implementing it in the planning of Nordic city-regions.

The city-regions that were chosen were those surrounding Aalborg, Denmark; Tampere, Finland; Stavanger, Norway; and Malmö, Sweden. In addition to analysing planning documents, and performing telephone interviews with senior planners in each of the four city-

regions (eight in total), the pilot study was able to conduct a seminar at Aalborg's municipal administration. In addition to personnel from the administration, the meeting was open to the entire list of contacts from all of the 17 Nordic city-regions, if they wished to attend at their own expense. As it happened, the local authorities were joined by a number of academics from Danish universities, but none of the other invitees were able to attend.

Regarding the specific levels that were studied in each of the four cases, a prerequisite was that the planning should primarily be "spatial". Regarding the Malmö-Skåne city-region, the strategic, non-binding, regional structure planning in the County of Skåne was considered as well as Malmö's municipal comprehensive planning. For Stavanger-Jaeren city-region, the sub-regional, binding, land-use and transport planning in Jaeren, and the comprehensive municipal planning in Stavanger municipality were studied. In Tampere city-region both city-region and regional level planning levels were available, so that both the city-region, voluntary and non-binding planning and the regional level binding planning were studied simultaneously. For Aalborg-Nordjylland city-region (Aalborg as the main municipality, and Nordjylland the region that it is a part of), the project only studied comprehensive municipal planning for Aalborg municipality given that spatial planning is not addressed at city-region and regional levels.

Table 1 shows the variety of planning levels available for analysis in each of the four city-regions.

	Municipal	City-region	Regional
Aalborg-Nordjylland city-region	x		(non-binding)
Malmö-Skåne city-region	x		x (non-binding)
Stavanger-Jaeren city-region	x	x (binding)	
Tampere city-region	The City of Tampere is responsible for planning at the local level, but as no comprehensive plan document was available for analysis, the case study focused instead on the city-regional and regional planning levels.	x (non-binding)	x (binding)

Table 1: Plans at different levels studied in each of the case study regions.

3. Findings from the cases

As described in Section 1, the objectives of the pilot study that is presented in this paper are:

1. to consider whether, and if so, how, everyday life issues are present and integrated into Nordic city-region planning;
2. to test the usefulness, for researchers and planners, of assessing city-region planning through the eyes of everyday life theory.

A reflection on whether the objectives have been suitably addressed is that, as a pilot study, it has succeeded in showing that, yes, issues of everyday life are to some extent present, and integrated, into city-region planning in the Nordic countries. It has also been able to examine and partially describe how matters that generally fall within everyday life theory are dealt with in four of the seventeen Nordic city-regions. In other words, we excuse the incompleteness of what could only be a partial study by emphasizing its character as a pilot study. Given that qualification, some interesting results have been obtained, which are possibly useful for planners throughout the Nordic countries, and elsewhere, and indeed justify further work in this field.

The next three sections focus on discussing the pilot study's first objective. Table 2a and Table 2b, (page 18–19), summarizes the results from the analysis of planning documents and of the complementary interviews. The last section of the paper mainly discusses the second objective of the pilot study.

3.1 Representation of everyday life perspectives in plans

The primary reason—apart from their interest and willingness, that is—for choosing the four cases for this pilot study was the fact that they are in the process of working with different notions of the “city-region,” and all within a Nordic context. Those different ways of conceiving and planning city-regions each provide particular settings for gaining more knowledge about everyday life theory and other everyday life perspectives and, if they are actually in currency, how they are worked with.

The concepts—actually metaphors—that are used by planners in the investigated city-regions, and which often co-exist with different concepts and metaphors of “everyday life,” abound. Concepts, fundamentally speaking, are abstractions. The notion of everyday life theory, as defined in Section 2 of this paper, on the other hand, is that there is some kind of knowledge that can provide access to the “nitty-gritty,” “real life” activity that people are “actually” involved in, and that exists beyond the abstract concepts that planners work with. Such concepts include “polycentric densification,” “green growth,” “development axes,” “networks of towns and cities,” “flexibility,” “compactness,” “integrated planning” and “competitiveness”; they are only a few examples of the many forms of, even mottos, for the guiding visions—*leitbild*—that inspire Nordic city-regions in planning and constructing for the future.

More specifically, the four cases exhibited four kinds of awareness of everyday life as a topic for planning. Aalborg was the only one where the actual term was widely used, as “the good everyday life” (in Danish, “det gode hverdagsliv”). Also in Tampere city-region, “well-functioning life” (in Finnish, “sujuva elämä”) was also used as a term, but not clearly defined. For the other two cases, the pilot study needed to apply an interpretive approach in order to identify any everyday life perspective. It can be argued, on one hand, that it doesn't matter what a particular concern is called, since surely what must be important is the issues and perspectives that coincide with everyday life theory. On the other hand, the theoretical and empirical work that is specifically attached to everyday life theory is precise, careful and exhaustive in its preoccupations and prescriptions. In other words, it is misleading and inefficient to work with similar perspectives without paying attention to, nor taking advantage of, the rich body of learning and knowledge that have derived from everyday life theory.

However, everyday life theory and the notion of the “secret life of cities”, as elaborated by Jarvis et al. (2001), is only in a superficial way addressed by planners and planning documents in the studied city-regions. Questions that emerge are: (1) How precise is planning in responding to the “secret life of cities”, given that issues of gender, intersectionality and diversity are not generally emphasised in the investigated city-regions? (2) None

of everyday life theory's feminist critique of the "compact city" is emphasised in our case studies. Does this indicate a masculine approach with a strong focus on the home-work relationship, and a neglect of reproduction as a priority?

The municipal comprehensive plan for Malmö is the only investigated spatial plan where issues related to gender and intersectionality are explicitly considered as important. Nevertheless, details about how urban form/spatial structure relates to them stop short. For example, does the analysis of "closeness" build on knowledge of everyday life practices, or does it derive from an asocial notion of the household (see Jarvis et al., 2001)

3.2 Methods and approaches for planning everyday life

In analysing how everyday life issues are emphasised in planning in the four investigated city-regions, we make an important observation. As a theoretical concept, everyday life is both a concern, and a method. A planner may have the concerns, but not use the method. For example, a planner may be concerned with defining "good" transportation structure, without knowing much about the economic and cultural values of the eventual users. Although the planner may attempt to find such information by consulting other planners, it is likely that until the planner devises a method for collecting empirical data directly from and about the users, the plans will be deficient.

This deficiency is especially visible in comparing city-region planning and municipal comprehensive planning in Malmö-Skåne and Stavanger-Jaeren. In analysing city-region planning documents and in interviews with responsible planners, we learn that methods to enquire into people's everyday lives do not allow a deep understanding of everyday life practices of different groups of people (i.e. people with different socio-economic capacity, ethnicity, culture, age, gender, class, race). Most methods use quantitative analysis with a limited number of indicators (also consult Tables 2a and 2b). Planners responsible for the city-region planning informed us that public participation and dialogue directly with different groups of people is mainly done for municipal and local level planning. This result should encourage planners' to ask the question: are we planning our cities based on our own assumptions about how people live, or are we planning our cities based on empirical knowledge about the lives of different groups of people? In Denmark, spatial planning is not done at city-region or regional level, which implies that relations between detailed knowledge of everyday life practices and spatial structure/urban form is lacking.

Interestingly however, regional planning in Tampere engages more directly with people (e.g. travel diaries), compared to city-region planning.

At municipal comprehensive planning level in Malmö, Stavanger and Aalborg (see Tables 2a and 2b), interviews with planners reveal methods that have the potential to allow a deeper understanding of everyday life practices of different groups of people (i.e. people with different socio-economic capacity, ethnicity, culture, age, gender, class, race). Nonetheless, interviews with planners made clear that most interaction with groups of people is done for local level planning.

The only evidence of a method that explicitly targets gender and intersectionality was found at the planning department of the City of Malmö. They have actively aimed at finding new ways of including groups that are usually not heard in planning. Planners were discovering that in some of the less affluent areas local girls were uncomfortable spending time in public space, especially in the area known as Rosengård. As a result, it was decided, as a form of affirmative action, that only young girls would be included in the planning of a new recreational spot for young people, in order to promote the creation of more inclusive public space in Rosengård. Instead of using the traditional methods of simply "mapping the wishes of the local inhabitants," as such methods are usually termed, the city planning administration adapted a more long-term approach. This was to engage the local girls in its work, by, among other methods, employing two girls as interns, as a type of affirmative action. Their task was to plan the recreational spot in cooperation with other young girls who also resided in the area (see also Björnson, 2015).

In conclusion then, one might argue, on the one hand, that it is not surprising that detailed knowledge of people's everyday lives, as well as future needs and preferences, are not emphasised in city-region planning, given that those plans are supposed to draw the big picture and the general trends. On the other hand, however, as argued above, the lives of citizens involve complex patterns across administrative boundaries. In order to plan for the lives of different groups of women, men and children, the "secret lives of cities" should be addressed at the city region level.

In other words, people live regionally, or even globally, and locally at the same time. Furthermore, the use of a targeted approach, of focusing on everyday life issues in a designated area, or in a municipality, rather than on the city-region as a whole, may lead to a neglect of important linkages between social, ecological and economic considerations of sustainability. To recall, Jarvis et al. (2001) argue that planning the compact city as an antidote to urban sustainability is problematic, and

	City-region/ Municipality	Investigated spatial planning level	Awareness of everyday life in planning
SWEDEN	Malmö-Skåne city-region	Non-binding strategic planning for 1,3 million inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, neither addressed nor defined (2) No explicit gender nor intersectional perspective – groups of people are not differentiated (3) A general focus on “people” (4) Social sustainability – especially geographic segregation is addressed
	Malmö municipality	Non-binding municipal comprehensive planning for 300 000 Inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similar perspectives, is addressed (2) Intersectionality, gender and diversity are considered important (3) Social sustainability is addressed
NORWAY	Stavanger- Jaeren city-region	Binding regional planning for 300 000 inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, are neither addressed nor defined (2) No explicit emphasis on gender nor intersectionality. However, a growing awareness that social issues are important (3) The plan mentions a children’s perspective (4) Awareness that the preferences of new arrivals may be different from those of established residents. City-region planners attempt to make municipal planners aware that immigrant groups may have preferences that are different from those of established residents, for example in matters of housing.
	Stavanger municipality	Binding municipal comprehensive planning for 130 000 Inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, neither addressed, nor defined (2) No explicit emphasis on gender nor intersectionality, but recognition of the fact that the composition of the local population is diverse and that the number of immigrants is growing (3) The term “high quality of life” is used (4) Focus on public health (5) Focus on demography
FINLAND	Tampere region	Binding regional planning for 500 000 inhabitants (only a short draft version of the plan was available at the time of analysis)	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, neither addressed, nor defined (2) Intersectionality, including socio-economics, ethnicity and gender, is not explicitly emphasised
	Tampere city-region	Non-binding strategic planning for 360 000 inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, neither addressed, nor defined (2) Intersectionality, including socioeconomic, ethnicity and gender, are not explicitly emphasised (3) The term “well-functioning life” is used, but not defined (4) Issue of aging population is addressed
DENMARK	Aalborg municipality	Binding municipal comprehensive planning for 200 000 inhabitants	(1) Everyday Life Theory, or similarly-detailed everyday life perspectives, is neither addressed nor defined (2) Very little focus on gender and intersectionality (3) The term “good everyday life” used, but not defined

