Translating Sustainability Rhetoric
into
Urban Planning Practice:
interpreting ideas, finding solutions and dealing with conflicts, cases of Saskatoon and Uppsala

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Joint Master Programme in European Spatial Planning, Environmental Policies and Regional Development

June 2016

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Summary

This study examines two urban renewal projects in Saskatoon (Canada) and Uppsala (Sweden). The central subject of inquiry is urban planning process and complex dilemmas of sustainable development. What is seen as "a sustainable city"? What are the concerns and conflicts, which planners have to face with? Which arguments are used to justify the planning decisions and how are these arguments constructed?

The study proposes a three-step framework to compare sustainability interpretation processes in urban planning of the two cities: through identification of the ideas, which are associated with the concept of sustainability; through analysis of local objectives of sustainable development; and, finally, through examination of actions, which are perceived as appropriate to achieve stated goals. Furthermore, the research examines conflicts of interests, values and scale occurring throughout planning process; and analyses arguments, which are used to justify need "to be sustainable" and choices of solutions for urban renewal projects. The arguments are categorised as rational or normative depending on the type of reference planners use to construct them.

The study reveals obvious differences in the interpretation of the sustainability concept in Uppsala and Saskatoon: with reliance on normative considerations in one case and rational ones in another. It also shows, that arguments working well for one type of conflict, do not help in resolving conflict of another type; and that Swedish and Canadian planners, facing pretty close challenges, choose different strategies to respond to them.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The problem outline

Sustainable development is about choices we make. Since the term "sustainability" entered the vocabulary of academics and practitioners over the last decades, numerous works theorising on content and application of this notion has been published; increasing amount of policy documents has incorporated this rhetoric; more and more planners included the term in their daily vocabularies. Although the broad recognition of this notion did not result in consensus regarding its meaning, the idea of choosing between alternatives is an immanent element of this oxymoronic concept. Sustainable development is in fact an attempt to avoid *certain type of alternatives*; as Langhelle puts it "sustainability is defined by "worse" (as regards to the needs of poor, sustaining the diversity of recourses to future generations, etc.) alternatives not chosen" (1999, p. 134). This is not a straightforward choice between "sustainable" and "unsustainable" (an impossible choice, since no one can certainly define the content of these two), but it is rather a choice between *multiple ways* to marry development and sustainability.

Sustainability is about the costs we are ready to pay for the choices having been made. Contemporary rhetoric of sustainability tends to obscure the matter of costs, emphasising "win-win" nature of "sustainable development". Nevertheless, none of the choices comes free of costs; there are always trade-offs associated with the path selected: "the application of sustainability is often full of intractable conflicts" (Gough, 2015, p. 2). Balancing between environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainability, practitioners inevitably have to neglect some of them. Thus the arguments supporting the choice must be convincing, since they have to justify the costs associated with choosing/not choosing certain paths. Convincing arguments are not necessary rational, they may even be more efficient when appealing to norms, values and beliefs or conveying an emotional message (Heinelt & Lamping, 2015; Lapintie, 1998). Convincing arguments may be built on various foundations: immediate economic benefits or possible long-term negative effects; ethics of community living or pathos of individual freedom; global responsibility or loyalty to local values - any way chosen to construct arguments may be relevant (Gibson, Hassan, & Tansey, 2013; Healey, 1996; Lapintie, 1998; Richardson, 2005).

For the first time agenda for urban sustainability was comprehensively formulated at UN Habitat II conference in Istanbul in 1996. Many principles which later became common for cities' sustainability strategies were first formulated there, including the idea that social, environmental and economic sustainability should be balanced in the city development: meaning that resources, which city consumes and pollution it produces must not exceed carrying capacity of the environment; that living and working conditions inside the cities should meet the human needs, and that it economic structure should be sufficient to support environmental and social expenses (Whitehead, Rob, & Nigel, 2009). This study will focus on

cities as arenas of most complex interaction between three dimensions of sustainability. Chapter 2 will provide a small overview of the typical conflicts occurring at the intersection of social, environmental and economic problems. This study will not answer the question whether cities can be sustainable in principle, but will investigate the ways city planners face the complex dilemmas associated with sustainable development.