Table 2a: A summary of the Analysis of spatial planning in the four studied city-regions

	City-region/ Municipality	Spatial structures proposed in planning to address everyday life	Methods for planning everyday life
SWEDEN	Malmö-Skåne city-region	(1) Densification and improving the public transport network (2) Mixed housing and multipurpose spaces (3) Spaces for cultural and recreational activities	(1) Analysis is mainly done through statistical information and spatial analyses (2) Dialogue with municipalities (3) Planners specify that public participation and dialogue with inhabitants are handled in municipal planning
	Malmö municipality	(1) Densely-built structures, with the argument that “it is simple to live everyday life in a concentrated structure” (2) Concentration around existing urban areas (2) Increased connections between areas with different characteristics	(1) Commission For a Socially-Sustainable Malmö (2000 people participated) (2) Methods for including groups that are usually not heard; mostly done for local-level planning (focus on young girls, for example) (3) “Area programmes” to promote social sustainability in local-level planning. Inhabitants, businesses, NGOs, university and national authorities work together
NORWAY	Stavanger- Jaeren city-region	(1) General focus on densification (2) Focus on service provision in regional centres (3) Focus on concentrated development	(1) “Universal design,” to ensure equal access to public spaces (2) The “10-minute city”; daily services should be within 10 minutes’ reach (3) Workshops for leisure and outdoor activity associations (4) Collection and analysis of basic statistical data, e.g., demography, density, education, employment, private sector development, housing prices, public transport (5) Planners specify that input from inhabitants is sought in municipal planning
	Stavanger municipality	(1) General focus on densification (2) Improved public transport (3) Favours biking and walking	(1) Statistical data collected every two years (living conditions, unemployment, education, criminality, residential turnover, families with children, immigration, etc.) (2) General feedback gathered through public hearings and workshops (especially for local-level planning) (3) Planners acknowledge that they lack tools for engaging less-vocal groups (4) Planners acknowledge that knowledge about inhabitants’ preferences is lacking
FINLAND	Tampere region	(1) Polycentricity, with different levels of centres focusing on different service and housing opportunities (2) General densification	(1) Quantitative analysis of the service network (includes existing service network, accessibility, expected changes in land use, population development) (2) Attempts to include inhabitants, for example through collection of inhabitants’ practices, e.g., travel diaries
	Tampere city-region	(1) Polycentricity with different levels of centres focusing on different service and housing opportunities (2) Diverse, mixed-use living	(1) Mainly quantitative analysis, although compared to earlier plans there is a stronger focus on qualitative approaches (2) Dialogue and consultation with municipalities (3) Limited public participation, but some public events, including inhabitants, NGOs and private companies, have been organised
DENMARK	Aalborg municipality	(1) Focus on densification (2) Integration of urban functions (3) Transport nodes should function as places for multi-service and social interaction	(1) Integrated planning, using a “co-creation method,” to avoid “silos” between municipal administrations (2) Workshops with citizens are held mainly for local-level planning (3) Consultation with key persons, “dedicated enthusiasts,” undertaken in local-level planning, to increase knowledge of local communities

Table 2b: A summary of the Analysis of spatial planning in the four studied city-regions

even simplistic, and the main reason being that it is not based on credible models of everyday life patterns of different groups of people. A relevant question to ask is then; if everyday life patterns were better understood by planners at city-region level would models then become more credible and more relevant as responses to sustainability challenges?

That politicians, through planners, attempt to influence people's everyday lives is certainly a political and democratic issue, but such attempts have to be grounded in knowledge of people's everyday life patterns and experiences, and needs and preferences for the future. In other words, borrowing terminology from futures studies, we argue that to be able to create a trajectory (i.e., in this case influencing everyday life practices) towards a desirable future (i.e., a sustainable future) the present situation has to be mapped and understood (i.e., everyday life patterns).

Example of methods

If one is to choose any particular method, or, attempt to combine as many as possible, in painting a "structural picture" (as Skåne's planners envision it) of the everyday life of a city-region, then it is perhaps helpful to have access to a collection of the methods used in the pilot study's four cases. A cursory listing is provided below. The list includes methods used by planners in the investigated city-regions as well as methods that the authors have encountered in developing the conceptual framework. We encourage researchers and city-region planners to test and assess the usefulness of the methods listed below for learning more about the "secret life of cities", beyond the home-work relationship (recall Section 2 of this paper for a feminist critique of the home-work relationship).

- Personal face-to-face interviews provide a richness of information and can prove useful for planners in learning more about the everyday lives of residents, and how they may be affected by the realization of plans. Interview techniques are used in the studies behind Jarvis, et al.'s book, *The Secret Life of Cities*, where the emphasis was on large numbers of qualitative interviews, in other words, quantitatively qualitative approaches.

- When in-person interviews have been accomplished, follow-up efforts can be held by telephone and Internet-based techniques, such as e-mail, "Sharepoint" websites, and so on.

- Organizing public meetings can increase citizen engagement, especially when a lack of resources limits the number of personal interviews that can be held.

There are numerous reasons, and a huge literature, on the positive attributes of this now classic technique. This includes for example Lindholm et al. (2015) on citizen participation in Sweden, as well as Listerborn (2015) on citizen participation from a gender perspective.

- Workshops in local communities can also be held. This creates opportunities for key persons (as they were called in Aalborg, "ildsjæle," literally fire-souls, or more figuratively, "dedicated enthusiasts") to obtain and share information about the needs of the area. These key persons and area representatives have been found to be helpful and a good source of information, in both directions, although a certain caution and scepticism about their freedom from ulterior motives must be maintained.

- Representatives from different offices of municipal and regional administrations can meet to discuss the characteristics of a specific city district, share information and even discover an aptitude for cooperation. While this method sounds easy, it is notoriously difficult to arrange in practice, requiring real effort, substantial goodwill and an open attitude.

- The use of co-creation methods is an attempt to address the challenges posed by the increasing specialisation of departments and their tendency to work in "silos". This pushes apart sectoral boundaries, by bringing different kinds of people together, to create a common language and understanding based on their collective knowledge of the experience and needs of the residents of an area, while integrating both the hard, technical aspects, and the softer, social ones. It is a place-based approach, rather than one that looks for the same standards for an entire city, and focuses on problem-based learning.

- The organizing of citizen summits is a way to gather large numbers of inhabitants to work in a concentrated, representative way, on proposals and plans of a more complex nature. The summit can be facilitated by leading local politicians, who ask participants to react to concrete proposals, such as for renewable energy production and the placement of wind turbines, and so on.

- The use of statistical data in a consistent way and at frequent, regular intervals has been claimed to be a highly useful, at least partial substitute, for large numbers of interviews. The parameters can include how living conditions are evolving throughout the city-region, changes in unemployment rates, education levels, criminality, residential turnover, the number of families with child-

ren, immigration rates, and other criteria. Such data collection is an important quantitative tool for planners.

■ An innovative method is the collection of travel diaries so as to garner a better understanding of inhabitants' travel practices. Inhabitants are asked to track their travel practices and modes of transportation during a limited period. This is considered to have potential for providing more accurate information about people's choice of transportation modes than surveys, for example.

3.3 Spatial structures to address everyday life

Our conclusions, based on the sections above are that the four city-regions describe and approach everyday life issues in different ways in spatial planning, but the commonality is that definitions of everyday life are weak and that methods to enquire into people's everyday lives, at city-region level, are not precise enough to capture the "nitty-gritty" of different groups of people's everyday lives. A relevant question to ask then is; how can specific spatial structures be proposed if knowledge about the lives of people, now and in the future, is lacking?

Let us exemplify from the four investigated city-regions. In Malmö and Malmö-Skåne city-region, there is an ambition to use spatial planning to address everyday life issues especially in the form of social development issues. Both at municipal and city-region level, densified polycentric spatial structures are considered to contribute to, among other things, decreasing unemployment and facilitating the mingling in public spaces of people with different backgrounds. From a gender and intersectionality perspective, the Malmö comprehensive plan strategy includes considerations of the experiences and needs of different groups. It is for example stated that when creating new public spaces, or meeting places, diversity and a gender perspective need to be included. The question of proximity and access to services for the aging population and the disabled is also emphasised as being especially important.

A reflection here is that stating that certain values are important is one thing, and then going the next step to finding out how, for whom, and what measures can be taken, is another. Having taken the first step does not automatically ensure that the second one follows. Informed decisions about taking appropriate action are desirable. With other words, the plans make assumptions

about the relationships between people's everyday lives and spatial structures. However, to make such relationships credible the question of method is important. At regional level, the decision to work towards a polycentric densifying structure is based on a long process of varied analyses and dialogue with municipalities, but with limited focus on gender, intersectionality, and differentiating different groups of people, as well as less focus on enabling direct input, or co-creation, from different groups of people. In municipal planning however, methods are being developed to address people's everyday lives with an understanding that gender and intersectionality are important factors (also consult Tables 2a and 2b). Nonetheless, in Malmö as well as in Aalborg workshops and dialogue with groups of people are mainly done for local planning.

Planning in Stavanger and Stavanger-Jæren city-region has a strong focus on densification and concentrated development, seeing them as strategies for constraining urban sprawl and associated transportation issues. A connection between people's everyday lives and spatial structure can be found in the two concepts: the "10-minute city" and "universal design." Given that the understanding of everyday lives of different groups of people, through for example gender and intersectionality, is not emphasised, there is a risk that especially the "ten minute city" does not reflect people's everyday lives now nor in the future. If the "ten minute city" concept attempts to respond to everyday lives of different groups, it should consider, for example, fear of crime, especially among women. Certain groups of women and girls might feel restricted in using the shortest path to specific services, because of fear.

The same conclusion can be drawn for Tampere city-region where planners refer to polycentricity to contribute to a smooth, well-functioning, easy fluency in the lives of inhabitants. However, the understanding of people's everyday lives through for example gender and intersectionality is not emphasised. Interestingly, nonetheless, the regional plan collects people's practices through travel diaries.

All in all, densification approaches in spatial planning might well be relevant to consider for approaching different sustainability challenges, but such approaches have to build on sound analysis and knowledge of everyday life practices and preferences of different groups of women and men, not the least so as to develop a knowledge base that planners can rely on to influence everyday life practices (cf. Jensen et al., 2011).

3.4 The usefulness of everyday life theory

In this section we attempt to discuss the second objective of the pilot study, namely; *to test the usefulness, for researchers and planners, of assessing city-region planning through the eyes of everyday life theory.*

A recognition of, and a concern for, the desirability of including a perspective based on the theory of everyday life in planning makes the question of methodology central. The content and results of using the theory cannot be fully realized if a focus on methods is ignored. As was seen in all of the cases, normative expressions, such as, “It is *good* to include a gender perspective and a concern for cultural differences in planning the city-region,” does not mean that one has actually done so, in praxis. Saying it is surely part-way there, but it still leaves a long way to travel in attaining the objective.

The key idea that makes the link between the understanding, or theory, of everyday life, and the application, or methodology, of it so essential is that it represents the critical, multi-dimensional question, “Whose everyday life?” That question returns repeatedly when contemplating the inclusion of everyday life issues in the (everyday) work of planning. When planners ask what considerations of everyday life should affect the plans, whose everyday lives are meant? Is it the everyday life of the planner herself? Is it a question of where he lives and of how many children she has? Is it the lives of the decision-makers, the city-region’s politicians, or some other particular subset of the population that is accustomed to making their voices heard, as if theirs are the only ones who “really” matter? If one means, instead, the everyday lives of the inhabitants—permanent, temporary, new, multi-generational, or otherwise—in every part and subset of the city-region, then, if one is paying attention, a new question immediately follows: “How do we know what that is?” Answering that ques-

tion is exactly what makes the techniques, or methods, and the search for better ones, or methodology, all the more important.

In the studies underlying the work by Jarvis, et al., and synthesized in their book, *The Secret Life of Cities*, different forms of interviews, of both personal and ethnographic character, with individuals and representatives of households, are a prominent method. The emphasis was on large numbers of qualitative interviews, or, in other words, quantitatively qualitative approaches. To put it in everyday terms, lots of knowledge about a lot of people in many locations was required. As we also found in our cases, there is probably no one single method that “fits all.”

What we have learnt from this pilot study is that, if planners consider everyday life theory in their own work, there is a good change that the profession becomes more open to different understandings of what everyday life means for the residents and other dwellers and inhabitants who may be implicated in and affected by planning. This is important, considering that planners tend to adopt their own visions and personal reflections on everyday life considerations (Henriksson, 2013). To exemplify, what is the purpose of striving for densification to mitigate climate change, if proposed spatial structures do not respond to actual everyday life practices of people?

When planners have acquired the knowledge presented here about everyday life theory and its application in planning we further propose that the question framework developed for this pilot study, and that is based on the theoretical framework presented in Section 2 of this paper, can be used by city-region planners for assessing previous planning and reflecting on ongoing planning, preferably in the beginning of a planning process. An adapted version of the question framework is summarized in Box 1 below.

Box 1: Self-reflective question framework for policy makers and planners based on the conceptual framework developed in this paper as well as the authors' own analysis

1. Do we (city-region planners) make assumptions about the relations between groups of people, the built environment and the natural environment that can affect how everyday life is understood by us? (An example is useful here, to make ourselves aware of what assumptions can lead to. The eco-district Hammarby Sjöstad, in Stockholm, works fine as an illustration. Hammarby Sjöstad, developed and constructed over the last 20 years, was originally planned for middle-aged persons without children. However, it turned out that a lot of families with children chose to move there, and as a consequence, childcare infrastructure was lacking.)
2. Are we planning our city-regions based on our own assumptions about how people live their everyday lives, or are we planning based on empirical knowledge about the needs and experiences of different groups of people?
3. How do we address the relationship between production (paid work), housing, transportation, leisure time and social reproduction (education, child care, elderly care, grocery shopping etc.) for different groups of people?
4. How are everyday life practices of different groups of people (i.e., people with different socio-economic capacity, ethnicity, culture, age, gender, class, race) addressed and described in our planning activities?

Are we generally “blind” to some of these types of differences? Do we understand what restrictions individuals and groups of people face in their strategies to cope with everyday life?

5. What are the norms that set the standards for “the good everyday life” in our planning activities? Are these norms reinforced or are they challenged? Whose norms are represented in planning?
6. How do we arrange our work, and how do we inform ourselves (methods/techniques) to understand everyday life patterns and preferences of different groups of people?
7. Are the spatial structures that we propose, as responses to different sustainability challenges, grounded in empirical evidence of different groups of people’s everyday life needs and experiences? If not, can we adopt any of the methods/techniques used by planners in the investigated city-regions (see case studies)?
8. If everyday life patterns were better understood at city-region level, how would our planning become more relevant for responding to sustainability challenges? Can we learn anything from the methods/techniques and procedures used for municipal and local level planning (see case studies)?

Case 1: Planning in the Aalborg-Nordjylland city-region

The present municipality of Aalborg consists of the former municipalities of Aalborg, Hals, Nibe and Sejflod. As such, there is no formal city-region of Aalborg, although the term is sometimes used to describe greater Aalborg and the towns of the former municipalities. Aalborg has a population of over 200,000; it is the third most populous city-region in Denmark, and is in Region Nordjylland, which has a population of 600,000. Aalborg, through the merger of municipalities in Denmark's 2007 structural reform, now has formal planning authority. That authority was shifted from the regional level by the reform. The regional level now provides guidelines and

recommendations for municipal planning. Table 1 below summarizes the planning-related roles and responsibilities of the Aalborg-Nordjylland city-region.

1.1 Planning at the municipal level

Currently, the municipality's overarching plan for development is Aalborg city's comprehensive plan, called *Fysisk vision 2025*, which was passed in November, 2013. Its main aim is to set the conditions for creating a robust city and municipality. It determines that this is to be done through a holistic, comprehensive approach,

	Municipal	Regional
Authority	Aalborg kommune	Region Nordjylland
Status of the authority	Municipality	Regional authority responsible for regional development, but also works with non-binding strategic regional planning
Plan	Fysisk vision 2025; Hovedstruktur 2013; Norddanmarks vækstdynamo Planstrategi 2011 (currently being revised)	Regional udviklingsplan Strategi 2018 (currently being revised)
Plan status and characteristics	Comprehensive municipal plan: the status of a comprehensive plan is to be a strategic and visionary guiding document for decisions on the use of land and water areas and how the urban area is developed	Non-binding vision providing recommendations for the development of the region
Geographic coverage of the plan	The municipality of Aalborg (including former municipalities of Aalborg, Hals, Nibe and Sejflod)	The 11 municipalities in Region Nordjylland
Main aims of the plan	Devise a common vision in order for the city-region to remain attractive and competitive and adapt to climate change	Identify the region's main aims and challenges

Table 1: Summary of the structure for planning in the Aalborg-Nordjylland city-region.

combining growth and welfare. Fysisk vision 2025 is structured according to five main themes: “Aalborg city-region”; “Aalborg as an attractive city”; “the good life in neighbouring cities”; “mobility”; and “rural areas as neighbours.”

Fysisk vision 2025 is based on the planning strategy, *Planstrategi 2011—Norddanmarks vækst-dynamo* [English: Strategic Plan 2011—North Denmark’s Growth Dynamo], which complements the comprehensive plan. Both document types are published every four years, but staggered by two years. Consequently, the current planning strategy will overlap the most recent comprehensive plan for two years before work on the new strategy begins.

The current planning strategy focuses on four main themes: “the growth axis”; “key connections”; “the attractive city”; and “good housing.” It is in the process of being revised, with a greater focus on the theme of “people and social aspects.” The themes have been derived as the result of an extensive series of consultations throughout the city-region. While the theme of people and social aspects are already included in the current strategy, it will be developed even further in the new one.

1.2 Planning at the regional level

Region Nordjylland is the regional authority of northern Denmark. It has worked extensively across the region to enhance its function as an arena of co-operation on regional development. Rather than competing with the municipalities for planning power, Region Nordjylland has positioned itself as a co-operative partner that coordinates the activities of the region’s municipalities, local businesses and associations. Despite the absence of a formal mandate, it is being recognized as a key player in planning; for example in the transport sector. It has devised the current regional development plan, *Regional Development 2012* (North Denmark Region, 2012; Region Nordjylland, 2012), and the planning strategy, *Strategi 2018* (Region Nordjylland, 2012). The regional development plan serves as a vision for the future of the region and includes goals that the municipalities can work towards. The plan was elaborated in close dialogue with the municipalities. It considered both current trends (in demography, globalization, climate and energy) and five central themes in determining the regional vision for 2020; which is to be marked by the creation of sustainable growth, co-operation throughout the region, effective use of the possibilities of globalization, and regional advantages (Region North Denmark, 17).

Region Nordjylland’s strategy for regional develop-

ment, *Strategi 2018*, sets forth strategic goals for the health sector, special needs and regional development. As with the municipal planning strategy, it is currently under revision.

Business Region Northern Denmark (BRND) complements the various plans and strategies described above. BRND was formed in 2014 to promote balanced growth in the region, and is a voluntary collaboration between the municipalities of Region Nordjylland, with Aalborg at its centre. The focus of the co-operation is to strengthen the competitiveness of northern Denmark, both in comparison to other city-regions such as Aarhus and Odense, as well as internationally. BRND is a new forum for co-operation and discussions, where municipalities work together on joint agendas as needed. Its structure is still under development, and its current aim is to draft a common text for use in the comprehensive plans of each of the municipalities. The intention is that the interdependence of the municipalities, and Aalborg’s central role as the regional engine of growth, will serve as common guiding principles for the development of the region. One of its key ideas is that development is to be enhanced by the interaction of networks of cities that share public and private services. In such an “Internet of service”, at the level of city-region, networked systems should provide better services which are also more equitably distributed. It is to be hoped, however, that the aspirations of businesses do not conflict with what has been learned about the everyday life concerns of the residents, including their commuting and housing needs.

1.3 Spatial structures and social effects

In the case of Aalborg city-region, and because of the circumstances described above, only the municipal plan, *Fysisk plan 2015*, can be considered a spatial plan, and is therefore the focus for this study.

Municipal level

Throughout *Fysisk plan 2015*, the focus is on competitiveness and growth, new urban developments and transport infrastructure. The stated main motivations for the plan are the need for a common vision in order for the city-region to remain attractive and competitive, at the same time as it prepares for the effects of climate change. These motivations translate into the objective of developing urban structures that are believed to offer the best conditions for growth.

For Aalborg, this implies a spatial concentration of urban development and infrastructure projects, within a growth axis well-connected to the rest of the city,

running through its centre. Density distribution is closely linked to mixed functions within the city; the comprehensive plan underlines the importance of integrating urban functions rather than separating people, businesses, culture, education, recreation and green open spaces. Explanations in the document refer to the notion of compact cities. Environmental concerns and challenges, such as the need to be resource-efficient and adapt to increased flood risk, are mentioned as additional arguments for building compact cities.

The Aalborg plan also highlights the need for improvements to the public transport system. Such improvements will take into account social and environmental quality, while promoting attractiveness, affordability and accessibility. One way of achieving these outcomes is through kombinationsrejser, or combined journeys, with the transport nodes doing multi-service as social meeting places. The plan considers the consequences of the region's demographic challenges and changes: as traditional family structures change, the demand for single-family detached housing is likely to decrease. Single, or reconstructed, households are envisioned as being increasingly common, which demands greater flexibility in the housing market, and the creation of alternative forums, through the provision of common facilities, for community interaction.

While *Fysisk vision 2025* sees Aalborg as the engine of growth for Nordjylland, it stresses that this includes the entire region, not only the main city of Aalborg. It clarifies that, between the city-region capital and its hinterland, there is interdependence that requires both a common vision for the entire municipality, and political leadership. Co-operation within Aalborg municipality is seen as a further precondition for being able to compete with other city-regions in terms of attractiveness. The rural areas of the municipality face severe challenges as a result of demographic change and the urbanization of the region, with families leaving the countryside to move to the towns, and local villages closing down. To avoid the creation of a deserted hinterland, key services and functions in the towns need to be preserved, and local engagement and ownership encouraged. Previously, strategic approaches followed a vertical hierarchy of towns and cities, and specified which public services should be provided, depending on the size of the urban agglomeration. Now, however, the focus is on flexibility and networks of towns that provide shared access to services.

Regional level

Since the 2007 reform, as mentioned above, no spatial planning takes place at the regional level. The regional development plan does, however, establish non-binding

guidelines for the development of the region, and for how the main challenges of demographic change, declining rural areas and urbanization can be addressed. These have led to lower tax bases in the smaller municipalities, with ensuing cut-backs in the provision of services such as childcare and public transport, which in turn accelerates the demise of small towns.