This study will investigate the planning process, which translates sustainability rhetoric into the planning practice. According to Huxley "the purpose of theory" in the field of planning studies is "the improvement of planning practice" (2009, p. 195). Thus, this research seeks to investigate the practical solutions which would allow to translate sustainability rhetoric into city physical planning in efficient way. Although the theoretical framework of this study does not stick to any of major planning theories; from methodological point of view, this work adopts the discourse of communicative planning theory (Healey, 1996; Innes, 1998). This theory occurred as tool to face criticism and legitimise policy solutions for complex problems utilising new types of arguments and information and bridging the gap between expert knowledge and local experience and (Innes, 1998; Lapintie, 1998). The working definition of efficient planning process adopted in this research requires that (a) all participants of the process can clearly understand what are feasible alternatives they are choosing from; (b) the costs of each alternative are discussed; (c) the arguments, justifying choices made, are accepted as relevant ones by everyone involved in the process. According to Gibson et al such approach "serves the interests of accountability, process credibility and learning from mistakes" (2013, p. 89). Clear understanding of how to construct suitable, honest and convincing arguments would facilitate the planning process and help planners to gain public support in the transition towards more sustainable city.

Neither aiming to critically examine sustainability concept nor to evaluate projects which served as material for this study, the proposed research will investigate the argumentation which planners use in their transition towards "sustainable city". What is seen as "sustainable city"? What are the conflicts, that planners have to face with? What are the arguments, which are used to justify the planning decisions? How do planners construct these arguments? - These are the questions, which the current research is guided with.

1.2 Relevance of the study

Few decades ago, when the concept of sustainability has just started its "career" in the academic literature, most of the debates were around possible approaches to interpret this notion and the necessity to introduce such idea at all (Beckerman 1994; Langhelle 1999; Redclift 2002). The participants of the discussions at that time were mainly concerned with global problems and philosophical and ethical issues associated with sustainability. Nowadays the idea of sustainability has been successfully accepted with all its multiple dimensions. Contemporary debates are mainly focusing on practical aspects of sustainability assessment, planning and governance of sustainable development (Lundqvist 2004; Kemp et al. 2005; Meadowcroft 2007; Gibson et al. 2013). One of the goals of these new debates is to establish connections between previously achieved consensus on the conceptual understanding of sustainability and its application in local practice, or in other words, to work out acceptable

strategies which would allow to translate global rhetorical discourse into local practice. This study will make a contribution to this strand of research.

Sustainability is on the agenda of many cities nowadays. Numerous projects, certification systems, partnerships and initiatives aim at advancing sustainable urban development. Although the theoretical and applied research has already demonstrated that "local sustainability" may look quite differently, mutual learning, transfer of experience and best practices still may provide practitioners with valuable recommendations (Pezzoli 1997; Mebratu 1998; Jepson 2001; Jabareen 2006). The results of this study may provide materials for working out some practical recommendations which would help constructing better arguments to justify need for sustainable development and resolve conflicts.

1.3 Subject of the study

The subject of this study is an urban planning process in Canada and Sweden with the focus on decisions made at the most local level possible (city/neighbourhood). In particular, this research aims to investigate how do city planners promote sustainability in urban renewal projects. There are two essential elements to be discovered within this study: how do planners interpret sustainable development and how do they construct arguments, which they use in promoting urban sustainability. Two projects located in different cities and countries were chosen as samples for the research: Östra Sala backe in Uppsala (Sweden) and Pleasant Hill in Saskatoon (Canada). Urban/municipal planning in these countries is independent in many senses (not binded by higher level plans), therefore many decisions regarding urban sustainability and especially its practical interpretation here are taken *in situ*. City planners in Uppsala and Saskatoon are responsible individually for many strategic choices made under particular projects. Furthermore, in both cases municipality owned the land at the stage of project drafting and planning, thus private sector influence was very limited. As the result, the whole chain of decision-making was relatively short and 'researchable' in these cases: only the small number of actors were involved, and the context was limited to the city itself. These were essentially local needs and local understanding of sustainability objectives, defined through the communication between the planning departments and local communities, which produced certain vision and certain design of the projects. In other countries with other legal contexts, I would have to study the complex interrelations between local, regional and national levels of planning, which is very time-consuming and not feasible in a given frame of four months.

The two cases, selected for the research, are urban renewal projects, and not the new 'greenfield' developments. Östra Sala backe is one of Uppsala densification projects, which adds more residential and public space to an already existing neighbourhood and envisions many ambitious sustainability objectives; but simultaneously deprives residents already living in the area of transport connections, parking space, and even view of the sky (due to unusually high buildings). Pleasant Hill is a largest revitalisation project in Saskatoon, which, on one hand, brings new infrastructure, better housing options and attractive public space design; and, on the other hand, results in relocation of many low-income families and demolition of historical buildings. These controversial projects provided an excellent material for the study. To be able to talk about decision-making process and discuss sustainability concept, the existing planning

alternatives and possible conflicts of interests should be clarified. Urban renewal projects are especially convenient in that sense - planners have to deal with constraints imposed by previous choices; and constraints imposed by existing urban fabric. These constraints limit seriously the number of alternatives. In case of new developments, planners are not free completely, but limitations they are facing are of more long-term and visionary type. Thus urban renewal cases were deliberately selected for purposes of this study: this type of projects provide rich material regarding conflicts of interests and concerns associated with sustainability features.