The hierarchy of settlement size that was previously applied to regional development (*byherarki*, literally, “town hierarchy”) was not popular with the region's municipalities. It was consequently abandoned, but a common strategy for the development of the region is now lacking. Instead, individual municipalities are developing their own strategies, which mostly lean towards spatial concentration of services in the larger municipal centres. This development is worrisome as it leads to increased inequality within the region, and the decline of rural areas. This is intensified by an absence of measures, at the regional level, for addressing this trend. In addition, few national-level measures have been implemented, although some minor initiatives, such as *flextaxi*, which offers subsidized taxi services in areas where public transport has been reduced, have been implemented.

Although the regional authority does not have any formal planning power, it does function as an arena for co-operation and dialogue. It makes recommendations to municipalities about their planning strategies, and supports co-ordination between municipalities in the entire region.

1.4 Planning and everyday life

Municipal level

In Aalborg's comprehensive plan, the term everyday life is mentioned extensively, and overlaps with the undefined concept of “good life” (Danish, *det gode hverdagsliv*). Its focus is not only on housing, work, education and service provision, but on leisure and, again, a non-specific notion of “quality of life”. Broad concepts, such as informal and formal activities, are ascribed much importance, as are local engagement, joint responsibility and social cohesion. These are mentioned as key elements for encouraging innovation within the city and the region, which, by extension, will lead to growth. The descriptions can be summarized as an economic rationalization of “the good life”. An urban-rural divide is noticeable: Aalborg's city centre is a place of economic activity, while the good life takes place in surrounding cities, where it is associated with “family life”.

In line with the focus on growth in Aalborg's comprehensive plan, people who can contribute to strengthening the city's and region's competitiveness are a key

target group for developers. Such attractive residents, it states, are young people, students and skilled workers, all of whom should be encouraged to move to, and become established, in Aalborg. To attract them, the municipality sees the need to ensure the provision of suitable housing, exciting public spaces, cultural activities, public services, etc. The plan's focus on a skilled labour force is in stark contrast to its lack of reference to the needs of more disadvantaged groups. Instead, their needs are considered more closely in local plans, which have a smaller geographical scope. For disadvantaged areas, integrated programmes, so-called "kvarterløft" ("block-lift," or perhaps "neighbourhood-raising")—a combination of improvements of the social and built environment—are elaborated. By comparison, Fysisk vision 2025 is a political plan, with significant emphasis on the growth of the municipality and less engagement at local level.

While the regional plan states the need to address demographic changes as a top priority, focusing especially on the aging population and immigration, these issues are not considered to the same extent in the comprehensive plan, and neither ethnicity nor gender-related issues appear to be of particular concern. It is recognized that some population groups are harder to reach and engage, but while the municipality strives to ensure that every resident feels encouraged to participate, no specific approach for reaching these groups appears to have been encouraged.

The comprehensive plan does look at aspects of everyday life that pertain to changing demographic conditions, such as new family constellations, shifting housing preferences and cut-backs in the provision of services. Some services require the municipality to be flexible and adaptable in its approach. For example, the plan emphasizes the need to render its built environment more flexible, and to adopt multi-functional approaches. It asks: can day-care centres, parking lots, football fields and so on be used in more than one way?

In the current planning strategy, on the other hand, everyday life is hardly mentioned at all. It will, however, be a key issue for the elaboration of the new strategy. Indeed, there is a recognition among municipal planners, as well as politicians, of the need for increased emphasis on social aspects in strategic, overarching, planning documents.

Regional level

While the regional plans no longer include binding guidelines for spatial planning, the scope of the regional development plans after the reform in 2007 was broadened, and included aspects such as culture, mobility, health, infrastructure, tourism and economic develop-

ment. However, in the aftermath of the latest national election in 2011, the responsibility for regional planning was placed under the Ministry of Business and Growth, and emphasis on these broader aspects diminished.

Everyday life is not something that is focused on explicitly in the regional-level plans; rather, it is the cultural or educational aspects of regional development that are considered. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, certain elements of everyday life, such as those that relate to the ageing population, or to how childcare services are affected by the closure of day-care centres, are given high priority.

1.5 Methods for planning everyday life

Municipal level

In Aalborg's Fysisk vision 2025, everyday life figures extensively, and suggestively, as a theoretical backdrop, but interviews indicated that in the practice of planning, it has a "black box" status and not readily understood. While everyday life is given homage, becoming a planning buzzword, the actual content of the term is often a largely empty phrase and taken for granted.

Although there is broad co-operation between administrations during the elaboration of the comprehensive plan, an issue that emerged in this study is that ordinary municipal planning is carried out in "silos", with each administrative department working independently, within its own confines. In recognition of this problem, the municipality has adopted a method of co-creation, aimed at strengthening the integrated planning of city districts.

When planning for a "kvarterløft", i.e. developing a local plan to give a disadvantaged neighbourhood a "lift" in its conditions, planners have been using this co-creation method. Representatives from the various municipal administrative departments organize a meeting during which they discuss the characteristics of a specific city district, its demographic composition, and the challenges it faces, and seek to identify the needs of the area's residents. By sharing information about the predicted size of the group of children for example, the social affairs department helps the education department to plan for schools and the traffic department to adapt the public transport service to the expected requirements.

The co-creation method is an attempt to address the challenges posed by the increasing specialization of departments and their tendency to work in silos, by pushing sectoral boundaries. Working in this way brings different kinds of people together and helps to

create a common language and understanding based on the experiences and needs of the residents of the area, while integrating both the hard, technical aspects and the softer, social ones. It is a place-based approach, which focuses on problem-based learning, rather than one that looks for the same standards for the entire city.

This integrated approach has been facilitated by an attitudinal shift in the city council, in favour of more progressive politicians. This in turn is changing planning practices within the administrative departments, and encouraging a different mind-set; one more inclined to power sharing and collaboration across administrative boundaries. The approach sits within a general societal trend towards maximizing resources and achieving the best results possible with the resources available. However, while the main principles of co-creation are clear, the method itself and its application vary depending on the area of application. Since it does not seem to be an established, systematic approach, there is the risk that its implementation and its results are haphazard.

When preparing local plans as part of an intentionally integrative process, the municipality organizes workshops with stakeholders in local communities. This creates opportunities for key persons (“ildsjæle,” literally fire-souls, or more figuratively, “dedicated enthusiasts”) to obtain and share information about the needs of the area. These key persons and area representatives have been found to be helpful and a source of useful information. They are usually identified through various organizations, as well as the local municipalities, who recommend residents who are engaged with, and well acquainted with the needs of, the local community.

The co-creation method and input from the ildsjæle are the main two ways in which the municipality can understand the needs of the area’s residents and users. This is in addition to the currently standard exercise in public participation, whereby local plans are subjected to hearings, and the feedback integrated when possible.

Regional level

The changed status of the regional authority and the shift from spatial to development plans have had consequences for the methods through which the public can participate in planning. Live, in-person consultations on the regional development plans are no longer required. Instead, it suffices if the consultation process is held via Internet. Region Nordjylland has nonetheless decided to organize public meetings to increase citizen engagement. The sessions took place in the spring of 2015, during development of the new regional plan.

Region Nordjylland is currently planning to hold a second citizens’ summit, in hopes of repeating the success of the one that was held in 2011, for the elaboration of the current regional development plan. That summit engaged about 200 citizens who were randomly selected in order to create, to the degree possible, a representative sample with respect to age, gender, ethnicity, income, education and geographical distribution. The meeting itself was facilitated by leading local politicians, who asked participants to react to concrete proposals, such as for renewable energy production and the placement of wind turbines.

An online form of consultation was also organized to gather wider feedback on the same plans. This digital campaign was evaluated by researchers at Aalborg University, who found that the technique was effective in reaching a large part of the regional population. As a result of these trials with different methods, the use of direct public participation is now anticipated once every four years, when elaborating the plans. In addition, citizen input will continue to be provided by the municipalities during the interval between plans.

1.6 The Aalborg city-region in sum

An examination of Aalborg’s current plans creates the impression that the focus is on growth and that competitiveness is the key. In terms of spatial development, densification and concentration of services are emphasized as the main strategies for achieving the desired growth. In the preparation of new plans, however, it appears that an increased focus on social aspects and on integrated planning is emerging. Planning is taking into account demographic changes faced by the entire region, not only in the outlying towns but in the areas around them. Flexibility, and networks of cities, are emerging as strategic responses to local challenges.

In the Aalborg city-region, co-creation is hailed as a new form of planning that seeks to increase the emphasis on softer aspects of planning, and to integrate both technical and social dimensions. In the study, it appeared that co-creation would be more effective if it was even more firmly established and systematized. The targeted approach, of focusing on social aspects in a designated area rather than on the municipality as a whole, while providing resources for addressing specific problems, may lead to a neglect of other important considerations. This can include the interactions that arise as transportation infrastructure adapts to the variety of commuting needs across designated areas, because

of demographic changes during the lag time between planning and completing housing developments, and as services change following national-level decisions.

Social aspects of comprehensive planning are compromised when the process is organized on a project

basis, rather than as a continuous activity. Similarly, organizational culture and an ability to co-operate between administrative departments, and with ministries at the national level, are critical when seeking to achieve inclusive planning policies.

Case 2: Planning in the Malmö-Skåne city-region

In Sweden, formal planning does not occur at the regional, but only at the municipal, level. Notwithstanding that, regions and municipalities may voluntarily engage in strategic planning across administrative boundaries, but this is not a universal practice. In Stockholm County, for example, the regional planning level has legislative status. In Skåne, where Malmö is situated, the Regional Council of the Skåne Region (hereafter Regional Council) is responsible for regional development. Although it does not have formal responsibility for spatial planning,

the Regional Council has, since its foundation, actively co-ordinated regional spatial planning issues. This was because those municipalities that originally formed the Regional Council wished to establish a more co-ordinated regional approach to planning. Table 2 below summarizes this situation. The present study considers spatial planning at the Skåne regional level, as well as municipal planning at the City of Malmö, as a single case of city-region planning.

	Municipal (City of Malmö)	Regional (Skåne Region)
Territorial characteristics	Third-largest city in Sweden, approx. 300,000 inhabitants	33 municipalities, in total 1.3 million inhabitants, 11,027 km ²
Authority	City of Malmö	The Regional Council of Skåne
Status of the authority	Municipality	Regional authority responsible for regional development, but also works with non-binding strategic regional planning
Plan	Comprehensive Plan for Malmö–Plan strategy Översiktsplan för Malmö–Planstrategi	Strategies for the Polycentric Skåne –Structural picture of Skåne Strategier för det flerkärniga Skåne – Strukturbild för Skåne
Plan status and characteristics	Comprehensive municipal plan: the status of a comprehensive plan (översiktsplanen) is to be a strategic and visionary guiding document for decisions on the use of land and water areas and how the urban area is developed	Non-binding strategic document for regional co-ordination of spatial planning across municipal borders The 11 municipalities in Region Nordjylland
Geographic coverage of the plan	City of Malmö	The 33 municipalities in the County of Skåne
Main aims of the plan	For example: making Malmö economically, socially and ecologically sustainable; densification and compact city	For example: polycentric Skåne; investing in regional engines for growth; densifying the structure

Table 2: Summary of the structure for planning in Skåne city-region.