This study is a comparative one. Both Sweden and Canada are frontrunners in urban sustainability in many regards. Furthermore, these countries somehow resemble each other in terms of abundance of space, cold climate, high level of household welfare. Nevertheless, societal, economic, legal contexts are very different in the two countries: Chapter 4 of this study will provide an overview of the differences and peculiarities. This study in its analysis of decision-making process seeks to compare the argument construction process in Canada and Sweden. It is natural to anticipate many differences occurring due to contrasting contexts, but what is essential for this research is to reveal similarities, which later will allow to generalize the results of the study. Finding what are the similarities is also relevant as a way to check the current state of sustainability discourse: initially it emerged as a global concept, but gradually developed into a set of divergent strands (more about it in chapter 2); the comparative study will provide some insights on how far interpretation of urban sustainability has deviated from each other in these two countries.

1.4 Research aim and questions

This work seeks to answer how do urban planners translate the universal rhetorical ideas of sustainable development into unique local practices of urban renewal. Thus the subject of the study is the process of argument construction. I will investigate how do planners defend their sustainability-oriented projects confronted with criticism or concerns regarding proposed solutions. In order to approach the process of argument construction I will seek to answer the following questions:

1-How do planners interpret sustainability? This question requires to analyze the objectives and sustainability features of the projects - this way I can get the idea of what is seen as sustainable urban development in practical sense. However, I should also take a look at the sustainability agenda of the city, because it frames the projects.

2-What were the criticism or concerns associated with the urban renewal projects in general and their particular sustainable traits? Arguably, it might be better to question what are the trade-offs associated with sustainable solutions chosen in principle. But there are two shortcomings of such approach: first, full answer to *this* question requires a high level of technical and environmental expertise as well as exhaustive competence regarding all the project details. Second, even being knowledgeable and competent, the researcher inevitably brings subjectivity in his/her interpretation of trade-offs. On contrary, the study of the criticism and concerns associated with the projects, will make this research replicable: anyone will be

able to refer to reports of community discussions and interview transcripts and asses the quality and legitimacy of author's analysis. This approach helps to avoid (to some extent) potentially speculative and subjective conclusions.

3-And finally the central research question of this study: How do city planners construct the arguments which they use in the process of translating sustainability rhetoric into practice? Which arguments do they use to support stated sustainability objectives, proposed solutions and to respond to critique? This question is difficult to answer without preparing a categorisation system for arguments. The arguments will be classified through identification of the basis of the argument. By "basis" I understand a statement - an empirical fact or belief - which an argument refers to. In detail the categorisation will be discussed in chapter 2. Thus, this will show how normative or visionary ideas, rational evidence, technical expertise and emotional messages associated with sustainable development are used to structure the planning argumentation.

1.5 Structure of the work

This study contains six chapters. This chapter was introducing the subject, aims and the main questions this research seeks to answer. The theoretical framework will be presented in the second chapter, where the concepts - only briefly mentioned in this Introduction - will be elaborated and structured in such a way that they will guide the analysis of the empirical material. The third chapter will explain how the cases, data sources and interviewees were selected. It will also account for the methods chosen to proceed data and will reflect on the limitations of the study occurring due to language barrier, limited time and unfamiliar cultural contexts. The fourth chapter introduces the context of the study, such as the peculiarities of the planning practice in Sweden and Canada and socio-economic characteristics of Uppsala and Saskatoon. This chapter also gives a brief summary of the two projects: Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe. The fifth chapter discusses the results of the work done and follows the three-step structure set by the research questions: is starts from analyzing practical interpretations of sustainability, after that investigates conflicts and concerns which were occurring alongside with the urban renewal projects, and finally it reflects upon argument construction process. The final chapter provides broader reflections regarding relevance and applicability of the study findings.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter establishes the framework for data analysis and defines the structure of the research. The sections are organised in the same sequence as the research questions were formulated in chapter 1. Section 2.1 investigates theoretical approaches to interpret the concept of sustainability. Section 2.2 categorises conflicts occurring in planning practice in relation to sustainable development. Section 2.3 categorises arguments which planners use in their work. The last section puts together the elements of the conceptual framework and explains how the framework was applied in this research.

2.1 Operationalising sustainability concept in planning practice

This section will examine the approaches to define and interpret the concept of sustainability for the purposes of urban planning practice. Due to a relatively narrow subject the global political discussions and history of international recognition of the term will be totally ignored in this work. The goal of the section is to establish set of reference points for a further discussion of the sustainability concept interpretation process in Uppsala and Saskatoon. The results of the section are summarised in table 2.1.