2.1 Planning at the municipal level

At the municipal level, the aim of the comprehensive plan (see Table 2 previous page) is to make Malmö socially, ecologically and economically sustainable and an attractive place to live and work. It has three priorities: creating a close, dense, green and mixed-use city; establishing a regional engine for green growth and employment; and developing the city as a cultural and democratic arena.

The comprehensive plan is part of the formal planning system, which prescribes the municipalities' responsibilities for local comprehensive and detailed planning. Since the Regional Council's work on spatial development is voluntary, the regional plans are not binding, and nor do they require compliance with the municipalities' plans.

2.2 Planning at the regional level

As mentioned, the Strukturbild (hereafter, "structural picture"; see Table 3) produced at the regional level is not binding on the municipalities; it is, on the other hand, drafted in close co-operation and dialogue with them. Work on the structural picture began in 2005. The *Strategier för det flerkärniga Skåne—Strukturbild för Skåne*, also published in English as *Strategies for the Polycentric Skåne—Structural picture of Skåne*, was finally published in 2013, after a long process of consultation and analysis.

In general, the objective of regional spatial planning is to "jointly plan for and develop energy-efficient and sustainable physical structures," with a common knowledge base, a "gemensamt kunskapsunderlag" (Region Skåne, 2013b, 6; Region Skåne, 2013, 6). The plan states that there is a need to create sustainable spatial structures at the regional level, by integrating planning of settlement structures with planning of infrastructure and greenery, and so creating attractive living environments.

The strategy specifies five areas of focus:

1. invest in Skåne's growth engines and regional hubs and develop the polycentric urban structure;
2. enhance accessibility and bind Skåne together;
3. grow efficiently with a balanced and sustainable use of land;
4. create socially sustainable, attractive localities and environments that offer high quality of life; and

5. strengthen Skåne's relations with the Öresund region, southern Sweden and the southern Baltic area. (Region Skåne, 2013b, 13)

Although the voluntary strategies drafted at the regional level are not binding on the municipalities, the Regional Council functions as an official consultation body to which the municipalities need to send their comprehensive plans for comments. This gives the Regional Council an opportunity to ensure that the municipal plans are in line with the principles of the regional-level strategic structural picture.

2.3 Spatial structures and social effects

Both the regional structural picture and Malmö's municipal planning emphasize the role of spatial structures in aiming for economic, ecologic and social sustainability. Polycentricity and densification are especially emphasized as approaches to the main challenges of the region.

Municipal level

The spatial structures presented in the comprehensive plan are intended to concentrate new development and growth within the existing urban areas. This is not an aim in itself, but is expected to catalyse changes that extend existing values. In an example provided by one of the respondents, densification may be justified in areas where a denser structure can increase connections between areas with different characteristics. A core view appears to be that spatial structure can be expressly used to avoid segregation and create both meetings and the public spaces in which they can occur. In addition to these ambitions, the comprehensive plan seeks to establish that each of the three pillars of sustainability can be reached simultaneously:

Malmö should be a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable city and an attractive place to live and work. These three areas of sustainability work in mutual symbiosis and cooperation. (Malmö stad, 2014, 3).

Regional level

At the regional level, the focus on polycentricity implies that there is a particular objective to develop "growth engines" (Region Skåne, 2013b, 17). These are intended to facilitate good development opportunities in all parts of the region. New development and growth are expected to take place primarily within the existing

structure and to focus on areas close to public transportation, especially railway stations.

The structural picture states that a polycentric structure is a good option for responding to some of the most pressing challenges of the region; it presents various rationales for choosing such a structure. Since unemployment is a major challenge in the region, densification and the creation of a polycentric structure, with improved public transportation, are seen as good measures for connecting the existing three labour market areas (Malmö-Lund, Kristianstad-Hässleholm and Osby-Älmhult) and increasing employment. It is claimed that a polycentric structure will contribute to, among other things, Skåne's competitiveness while reducing climate-related impacts.

2.4 Planning for everyday life

In Malmö-Skåne, both the municipal and regional-level planning approaches appear to be implicitly aimed at improving social sustainability and using spatial structures to reduce barriers between geographic areas and people. In terms of everyday life perspectives, social sustainability plays a central role. As an illustration of how social sustainability is interpreted and implemented, densification and improvement of the public transport network is considered an important method for addressing challenges such as segregation and unemployment.

Planners claim that the construction of mixed housing areas is a way to create multi-purpose and mixed-use spaces where people with different kinds of backgrounds can intermingle. Planners at both levels emphasize that the availability, for example, of spaces for cultural and recreational activities should be equal in all areas. The emphasis on measures that encourage people to meet others with different socio-economic backgrounds stems from the need to address the existing geographic segregation, especially between different areas, in Malmö.

Municipal level

The influence of the "Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö" (*Malmökommissionen*, hereafter "the Commission") on urban planning at the municipal level in Malmö is worth highlighting. It has contributed to the ways in which social sustainability issues are addressed in municipal spatial planning. The Commission was a major initiative by the City of Malmö to increase the focus on social sustainability within various policy areas. The Commission involved a variety of experts, as well as numerous inhabitants, with a total of 2000 people who participated in its work. Among other things, that

work resulted in various recommendations for the various departments of Malmö's municipal administrative authorities.

The Commission also produced reports on a variety of themes. According to the Commission's website, its recommendations and directives on social sustainability and other matters have been taken up by the City of Malmö. Its urban planning department in particular is pursuing social impact analyses of urban planning. One of the Commission's six focus areas, called living/housing environment and urban planning, also received input from the urban planning department. The department participated in compiling a scientific report on the city's impact on spatial aspects of health, including factors in the physical environment that influence the city's inequalities, and analysed ways of addressing these issues through urban planning.

From the perspective of intersectionality, the Malmö comprehensive plan strategy includes considerations across the population. In connection with several of its strategic areas, it mentions that it is important to include the experiences and needs of various groups. It states, for example, that when creating new public meeting places, diversity and gender perspectives need to be included ("Genus- och mångfaldsaspekter ska beaktas vid planering och utformning av nya mötesplatser", Malmö stad, 2014b, 38). Proximity and access to services, especially from a gender and equality perspective, and for the benefit of the ageing population and the disabled, are also emphasized. It was, however, not possible given the limitations of the pilot study to assess the extent to which such stated intentions are applied concretely, in practice.

In addition to the comprehensive plan strategy's consideration of social development, as discussed above, the strategy claims that denser urban structure makes everyday life easier to live. In its own words, "det är enkelt att leva vardagslivet koncentrerat" (Malmö stad, 2014b, 9). Directly translated, "it is simple to live everyday life in a concentrated way."

Regional level

The structural picture strategy document continuously mentions the need for establishing sustainable physical structures that have a "focus on people" (Region Skåne, 2013b, 8; "som sätter människan i centrum", in Region Skåne, 2013, 8) and the need for planning with people as the point of departure: "utgå från människan i planeringen" (Region Skåne, 2013, 41). According to one of the respondents, the notion of stating that it is "people" who are central centre was strongly influenced by Jahn Gehl's ideas of the human scale of things. Examples of Gehl's books include, *Life Between Buildings: Using*

Public Space (from 1987, originally published in Danish as *Livet mellem husene*, in 1971) and *Cities for People*, in 2010.

As noted above in Section 2.5, the creation of “socially sustainable, attractive localities and environments that offer high quality of life,” is just one of the areas of priority specified in the structural picture strategy. The document states that in practice, “integration, diversity and tolerance” (Region Skåne, 2013b, 43–44) can be promoted by a physical form that encourages mixed-use development, resulting in different kinds of housing and tenancy mixed with businesses, public services and culture. In yet another part of the strategy, attractive meeting places and access to green space and recreational areas are described as creating preconditions for attractiveness and social sustainability (Region Skåne, 2013 & 2013b, 41)

From the perspective of intersectionality, the structural picture strategy does not explicitly mention or indicate an awareness of the presence of different groups. A respondent stated that matters of participation and dialogue are handled at the municipal level. According to the interviewee, the Regional Council, in part influenced by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö, is currently starting to work more actively with the concept of social sustainability in spatial planning.

2.5 Methods for planning everyday life

Municipal level

The planning department of the City of Malmö has actively aimed to find new ways to include groups that are usually not heard in planning. An example provided by one of the respondents involved a gender dimension. The example was from the planning of public space in the suburb of Rosengård. Planners were being made aware that local girls were not feeling comfortable spending time in public spaces in the local area. As a result, it was decided, as a form of affirmative action, that only young girls would be included in the planning of a new recreational venue for young people, in order to promote the creation of more inclusive public spaces in Rosengård. Instead of using the traditional methods of simply “mapping the wishes of the local inhabitants,” as such methods are usually termed, the city planning administration adopted a more long-term approach. This was to engage the local girls in its work; among other methods by employing two girls as interns. Their task was to plan the recreational venue in co-operation with other young girls who also resided in the area (Björnson, 2015).

Another practical example can be found in the way

of working with the “områdesprogram” (or “area programme”) that is also presented in the comprehensive plan strategy. Area programmes aim to promote social sustainability in selected areas by encouraging inhabitants, businesses, tertiary sector associations, Malmö University, national authorities and other actors to search together for solutions for the specific challenges of each area. The strategy states that the programmes should be built around “fysiska skelett” (“physical skeletons”), with “sociala muskler” (“social muscles”) and makes a clear connection between the physical and the social aspects in urban planning (Malmö stad, 2014b, 63).

Regional level

The regional level structural picture appears to be strongly based on a broad range of analyses undertaken over a long period of time. As a method, this claims to have been effective. According to one of the respondents, a planner, from the very beginning of the process to construct a common structural picture for the region, it was noticed by those involved that more knowledge would be needed. It was therefore decided to start a long process of analysis and dialogue with the municipalities.

In another example, indirect references to everyday life can be interpreted within the several reports and analyses that provided the basis for choosing polycentricity as the spatial structure for Skåne. One was a report that compares the benefits and problems of different spatial structures. Another looks at the relation between climate impacts and physical structures, while yet another studies the rationales for densification. The latter recognizes that there are also challenges, of a social nature, related to densification (e.g. noise levels and interest conflicts) and not just advantages.

In this attempt to reveal more indications of how everyday life is considered by Malmö-Skåne’s planners, the strategy document of the structural picture was found to provide one more clue. It states that “knowledge about people’s physical and social needs is central to the creation of attractive environments” (Region Skåne, 2013b, 41) and emphasizes the need to focus physical planning on human needs. It may be that such statements, on the other hand, are mainly addressed to planners at municipal level, since the analyses and reports behind the structural picture focus on statistical information and spatial analyses. Indeed, a respondent stated that the inclusion of inhabitants in dialogue and co-creation is to be done at the municipal level. Neither qualitative analyses nor participation processes that would provide knowledge of the lives of the inhabitants have been undertaken at the regional level in support of the structural picture.

2.6 The Malmö-Skåne city-region in sum

In summary, the city-region planning in Malmö and Skåne has an ambition to use spatial planning to address everyday life matters, especially through social development issues. Both at municipal and regional levels, densified polycentric spatial structures are advocated. At municipal level, densification of physical structure in the City of Malmö is expected to facilitate meetings in public spaces. At the regional level, the anticipated benefits include a decrease in unemployment as a result of linking together the labour market areas and improving the geographic mobility of the labour force.

At the regional level, the decision to work towards a denser polycentric structure is based on a long process

of varied analyses and dialogue with municipalities, but limited direct input, or co-creation, from the inhabitants. At the municipal level in Malmö, however, dialogue and co-design methods are being developed. This is strengthened by the guiding role of the comprehensive plan strategy and its numerous reminders of the need to include the perspectives of various resident groups.

During the case study process, it became clear that the role of the cross-sectoral Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö has been central in putting social sustainability issues on the agenda in spatial planning; not only at a local, but also at a regional level. The Commission's way of working in broad co-operation with different actors to cover several policy areas related to social sustainability in an integrated manner could be applied in other municipalities and regions.

Case 3: Planning in the Stavanger-Jaeren city-region

Stavanger, with a population of 130,000, is the fourth-largest city in Norway, and is located in the Stavanger-Jaeren city-region. Jaeren, which is one of four districts in Rogaland County, has a population of 300,000. As a result of the growing oil and gas industry, Stavanger has experienced high growth in recent years. This has put significant pressure on urban development and transportation systems. Table 3 below presents an analysis of the structure of plans for Stavanger's city-region.

3.1 Planning at the municipal level

Land-use and development planning in Norway are mainly carried out at municipal level, through municipal plans that consist of a strategic plan and a binding land-use plan. The vision in Stavanger's latest municipal plan,

Kommuneplan for Stavanger 2014–2029, is that the entire municipality will work together for a living city. It calls for cultivation of close co-operation and a sense of community among the city's residents, its business community, associations and the municipality. The plan is structured in three chapters: an introduction, which includes the vision, objectives and summary of the plan; a second chapter, which details the policies for societal development; and a final one, with the spatial plan. The prominence given to societal aspects in the plan's second chapter is common for comprehensive planning in Norway. The five main aims for the long-term development of Stavanger are good housing, diversity and participation, co-operation within the region, an innovative and strong business sector and efficient municipal organization. The municipal plan highlights

	Municipal	City-region
Authority	Stavanger kommune	Rogaland Fylkeskommune
Status of the authority	Municipality	Regional authority responsible for regional development but also working with binding strategic regional planning
Plan	Kommuneplan for Stavanger 2014-2029 (hearing in spring 2015)	Regional plan for Jaeren
Plan status and characteristics	The comprehensive municipal plan is a strategic and visionary guiding document for decisions on the use of land and water areas and urban development	Sub-regional binding plan that focuses on co-ordinating land-use and transport planning across municipal boundaries
Geographic coverage of the plan	The municipality of Stavanger	The municipalities of Stavanger, Sandnes, Sola and Randberg
Main aims of the plan	Devise a common vision in order for the city-region to remain attractive and competitive and adapt to climate change	Address the challenges posed by rapid urban development and car dependency

Table 3: An analysis of the structure of plans for Stavanger's city-region.

three main themes: co-operation within the city-region, public health and urban development. The municipality is experiencing high growth, a result of both an influx of foreign labour and urbanization trends.

3.2 Planning at the city-region level

The city-region of Jæren can be considered as a “natural geographic unit,” comprising the municipalities of Stavanger, Sandnes, Sola and Randberg. The regional plan for Jæren is binding, and is developed in close co-operation with both the planning directors and the political leaders in each of the concerned municipalities. The plan is elaborated at county level and, notwithstanding the co-operation process, can still impose measures that go against the interests of individual municipalities. If the municipalities decline to follow the binding plans, the county first responds with a reprimand, and can thereafter choose to take the matter to national level.

The main challenges at the city-region level are the effects of urban sprawl, including extended structures and mono-functional areas, and, in particular, urban expansion into the region’s fertile lowlands. The city-region also suffers from traffic congestion and a low public transport share (about 6%). To remedy this, Jæren’s binding regional plan has delineated strict boundaries for urban growth, and is credited with having made the county’s development more concentrated during the last few years.

3.3 Spatial structures and social effects

Municipal level

The growth in Stavanger’s population has led to sprawling urban structure as well as a high level of dependency on private car use. This, combined with a lack of adequate public transport, creates a situation that is prone to traffic congestion. To deal with the challenges posed by urban sprawl, the municipal plan proposes densification and integrated transport and housing planning. A large component of recent urban development has, as a result, been in the form of densification, brownfield redevelopment and, in city centres, building upwards. Compactness, together with improved public transport, and a modal shift in favour of cycling and walking, are intended to counter the current reliance on private car use.

Despite the focus on densification, the preservation of green areas and access to non-built areas, or “nature”, figures prominently throughout the municipal plan. It is argued that such access ensures a high quality of life,

by providing areas for physical and recreational activities. The link between green spaces and public health is a reaction to statistics on living conditions, which reveal that the municipality’s residents are insufficiently active and that rates of obesity are increasing.

Developing lively regional centres with mixed functions is an additional way of addressing urban sprawl and coping with the alarming traffic situation. In the same vein, the provision of services in regional centres serviced by public transportation is encouraged, in preference to the development of suburban shopping malls, which require access by private cars.

City-region level

Previous planning approaches at the city-region level were quite dispersed in their scope. The county is now trying a different approach, by being more coherent regarding time and place, and focusing on one area at a time. Efforts are being made to concentrate investments in different phases in an area, in order to promote a holistic approach that includes both housing and transport. While this is proving difficult to achieve, the county believes that this approach is promising and that it will bear fruit in the long run.

The county is also investing in public transport as a response to the traffic congestion. For example, a recent agreement has been reached with the municipalities: while the county invests in transport nodes, municipalities are expected to build dense neighbourhoods around them. Density is also the development form that is recommended for preserving open spaces and ensuring efficient land use in the region. Concentrated development and service provision in regional centres can serve to both reduce commuting and create lively town centres.

3.4 Planning and everyday life

Municipal level

The human perspective is heavily present in the plans, and the municipal plan clearly makes a link between the municipality’s development aims and the expected benefits for the residents. The importance of societal as well as physical development is evident in the structure of the municipal plan. Its second chapter presents the social, softer aspects of physical planning, the goals that planning aims to achieve and the methods for doing so.

The main social aspects considered in planning are those that pertain to the municipality’s demographic structure and public health. Everyday life as a concept is not used explicitly, although the theme of working to ensure a high quality of life recurs throughout the plan. One area, for example, that is mentioned as being im-

portant for ensuring high quality of life is the provision and localization of child care services. The catchment areas of day-care centres have been reviewed to reduce the length of the daily trips they require.

As mentioned above, public health has a high profile and is considered to have a significant role in quality of life, both in terms of the urban built environment and of lifestyle choice, such as the physical activities of residents. This is an issue that Stavanger Municipality's comprehensive plans have emphasized, and for which its residents have responded with positive feedback. This differs from other aspects related to everyday life, such as "universal design," which is a national-level requirement to ensure that all citizens have equal access to buildings and public spaces, irrespective of physical impairment or age. Such matters are dealt with in sectoral plans rather than comprehensive plans. Sectoral plans are thematic programmes that consider the municipality as a whole, and can for example focus on policies against discrimination. In certain cases, evaluations of living conditions (*levetår*) may indicate that a special programme is needed in a specific area (*løft*), but this is rather unusual.

Planning at the municipal level, in other words, tends to follow a sectoral approach, rather than an area-based one. While municipal planners try to maintain a comprehensive view covering all relevant aspects in their plans, the adoption of a systematic, comprehensive approach has not been prioritized. The plans have, on the other hand, recognized the diverse composition of the local population including the growing number of immigrants. Catering to the needs of these different groups is considered important for encouraging public participation.

City-region level

At city-region or county level, the concept of everyday life is not mentioned explicitly. It is, however, implicit in discussion of, for example, access to green areas, service provision and housing standards. A number of related concepts are used: one of them is the "10-minute city," which aims to provide all daily services within a 10-minute reach. This is one way of ensuring that the daily lives of residents are as contiguous as possible. Another concept is that of universal design, referred to above, providing equal access to buildings and public spaces. Taking account children's perspectives into account is similarly required under national-level programmes; this includes provision of playgrounds and ensuring, during urban densification processes, that they are preserved. Such measures, together with prescribed access to open spaces and outdoor activities, are specified in thematic regional plans, and also figure

in Jæren's city-region plan.

According to Jæren region's own studies, a substantial portion of the expected population growth will consist of foreign labour attracted by the oil and gas industry. In informing the municipalities about these developments, the region has emphasized that new arrivals may have different preferences than established residents, for example in choice of housing. While people from Rogaland have traditionally been attached to single-family housing and are avid car-users, new residents appear to prefer central locations, in close proximity to restaurants and leisure activities. The municipalities need to consider these preferences when planning new housing.

Generally speaking, the emphasis at county level has so far been on physical planning, and how the built environment can contribute to maintaining the quality of daily life. The current situation is characterized by urban sprawl, resulting in long commuting times, with negative impacts on quality of life. According to this study's respondents, the integration of social aspects is becoming more important, as evidenced by the increased focus on public health.

3.5 Methods for planning everyday life

Municipal level

The concept of living conditions (*levetår*) is central to municipal planning. Statistical data is collected every two years in order to measure a number of changing parameters. These include how living conditions are evolving in the municipality's districts: changes in unemployment rates, education levels, criminality, residential turnover, the number of families with children, immigration rates and other variables. Such data collection is an important quantitative tool for planners.

The regular collection of data was first tested in Stavanger. It proved so useful that it was adopted by several other Norwegian cities. Its main aim is to enable the municipality to assess the development of the city districts and identify those that need additional investments. The statistics are used not only for the elaboration of plans, but are also useful in the daily work of various municipal administrative departments. Their frequent use has attracted much political attention, since they have proven to be of critical value in determining which measures are most effective for redressing at least some of the more problematic issues in an area. In areas with high population turnover, for example, statistical data on the housing market can be reviewed and may lead to more diverse solutions to provision of housing that satisfies people's needs.

This statistical data does not provide planners with knowledge about general preferences. Feedback and input from the citizens is nevertheless gathered in several different ways, such as through public meetings and workshops. One example is the workshops to which both local residents and stakeholders are invited. These are held in those city districts that are in the process of elaborating local plans. As a method, however, such workshops have proven to be far from satisfactory. Including the results of the workshops in eventual planning documents is difficult because the input often covers a broad variety of topics, and is therefore too general. As a result, it has been concluded that useful inputs are easier to achieve for specific, detailed projects, in which the contentious issues are more concrete. In sum, the workshops do have a function as a channel for informing residents about future development plans, but are limited in their use as a means for generating useful participation.

A further concern is that some groups are more difficult to reach out to than others. Most of the time it is the traditionally more vocal groups that make their opinions heard. In the opinion of the respondents, tools that can rectify this imbalance have yet to be designed.

City-region level

The county does not produce its own statistics on living conditions, so it strongly encourages the municipalities to collect this statistical data. This statistical data is processed by a dedicated unit at county level, although not to the same level of detail as in the municipalities. The county collects data on demography, density, education and employment, private sector development, housing prices and public transport, among other parameters.

The data are analysed with the everyday life perspective in mind, even if the term itself is not used when discussing county aims and objectives. While the county does not have much direct contact with the residents, the county plans are subjected to public hearings, and workshops that gather input from associations linked to leisure and outdoor activities are organized. Information and input from residents tends to be collected through the municipalities.