To begin with, it is important to question *the nature of the notion*, or in other words if it can be operationalised in practice as a moral or rational position. Most of the practice-oriented literature tend to see it as an ethical concept: e.g. Meadowcroft in his work on sustainability governance defines it as: *"complex normative standard"* (2007, p. 305) or "normative point of reference for environment and development policy making" (2007, p. 300). On contrary, these are the early critiques of the sustainability concept, who suggest that it can (and must!) be rationalised in practice. For instance, Beckerman in his notable work argues that: "without being fully operational…[the concept of sustainability] mixes up together the technical characteristics of a particular development path with a moral injunction to pursue it" (1994, p. 193), and therefore he suggests to interpret it as "a technical characteristic of any project, programme or development path, not as implying any moral injunction or overriding criterion of choice" (1994, p. 205). Unfortunately, Beckerman does not suggest satisfactory guidelines on translating sustainability concept into *"purely technical characteristic"*. Nowadays majority of the works come to a consensus that application of "rationality" to interrelations of environment and development is misleading: as Redcliff puts it "environmental rationalities are [...] socially constructed [...] one person's world of resource depletion is another person's world of resource abundance" (Redclift, 2002, p. 202).

Most of the arguments around sustainability concept is rooted in absence of agreement on *how to define sustainability objectives* and chose *acceptable means of achieving* them. Over last three decades - as counted from the publication of the canonic definition by WCED (1987) - few approaches to these problems has been developed. Among most notable are the

attempts were made by Pearce and Turner (1990), Mebratu (1998), Jepson (2001) and Pezzoli (1997).

The Pearce and Turner work (which is actually an economics textbook) pays a lot of attention to questions of philosophy and ethics, and suggests categorisation, where *sustainability objectives* are analysed through the prism of *anthropocentric and ecocentric worldviews* (1990). By now the oscillation between ecocentric and anthropocentric poles seems to slow down, favouring human needs and choosing as main priority of sustainable development "sustained level of need satisfaction" (Langhelle, 1999, p. 132); "protection of amenities and creation of new and better services for more people" (Kemp, Parto, & Gibson, 2005, p. 14); and "reorienting the development trajectory so that genuine societal advance can be sustained" (Meadowcroft, 2007, p. 299).

The review prepared by Pezzoli classifies the *means* of responding to challenges: from *soft means* of social learning and gradual change of legislation, through "hard science" and technology progress and ending up with *radical change* of social structure and development paradigm (1997). There is also a strong/weak sustainability dichotomy, which resembles the Pezzoli approach, where on one side of the range are those with environmental views who suggest to limit economic growth and put more efforts in nature conservation (with the most radical ones proposing to restructure the whole society), and on the other side anthropocentric proponents of progress and innovation, who believe that loss of resources can be compensated via new ways of managing human development and usage of alternative technologies (Gibson et al., 2013).

A question related to previous one, is whether a certain interpretation of sustainability *defines* a set of acceptable actions. In classical strong/weak sustainability approach the answer would be "yes". However, presence of a strong link between values and preferred type of actions is a question to debate. For instance, Pezzoli (1997) and Gibson et al (2013) suggest that an anthropocentric or ecocentric normative position does *not* prescribe to choose particular means to face challenges; in other words, an anthropocentrist may choose nature conservation as a preferable way of moving towards sustainability and vice versa an ecocentrist may believe in technological innovation as an optimal way of sustainable development. In general, there is no consensus regarding appropriate means to achieve sustainability objectives, with one exception: neither anthropocentrists nor environmentalists see technocratic solutions as panacea. As Redclift notes: "we are offered technological breakthroughs not as a way of resolving the contradictions of development for the environment, but as a way of distancing ourselves from these contradictions" (Redclift, 2002, p. 203). Technological progress solely cannot compensate the loss of natural resources; social and economic restructuring is necessary, however it a question to debate how radical this restructuring should be (Langhelle, 1999; Redclift, 2002).

So if not the technological progress, not the zero economic growth and not radical nature conservation, what are the feasible and *practical* means of addressing sustainability challenges? In the contemporary academic literature this question has no satisfactory answer. Back in 1990s Mebratu proposed an idea, which was easily accepted by many other

researchers (e.g. Jepson (2001), who was calling this approach "functional sustainability" and "sustainability doctrine"), and became very popular nowadays: sustainable development can be performed through a combination of economic, environmental and social measures, which can be mixed and combined in various proportions (1998). Gibson et al call the Mebratu idea "an architectural metaphor" and criticise this approach. They say that instead of trying to identify and isolate social, environmental and economic sustainability, it is more important to focus on *linkages and interdependencies* between them. Gibson et al believe that true sustainable development takes place only when all three elements are found together: "contributions to sustainability are asserted only in the area where all the pillars intersect", - in this logic a project aiming e.g. at social sustainability exclusively is not sustainable (Gibson et al., 2013, p. 58).