3.6 The Stavanger-Jæren city-region in sum

Planning in Stavanger and Jæren has strongly focused on physical structures. Transport-oriented development and densification are presented as strategies for constraining urban sprawl and associated transportation issues. The preservation of green areas and access to the outdoors are key elements of plans at both municipal and county levels. Population growth has been rapid, and the municipality is still learning how to cope. Respondents indicated that the processes of densification have much potential for improvement. Learning from the experience of other cities in similar circumstances would be helpful.

Even if social concerns are evident, the actual concept of everyday life does not appear in the vocabulary, or documents, of planners in Stavanger and its city-region. Some related elements are included with the broader aim of providing the county's and the municipality's residents a high quality of life and the focus on public health. Alternative concepts such as the 10-minute city and universal design also overlap with everyday life. Other issues, however, do not figure highly on the agenda; gender issues, for example, do not generate considerable interest. However, social aspects in planning are growing in importance and knowledge exchange with other city-regions is valued.

The main tool used to gain information about residents is the living condition statistics, which provide critical data and allow the development of the city districts to be mapped over time. Although these are helpful in enabling the design of suitable policies and programmes to address problematic issues, the statistics provide little, if any, insight into citizen's actual preferences. Workshops and direct public participation can remedy this to a certain extent, yet certain groups remain hard to reach and their needs and interests may not be reflected in municipal and city-region plans to the extent that they should.

Case 4: Planning in the Tampere city-region and Tampere region

In the Tampere region, Finland, there are two authorities that undertake planning of the city-region, each with different objectives and different legislative status. This is clarified in Table 4 below. For this case, we studied both

the voluntary strategic planning co-operation at city-regional level, and the legally binding planning at regional level.

	City-region	Regional
Territorial characteristics	Eight municipalities, approx. 360,000 inhabitants, 4,550 km ² , second largest city-region in Finland (in population)	22 municipalities, approx. 500,000 inhabitants, 14,468 km ² , second largest region in Finland (in population)
Authority	The Joint Authority of Tampere city-region	The Regional Council of Tampere (the official Finnish name of the region: Pirkanmaa)
Status of the authority	Voluntary co-operation body of the 8 municipalities of the city-region	Regional authority responsible for regional development and regional planning in Pirkanmaa region (NUTS3)
Plan	Structural plan 2040 ² (Rakennesuunnitelma 2040)	Regional plan 2040 ³ (draft) (Pirkanmaan maakuntakaava)
Plan status and characteristics	Non-binding, voluntary, of strategic nature; mainly in line with the regional plan that is binding for all municipalities	Binding; municipal plans need to be in line with the regional plan
Geographic coverage of the plan	Covers solely the common settlement area of the city-region; focus on the core urban areas and the largest regional centres; covers in total 11% of the entire city-region; rural areas and villages are excluded	Covers all the municipalities of the region and all areas (including also those in the city-region plan)
Main aims of the plan	For example, to develop the attractiveness of the city-region to be a leader in “well-functioning life” ⁴ , sustainable growth and co-operation	For example, to increase the competitiveness of the region; develop a socially and environmentally sustainable physical structure; support sustainable use of natural resources and the energy efficiency of the physical infrastructure

Table 4: Background information about the authorities and plans at the two planning levels.

2) The question framework can be retrieved from the authors. The document is only available in Finnish, but “structural plan” is the translation used by the Joint Authority of Tampere city-region.

3) The document is only available in Finnish, but “regional plan” and “regional land-use plan” are official translations used by the Ministry of the Environment to describe the binding regional planning documents.

4) The Finnish term used in the plan is “sujuva elämä” which could be translated as, for example, smooth, well-functioning, easy or fluent life.

4.1 Planning at the city-region level

The Joint Authority of Tampere city-region is a voluntary co-operation authority that is responsible for, among other things, a strategic structural plan, which has no legislative status. The strategic structural plan (*Rakennesuunnitelma*) mainly aims to create a common understanding among the city-region's municipalities about future development. The city-region comprises the central city of Tampere and the surrounding towns of Nokia, Orivesi and Ylöjärvi and the municipalities of Kangasala, Lempäälä, Pirkkala and Vesilahti. The strategic structural plan only covers the larger settlement area of those municipalities. It is primarily a tool for guiding development of the core urban areas, and the biggest regional centres, as a cohesive urban structure. The plan concerns 11% of the entire city-region and excludes rural areas and villages.

According to the planners who were interviewed for the study, the need for co-operation at the city-region level partly stems from Finland's current municipal reforms. These include, among several aims, an intention to reduce the number of municipalities via mergers. The strategic structural plan can provide the municipalities with a way to agree on the future principles of land use across municipal borders in the city-region; the latter can also use it to demonstrate united political will to regional- and national-level decision-makers. Voluntary co-operation between municipalities has been seen as a kind of middle way, or compromise, where co-operation is intensified yet municipal mergers are avoided. Nationally, Tampere is one of the city-regions with the most developed co-operation.

The city-region structural plan states that its aim is to develop the attractiveness of the city-region as a leader in what can be considered (broadly, and arguably, when translated from the Finnish), as well-functioning "everyday life,"⁵ sustainable growth and co-operation ("Tampere haluaa kehittyä ... sujuvan elämän, kestävän kasvun ja yhteistyön edelläkävijänä," Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 2014, 3). It states that the plan is a way of seeing the city-region as an entity and one that takes into account land use in the different municipalities, and proposes solutions for sustainable growth. ("Se tarkastelee kaupunkiseutua kokonaisuutena, sovittaa yhteen kuntien maankäyttöä ja esittää ratkaisuja kestävän kasvun toteuttamiseksi," *ibid.*).

5) This case study is based on the limited material accessible during February 2015–December 2016; that included a limited draft, PowerPoint presentations of the draft plan, and an interview with a responsible planner.

4.2 Planning at the regional level

The Regional Council of Tampere region is the official regional authority; it is responsible for the regional plan, which, in the Finnish physical planning system, is a binding planning document. Because of the hierarchical nature of that planning system, the municipal plans need to be in line with the regional plan. The regional plan (Maakuntakaava) covers all the municipalities in the European Union's official NUTS3 region of Pirkanmaa, where Tampere is the central municipality.

At time of writing, in February, 2015, the regional plan was still a draft. The regional plan will likely be debated before its expected approval, in spring 2017.⁵ The main aims mentioned in the draft were to increase the competitiveness of the region; to develop a socially and environmentally responsible physical structure; and to support the sustainable use of natural resources and the energy efficiency of the physical infrastructure. (Pirkanmaan liitto, 2014, 2)

4.3 Spatial structures and social effects

Both the city-region strategic structural plan and the draft regional plan aim at a more cohesive physical structure. That structure is intended to avoid sprawl and promote polycentricity, with a focus on developing different kinds of growth-directing centres throughout the region. This means that new developments and growth should be located within the existing physical structure, while public transportation, especially the train and tram network, is to be improved.

City-region level

The city-region structural plan focuses on a polycentric structure with different types of centres. Those centres provide different service levels and access to a variety of types of public transportation (tram, train and/or bus). The plan describes the kinds of services that are to be located in the various kinds of centres. These include the "lower-level" local centres, for provision of basic daily services, and the less-numerous "higher-level" regional centres, for provision of a greater diversity of services (Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 2014, 21–23). The centres are intended to function as points of service and transport, as well as to provide diverse environments for living and working. The plan also describes how three different types of centres provide alternative living and housing environments. Their aim is to ensure mixed-use development, as well as to provide different types of housing and tenure forms (including social housing). The denser structure pro-

moted in the plan is also seen as a way of providing companies and municipalities with an operational environment that promotes economic productivity, because growth within the existing urban structure is expected to decrease the need for new investments and shorten travel distances.⁶ Ecological sustainability issues are also mentioned in the plan, but they do not seem to be as central as the previously-mentioned social and economic issues.

Regional level

The draft regional plan proposes a structure similar to that proposed in the city-region structural plan, but is legislatively binding for the municipalities. According to the respondent who works in the regional-level planning process, three models for a physical structure had been developed, but in the end a structure clearly favouring densification was chosen. The option of drafting a plan that focuses on a polycentric structure was widely debated in the political system before the decision was made. Some changes may still be made before the plan is finally approved.

4.4 Planning for everyday life

Based on interviews and the planning documents, it seems that both city-region and regional planning address everyday life issues by paying particular attention to access to services and public transportation. The plans seek to provide diverse living environments, and a variety of housing and tenure forms. Especially at the regional level, the provision of recreational services is also emphasized.

In the city-region plan, the concept of “well-functioning life” (*“Sujuva elämä”*, Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 3) is explicitly used, but no single definition of it is provided. According to an interviewee, the notion of well-functioning everyday life can be promoted at city-region level by promoting diverse mixed-use living environments, public transportation and service networks. As the regional-level plan was still in the draft stage at the time of writing, extensive descriptions of its approach were not available. However, the respondent from the Regional Council was able to provide a view of its intentions: specifically that regional planning’s main way of addressing everyday life issues was by planning a form of service network. That network would ensure the availability of commercial and

public services in the various levels of centres that are located in close connection to well-functioning public transport systems.

From an intersectionality perspective, neither the respondents at the city-region level nor those at the regional one could state that they have explicitly been able to include or reflect on the perspectives of different groups, whether based on, for example, socio-economic status, ethnicity or gender. Ageing, and the needs of the ageing population, on the other hand, are issues that have been discussed and mentioned to some extent in the plans. The demographic changes expected in Finland are enormous, and the increasing share of the ageing population is expected to bring new challenges, especially to service provision (Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 2014, 21–23; Roto, Grunfelder & Rispling, eds., 2014).

The interviewees note that the region is still relatively “mono-cultural,” and that it is also mainly a destination for migration within Finland, while migration from abroad remains limited. Possible changes in this situation, within the period that the plans address (until 2040), have not been widely discussed when drafting the plans. The interviewees also noted that the planned physical structure, with mixed-use areas characterized by a variety of housing and tenure forms as well as good access to public transportation, jobs and services, is expected to be responsive to future changes. It is anticipated that it will also contribute to avoiding segregation.

The City of Tampere has traditionally been successful in creating areas with mixed tenure forms in housing and which diminish segregation. As the central municipality in the region, the city has been responsible for most social housing, but the aim now is to increase the share of “affordable housing” in other municipalities also. A central justification is to ensure the availability of labour, including for low-paid jobs, in different parts of the region. The city-region structural plan mentions that affordable rental housing is an important part of economic and housing policy (Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 20).

4.5 Methods for planning everyday life

City-region

The city-region structural plan is mainly based on analyses from earlier phases of city-region planning: analyses of transport and medium-density housing development; sectoral strategies for the city-region, such as the housing policy programme 2030, the walking and cycling development programme and the general tram network plan; and current municipal plans.

6) “Eheä yhdyskuntarakenne tarjoaa asukkaille toimivan asuinympäristön tarvittavine palveluineen sekä yrityksille ja kunnille tuottavuutta edistävän toimintaympäristön. Kasvun ohjaaminen kaupunkirakenteen sisälle vähentää investointien tarvetta ja lyhentää etäisyyksiä.” Tampereen kaupunkiseudun seutuhallitus, 2014, 6.

Our respondent emphasized that compared to the first structural plan from 2010, the present structural planning process has paid more attention to qualitative issues, resulting in the encouragement of diverse living environments and housing options. An architect was hired to sketch out some ideas for the diverse living environments of the different kinds of centres. The architect reflected on the appropriate qualities (e.g. in terms of services, meeting places and common spaces in apartment buildings) for areas surrounding the various kinds of planned centres, and about the potential value of linking the planned urban centres to the planned tram networks.