So summarising, the sustainability concept can be interpreted as a normative idea, which sets human well-being as an ultimate goal, or as a technical set of requirements. Objectives of sustainable development can vary in broad range from radically ecocentric to ultimately anthropocentric. Selection of *means* (appropriate actions) does not necessarily depend on the ways the notion and objectives are defined. Possible actions can vary and can be classified using the scale of social transformation - technologic progress or through architectural metaphor of social, environmental or economic sustainability. This research will classify sustainability interpretations, adopted in Uppsala and Saskatoon, using the scheme presented in the table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Interpreting the concept of sustainability

Questions to answer	Possible answers
What is the nature of the notion?	- normative position aiming at human well-being - set of technical requirements.
What are the objectives of sustainable development?	- anthropocentric --------- ecocentric worldviews.
What are the means of achieving the objectives of sustainable development?	- societal transformation --------technological progress; - social, environmental, economic sustainability.

Source: author's own.

This section formulated framework to compare the sustainability interpretation in various localities. But it does not help to answer the second research question: what are the conflicts associated with planning for sustainable development? Next section will seek to answer this question.

2.2 Planning for sustainability: what are the conflicts?

This section outlines the three conceptual types of conflicts occurring in planning for sustainability: conflicts of interests, values and scale. This typology will help to structure the analysis of the planning process in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe. The results of the section are summarised in table 2.2.

Addressing sustainability challenges is a direct task of local planning as Jepson argues; the reason for that is twofold: first, global problems require customised local responses and second, "the achievement of sustainability goals and objectives can only emerge in people who are directly and personally involved in policy formulation" (Jepson, 2001, p. 505). But as it has already been in discussed in chapter 1, sustainable development (whatever it is) does not come free of costs. An urban planner in his work for sustainability has to balance set of conflicting interests: economic development, social justice and environment preservation. Such a conflict might be considered "a rational conflict of interests" if gains and losses coming with each alternative can be articulated and weighted against each other, e.g. through monetary equivalents (S. Campbell, 1996, p. 305). This type of conflicts can be relatively easily resolved (through appropriate compensations or compromises).

But apart from balancing interests against each other there is also an issue of *interpreting* interests - in his well-known work Campbell showed how the adoption of another perspective can change the whole perception of the problem (1996, page 297-298). Unfortunately, in practice (and not mental experiment) adoption of another perspective is not that easy, since position is predefined by culturally embedded values, identities or beliefs. Various societal groups may see differently optimal ways of uses of natural resources, or modes of economic development, or regimes of social fairness. Campbell (1996) gives an example of conflict of values in environmental debates, which often is simplistically understood as conflict of "nature abusers" and "nature defenders". In reality various "groups have an interactive relationship with nature: the differences lie in their conflicting conceptions of nature, their conflicting uses of nature, and how they incorporate nature into their systems of community, economic, or spiritual values" (page 300). A planner facing this type of conflict needs skills of "a translator", where (s)he should interpret the position and understand the value of those who opposes in the debates. Unfortunately, planners usually deal much better with "rational conflicts of interests", which were described in the first part of this section, rather than with "amorphous ideological clashes" (S. Campbell, 1996, p. 305).

The last type of conflicts, which are specific for questions of sustainability, are conflicts arising in a clash between local and global (or smaller scale and larger scale) sustainability objectives. Richardson (2005) in his work on communicative methods in environmental assessment gives an example of windfarms: what is more important global environmental considerations regarding greenhouse effect or local environmental considerations of sensitive landscape conservation? The concept of sustainable development cannot give answer to this question, and a planner has to make a value-based moral judgement, either accepting priority of local interests or global ones (Richardson, 2005, p. 348). However, which arguments can be seen

as relevant to justify such a decision? Before answering this question, we should categorise what are the types of arguments in principle. This will be done in the next section.

Table 2.2 Types of conflicts

Type of conflict	Explanation
Conflict of interest	The interests of stakeholders are quantifiable, can be calculated in money-values (or equivalents).
Conflict of value	The interests of stakeholders are not quantifiable, and often cannot be expressed in terms clear for the representatives of the sides of the conflict articulated in such a way, that all parties involved can understand which values are at stake. Counterparts do not (fully) understand values of each other, because they do not share the same discourse (due to another cultural background, social group, etc.).
Conflict of scale	Local interests versus global (or higher scale) interests. In context of this study, solutions, which are good for city as a whole are inconvenient or unacceptable for the local community.

Source: author's own.

2.3 Argumentation in planning: rationality and norms

The aim of the section is to set a framework for categorization of planning arguments, which will be applied in the discussion of the study results (chapter 5). Planning arguments are suggested to be classified as normative and rational depending on what do they refer to a certain model of "cause–effect relationships about the state of the world and how it functions", or "accepted values of right or wrong" (Heinelt & Lamping, 2015, p. 283). This section will specify what do concepts of "norms" and "rationality" mean in planning, which types of references can be used in argument construction process, and normative and rational arguments can be distinguished. The section results are summarised in table 2.3.

Questions of rationality and norms constantly pop up in discussions about planning due to nature of planning itself, which "is premised on the expectation that through intervention and action *better* space and place-based outcomes can be achieved than would otherwise be the case" (H. Campbell, 2012, p. 393). How one can define what is better and what is worse? Various planning traditions were answering in their own way to this question. In traditional planning, which is still strong in many countries despite the considerable development of alternative approaches, "rationality" of the planner and his arguments is a necessary requirement: "'better' and 'worse' are undiscussable matters of personal, subjective opinion", a good specialist is supposed to avoid "value inquiry and value-critical argumentation" (Forester, 1999, p. 175). This approach rests on the assumption that cause and effect relationships between planning problems and appropriate solutions can be discovered through methods of scientific inquiry of a positivist type. Within this tradition a planner operates with facts, which stay the same regardless of interpretation and perspective (2015; Simin Davoudi, 2012). In

traditional rational planning, those who could operate with "economic reasoning or scientific evidence" were enabled to participate discussion and influence planning decisions (Healey, 1996). These type of arguments were considered as rational ones. Experts and results of their work, such as assessments, market analysis, calculations, expert conclusions were seen as a necessary and sufficient justification of a planning decision (see table 2.3).

However, the empirical tradition of relying on "hard facts" was questioned both in social (constructivism) and natural sciences (e.g. quantum mechanics). A new way of looking at facts suggested that their meaning may change depending on the personality of the interpreter. Language, cultural context, political and historical conditions - all these things change the interpretation of the facts (Simin Davoudi, 2012; Foucault, 1977; Healey, 1996). In planning the idea that facts are not something solid and depend greatly on the interpretation, was suggested by the proponents of communicative turn. Communicative theory also changed the view on what can be seen as relevant argument in planning. It suggests that not only results of scientific and economic analysis are valid, but "the language of belief [...] the expression of fears and dangers" are also important in planning discussions (Healey, 1996, pp. 225–227). Thus the fears or beliefs expressed by general public in e.g. community engagement process must be taken into account in justifying the planning decisions (table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Categorisation of arguments

Type of the argument	Basis of the argument	Type of reference
Rational	Economic reasoning or scientific evidence	Market analysis, technical expertise, expert opinion, calculation of costs, assessment.
Normative	Beliefs and fears of a community; Norms of society; Ethical position of a planner	Results of community discussions; Norms codified in documents; Informal norms as interpreted by planners; personal values of planners if they express them.

Source: author's own based on section 2.3

When the planning discussion is organised in a way the communicative theory suggests, it inevitably starts to ask questions about values and norms. What are norms? In general case, "norms represent what is considered 'normal' or generally accepted within a cultural context", they guide behaviour if individuals and groups (Manning, 2013, p. 312). Norms, which are crucial for survival of society are codified in laws and rules. In our study the higher level plans play the role of law. Some norms stay informal, and planners have to interpret them somehow to be able to bring them on the table, where the planning decision is discussed. Apart from planners' interpretation of informal society norms, there are also their own values: "the impartial planner is an illusion (he/she is always at least 'political'), and a study of planning practice should therefore also be concerned with which ethical questions and values, which ethical approaches they work within, approve or withhold" (2004, p. 49). Many planning

decisions in the end are affected by planners' ethics: "morality—'the way the world ought to be' and 'what we ought to do'—consists of principles that guide professional planners' everyday practice" (Pløger, 2004, p. 50). The theories of deliberative and, especially, advocacy planning, suggest that an ethical position of a planner becomes very important, since it defines how planner manipulates information channels (H. Campbell & Marshall, 1999; Fainstein, 2010; Fischer, 2003; Forester, 1999). The ways planners articulate, spread and gather information can compensate (or reinforce) imbalances of power between various social groups (Forester, 1988)). In this research the ethical position of planners will be investigated through interviews.

Thus the theoretical discussion of rationality and norms brings me to the categorisation of arguments proposed for this research and summarised in table 2.3. Rational arguments can be identified through their reference to various types of expertise and reliance on hard facts. Normative arguments are based on the *interpretation* of facts by laws, community or planners themselves.