The process of drafting the city-region strategic structural plan did not include any public participation or consultation with the inhabitants; rather, the proposed structures are based on analyses and reflections on the appropriate characteristics of different kinds of centres. Although some public events involving inhabitants and representatives from associations, NGOs and private companies were organized during the process, the city-region structural planning was predominantly undertaken in consultation with the municipalities. Consultation with inhabitants is expected to occur in connection with the binding physical planning carried out by the municipalities.

Regional level

The physical structure proposed in the draft regional plan is more strongly based on analyses and is more closely linked to the political system and public participation than in the structure proposed in the strategic city-region structural plan. This state of affairs is a consequence of the binding legislative status of the plan and the requirements thus stem from the formal planning system and legislation. For example, the service network presented in the draft plan is based on quantitative analyses of, among other factors, the existing service network, accessibility, expected changes in land use, and expected population development. Based on the analyses, certain areas are chosen as future centres where services should be concentrated.

According to the respondent, the Regional Council has actively involved inhabitants. It has developed new ways to include their knowledge and works actively with different experts and municipal decision-makers. Some challenges relating to the inclusion of inhabitants in regional-level planning have been noted. At the regional level, for example, it has been a challenge to gather input from the inhabitants when major strategic planning issues at the regional level are being discussed. There is a concern that inhabitants may have difficulties in taking a position on the issues at stake, such as in

which direction the physical structure of the region should grow. It is easier for them to provide input on specific issues, such as the location of wind turbines.

Data on inhabitants' practices has been collected in response to the challenges caused by limited and geographically unequally-distributed participation when using traditional methods such as surveys. One example of the methods used by the Regional Council is analysis of the locations from which scenes of nature have been uploaded to the Internet. This has been used to obtain extra input for the planning of recreational areas. Another example of an innovative method has been the collection of travel diaries to garner a better understanding of inhabitants' travel practices. Inhabitants were asked to track their travel practices and modes of transportation during a limited period. This is expected to provide more accurate information about people's choice of transportation modes than other methods such as surveys.

During the planning process, the Regional Council has also launched a separate project to develop the regional planning process. This included clarifying the role of regional planning, developing and strengthening the role of impact assessment in the planning process, and using crowdsourcing and public participation. The project seeks to ensure that there is a clear connection between impact assessment and the actual plan, and a connection between the participation of different interest groups and the plan. It is noted, however, that conflicts will always remain, and that the wishes of all cannot be fulfilled.

4.6 The Tampere city-region in sum

Based on the plans and interviews, the city-region and regional planning on matters related to everyday life in the Tampere region focus on particular issues relating to services (including recreational services), public transportation, sufficient and diverse housing production and improvement in the quality of urban environments. A polycentric spatial structure and densification are considered as ways to improve the functionality and ease of everyday life, primarily by improving access to services and public transportation. Although the focus is on densification, it is also emphasized that there should be different kinds of living environments, and that everyday life should also "function" in areas that are not highly densely populated (but that nevertheless exist within the polycentric settlement structure). This implies a wish to provide the inhabitants with a choice of different kinds of environments. This has been found to be a politically effective argument for increasing the acceptance of the densification plans

among municipal decision-makers and inhabitants.

Because planning that considers everyday life in the Tampere city-region is mainly focused on access to transport and services, both the city-region and regional planning recognize and emphasize the need for integrative planning. At both levels, it seems that there is an ambition to plan for these issues in an integrated manner, to ensure the functionality of everyday life. At regional level, integrating transport planning with land-use and service network planning is considered

central, whereas at city-region level housing planning is also addressed.

In terms of including the inhabitants' practices and knowledge in the planning process, the Regional Council of the Tampere region has actively developed new and innovative methods. The experience gained in applying new technological solutions could be of interest to other regions, as could lessons about the potential and challenges of inclusion of inhabitants' knowledge in politically-steered regional planning processes.

Appendix 5:

Workshop om vardagslivsperspektivet i stadsregional planering

Program 5 februari 2015:

By- og Landskabsforvaltningens kontorbygning, Stigsborg Brygge 5, Aalborg

- 10.00 Presentation om Nordiska arbetsgruppen om hållbara och attraktiva stadsregioner och NorLife projektet
- 10.30 Presentation av intervjufrågorna och resultat av analysen av stadsregionala planer
- 11.30 Lunch
- 12.30 Frågor och utbyte om vardagslivsperspektivet i planerarbetet:
 - på lokal nivå
 - på stadsregional nivå
 - på regional nivå
- 14.00 Sammanfattande diskussioner

Deltagare:

1. Jan Nielsen, direktør, Aalborg Kommune
2. Anne Juel Andersen, planlægger, Aalborg Kommune
3. Peter Baltzer, stadsarkitekt, Aalborg Kommune
4. Mette Kristoffersen, planlægger Aalborg planstrategi, Aalborg Kommune
5. Per Toppenberg, projektleder Regional udvikling, Region Nordjylland
6. Carsten Jahn Hansen, Aalborg Universitet
7. Cathrine Borg, Aalborg Universitet
8. Richard Langlais, Nordregio
9. Veronique Larsson, Nordregio

The Question Framework

The following is an indicative question framework for use as a template when enquiring about everyday life practice and about how it is thought of in planning. Its intent is not that it should be slavishly followed, but that it serves as a palate of potential question approaches that can be chosen at will, dependent on circumstances and appropriateness to the needs at hand. In other words, practitioners will need to do their own analytical and preparatory work in order to extract the perspective that is most useful for them from the framework below.

Section 1: THE STRUCTURAL FOUNDATION— Understanding the city-region scale from a spatial perspective (includes municipal comprehensive plans, city-region plans and regional plans with a *spatial focus*).

The city-region level is focused on, but to be able to say something about differences in how the everyday life perspective is addressed at different levels, the municipal comprehensive plan (översiktsplan) and a regional plan should also be analysed. However, only plans with a primary focus on spatial development should be analysed.

What are the motivations for preparing the plan? (examples: Motivations can be green growth, economic growth, social cohesion, greener economy, climate change mitigation/adaptation, sustainability etc.) Text analysis and interviews.

Is the city-region defined in the plan? If yes, how (commuting patterns, density, etc)? *Text analysis.*

Which problems and issues are identified as important to address in the plan? (Please also include how sustainability and green growth are addressed) Text analysis.

What are the concrete spatial proposals for solving the identified problems and the sensitive problems/aspects addressed in questions 3 and 4 above? Text analysis and interviews.

Helping question:

■ What kinds of spatial structures are emphasized? (the compact city, urban sprawl; mixed-use development with good access to shopping and daily provision of services (day care, health etc.); focusing develop-

ment along public transport systems; proposing new urban development within the boundary of the existing built up area of the city core; clusters (sci-life, innovation or business) etc.)

■ What are the motivations (from the perspective of responsible planners) for addressing the issues identified in questions 1,3 and 4 above, as well as the proposed spatial development addressed in Question 5? Interviews.

Helping questions:

■ What have been the main driving forces (for example recent and historical events) for addressing city-region problems and challenges and proposing specific spatial development to deal with the problems and challenges?

■ What have been the challenges in formulating and agreeing on problems and on specific spatial development to deal with those problems and challenges?

■ What have been the success factors in formulating and agreeing on problems and challenges and on specific spatial development to deal with those problems and challenges?

■ Are there any aspects/problems that have been discussed during the planning process but that are not emphasised in the plan? Why?

Are there any assumptions about relations between groups of people, the built environment and the natural environment in the plan? *Text analysis*

Example:

■ How does the plan describe different groups of people and their way of life. The example of Hammarby Sjöstad works fine as an illustration, Hammarby Sjöstad was originally planned for middle aged persons without kids. Then it turned out that a lot of families with children chose to move there, and as a consequence childcare infrastructure was lacking. Were these ideals clearly stated and described in the plans?

Are there any potential conflicts in the goals/vision/strategies of the plans? (ex. Environmental profile with high building standards and affordable housing, eco-

conomic growth versus ecological conservation or economic growth versus social reproduction, production versus social reproduction) *Text analysis and interviews*.

Section 2: THE MEANING OF IT ALL— Representations of an everyday life perspective in city-region planning (includes municipal comprehensive plans, city-region plans and regional plans with a *spatial focus*)

How is the role of people emphasised in the plan? Is an everyday life perspective reflected in planning documents and practice? If so, how? *Text analysis*.

Sub questions:

- How does the plan address the relationship between production (paid work), housing, transportation, leisure time and social reproduction (child care, elderly care, grocery shopping etc.) for different groups of people?
- Does the plan propose how to increase the quality of life of the local population?
- How are everyday life practices of different groups of people (i.e. people with different socio-economic capacity, ethnicity, culture, age, gender, class, race) addressed in the plan? Or is the plan “blind” to some of these types of differences?
- Are there any observable explicit or implicit assumptions about groups of people and about relations between different groups in the plan?
- What are the norms that set the standards for a ‘good life’ in the plan?
- How does the plan address the relations between different groups of people and different economic activities? (What kinds of job opportunities are planned for? For whom? For which groups of people?)
- Are for example opportunities for entrepreneurship for different kinds of groups of people addressed in some way? Which economic sectors are emphasised and which are not and in relation to which groups of people are these emphasised?

Terms to look out for (inspiration from RUFSS, which we deem rather strongly include an everyday life perspective): Segregation, Integration, Elderly, Children, Single households, Disadvantaged/poor, Rich, Ethnicity, Religion, Sexual orientation, Unemployed, Illness, Unpaid work (grocery shopping, cleaning, taking care of family), Commuting and travel patterns, Accessibility,

Well-being, Culture, Identity, Social capital, Power structures, Crime.

What spatial structures are proposed for addressing the issues in Question 1 above? *Text analysis*.

What are the motivations (from the perspective of interviewed planners) for addressing the issues in Question 1 above and what are the motivations for the proposed spatial structures emphasised in Question 2 above? *Interviews*.

Helping questions:

- What have been the main driving forces for addressing the issues stated in questions 1 and 2 above?
- What have been the challenges in formulating and agreeing on the issues stated in questions 1 and 2 above?
- What have been the success factors in formulating and agreeing on the issues and the spatial structures stated in questions 1 and 2 above?
- Are there any aspects/problems that have been discussed during the planning process but that are not emphasised in the plan? Why?
- How do planners arrange their work (inform themselves) to be able to address an everyday life perspective and to propose relevant spatial structures?

Section 3: COMPARING THE CASES— To be answered based on the case analysis

What are the main differences between the selected city-regions when it comes to including an everyday life perspective in spatial planning? What can the city-regions learn from each other?

What have been the main motivations, success factors and challenges in developing the different plans? Has the everyday life perspective been central? How? And how do planners arrange their work (inform themselves) to be able to include an everyday life perspective?

Are there any noticeable differences in how the everyday life perspective is addressed in the municipal comprehensive plan (översiktsplan) compared to the city-region plan and the regional plan? Why?

Based on our analytical framework (see Chapter 2, above, of this report, which discusses everyday life, intersectionality, spatial development/urban form). How can the framework be developed and what can the regions learn from the framework?

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Nordregio
P.O. Box 1658
SE-111 86 Stockholm, Sweden
nordregio@nordregio.se
www.nordregio.se
www.norden.org