2.4 Application of the theoretical framework

The theoretical insights, which were discussed above, provide a three-step framework for further work on the materials of the study. The steps are outlined in the Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Three-step research framework

Research question	Approach	Materials to study
1-How do planners interpret sustainability?	-What is the nature of the notion? -What are the objectives of sustainable development? -What are the means of achieving the objectives of sustainable development?	-Strategic planning documents; -Local development plans; Planning programme; - Requests for proposals; Interviews
2-What were the criticism or concerns associated with the urban renewal projects in general and their particular sustainable traits?	Identify conflicts of interests, values and scale (see table 2.2 "types of conflicts")	Mainly Interviews
3-How do city planners construct the arguments, which they use in the process of translating sustainability rhetoric into practice?	Identify types normative and rational arguments, which were used to support chosen sustainability interpretation and to respond to critique.	Aggregation of the results of the questions 1 and 2

Source: author's own.

At the first step, I will find out how the concept of sustainability is interpreted and translated into practice in Uppsala and Saskatoon. This task can be solved by tracing the path of the concept starting from a higher level strategic plans, through detailed planning documents, and down to particular sustainability solutions applied *in situ*. At the second step, I will take a look how planners defend the ideas of sustainability, when challenged with critique and community concerns. At the final step I will combine the findings of the first two steps and based on this material will reflect upon the argument construction process.

Chapter 3. Research Design

This chapter reflects upon data, research methods, organisation and limitations of the study. Section 3.1 accounts for the choice of cases, interviewees and provides overview of data used in this study. Research methods applied for data analysis are explained in section 3.2. Final section 3.3 reflects upon the limitations of the study and its possible effects on the results. Annexes 1-4 support this chapter with additional materials: the interview guides, the list of respondents and their professional profiles, the comparison of phone and face-to-face interviews, and the list of planning documents.

3.1 Selection of cases and interviewees, empirical material collection

Sweden and Canada were selected as countries to compare due to few practical and methodological considerations. First, these countries could provide me with the necessary material regarding the sustainability concept interpretation process: Sweden and Canada have been actively using the concept in its planning rhetoric and practice for a significant period of time. Urban planners here have certain experience, expertise and tradition of dealing with sustainability problems. Local communities as well have particular expectations, attitudes and ideas regarding "how a sustainable city should look like". Thus the maturity of sustainability discourse in Sweden and Canada was one of the key considerations in selecting them for this study. Second consideration was related to availability and accessibility of materials: Swedish and Canadian cities are transparent regarding their planning processes - most of the documents are publicly available and easily accessible. Furthermore, selection of these countries facilitated the process of data analysis: mastering both English and Swedish (to some extent) I could work with the planning documents directly. And, finally, I could relatively easy arrange visit to both countries for the fieldwork.

Before the selection process actually started, few requirements had been formulated to a case: it should be an urban renewal project[1], with explicit sustainability objectives, on a stage of implementation or completed one (in order to be able to talk about planning phase). One of the important considerations in the selection process, was identification of an obvious conflict of interests regarding "sustainability ambitions" of a project. By "obvious" I mean situation, when a conflict was acknowledged by planners or anticipated in planning documents. It was particularly important to be able to discuss these conflicts throughout interviews. In case of implicit conflicts, it might be challenging to steer a conversation into a desired direction, and therefore it would be impossible to define arguments, which were put forward in those conflicts. In a given limited timeframe, it was not feasible to include more than two cases into the study.

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[1] Explanation on why it should urban renewal project and not greenfield development is provided in chapter 1.

Therefore, final selection of projects out of a pull of potentially suitable cases was made based on accessibility of the interviewees. Finally, only two cases were left: Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe; both sites were visited in April. Interviews took place at the end of March-beginning of April[2].

The first set of primary data was extracted from the planning documents: such as project concepts, requests for developers' proposals, detailed plans of the projects[3]. These documents served to identify sustainability objectives and context-specific limitations of the Östra Sala backe and Pleasant Hill projects. Furthermore, comprehensive plans of Uppsala (old and new versions) and a strategic plan of Saskatoon were used to study general approaches towards sustainable development adopted in these two cities. The documents were collected in two phases: first, based on general knowledge about planning systems of the two countries, relevant plans were gathered throughout March 2016; second, based on the recommendations and contributions of the planners interviewed in April 2016, some additional reports were obtained (e.g. Uppsala survey on transportation modes - Resvaneundersokning 2015). When the documents were not clear and some doubts regarding their content occurred, the interviewees have helped to shed the light on ambiguities.

The second part of the empirical study is based on a set of in-depth semi-structured interviews with several key planners; some of the interviews were organised as face-to-face meetings, others - as phone calls (section 3.4 accounts for the differences in these two modes). In total there were six interviews undertaken: three with planners of Saskatoon and three with planners of Uppsala. Table provided in the Annex 2 summarises the profiles of the interviewees and their roles in planning process of the projects examined.

The primary goal while selecting interviewees was to find persons, who were directly involved into the examined urban renewal projects and were able to talk about the objectives; could describe the details of conflicts and knew the arguments, which had been put forward by a planning department. In case of Canadian city planning these are developers, who are in charge of detailed planning, while a city planner helps to improve the plan and communicate with the community. In Nordic context city planners have broader competencies and responsibilities. Thus in case of Saskatoon there was only one planner in charge of the Pleasant Hill project - the interviewee #2; while in Uppsala there was a whole team working on the Östra Sala backe project (I spoke with the coordinator of the project - the interviewee #6 - and the coordinator of the second phase of the project - the interviewee #4). In Uppsala planners are guided only by comprehensive plan. While in Saskatoon there is as a strategic plan, which complements the official community plan. Therefore, in Saskatoon I needed someone who could help me to interpret its strategic plan; the interviewee #1 was selected to talk about planning vision for the city of Saskatoon, its sustainability objectives and the ways its plans and strategies are interrelated with each other. The interviewees #3 and #5 had been involved in the Pleasant Hill and projects Östra Sala backe at the initial stages, so they were

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[2] See Annex 4 for the exact dates.
[3] Full list provided in the Annex 4.

interviewed to get the "historical perspective" - how the planning concept has been evolving over time.

All the interviews have received topics to discuss and some clarifications prior to the interview. The list of topics has slightly varied depending on the position of the respondent (Interview Guides are available in the Annex 1). Each interview took approximately one hour: phone interviews were generally shorter[4]. Formulating questions, I carefully avoided pointing out at anything that could reveal my personal interpretation of sustainability, as well as any references to interpretations suggested by other interviewees. That was done due to focus on interviewees' interpretations, ideas and feelings (more about constructivist approach in this research - in the section 3.2). Although the set of potentially suitable traits of the projects to discuss were identified through studying available planning documents, interviewees were suggested to name sustainability traits of the projects themselves. This way I could avoid or at least limit influence of my own assumptions and not hint for the "right" answers. The same applied to discussion of conflicts: the interviewees were suggested to come up with the list of conflicts and concerns, without me suggesting the issues to discuss. Each interview[5] has been recorded (consent of the interviewees was received prior to recording) and transcribed. Only in case if some words, names or phrases were ambiguous or not clear, the transcripts were sent to the interviewees, so they could help to clarify the meaning.

3.2 Research methods

This study follows the subjectivist (or interpretivist) philosophy (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009, pp. 111, 116) and uses constructivist approach (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 312) for research design and results interpretation. Since the "reality" is socially constructed and the "facts" are derivative of the interpretation, the main focus should be on particular individuals and environment which influences their mental processes. The choice of methods and the ways they are used in this research directly comes out from these views. Case study, content analysis and in-depth qualitative interviews allow to investigate how meanings are constructed in a particular context. The individual experiences of planners and their intangible connections to local circumstances are in the focus of this research.

Case study is a tool of studying the contextualised processes (Yin, 2009). The main advantage (and the main problem) of this method is that it does not let researcher to isolate process from the environment where it takes place. The case study method adopted in this research allows to investigate how planning arguments are constructed "in real life". Although adoption of this method essentially limits the opportunities for generalisation of results and obtaining conclusions of high theoretical value, it has its benefits too. Case studies allows to reproduce "nuanced view of reality" and investigate "concrete, context-dependent experience", which makes them particularly valuable for practical purposes (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 224).

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[4] Annex 3 accounts for the differences in face-to-face and phone interviews.

[5] Recording of the interview #3 was critically damaged due to technical problems. The transcript was prepared immediately after the interview, based on the notes taken throughout the conversation.

Comparative research is used to investigate "how combinations of causal conditions produce particular outcomes" and "to establish explicit connections among social phenomena, conceived in set-theoretic terms" (Landman and Robinson 2009, page 14, 30). In this particular study the comparative approach helps to mitigate shortcomings of the case study approach. The cross-border comparison gives opportunity to see how similar processes are developing in contrasting contexts. The combination of the case study and comparative approaches provides more opportunities for generalisation of the results.

Content analysis of planning documents and interview transcripts was conducted using deductive approach. The framework to identify arguments used in sustainability interpretations, and in justification of trade-offs was developed based on existing theoretical findings (chapter 2). Based on the ideas of grounded theory one may say that inductive approach would be a better option for this study than deductive approach, since it allows to avoid prejudgment (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 490). Conceptual framework formulated at the earliest stages of research inevitably limits the interpretation of the results. However, application of an inductive approach requires a longer period of research and higher qualification of a researcher, which made me chose deductive approach for this four-month research work.

Qualitative semi-structured interviews served as one of the most important methods used in this research. First, they provided most valuable insights regarding peculiarities of planning processes in Uppsala and Saskatoon, since they helped to place data extracted from documents into context. Second, they served as learning tool allowing me to master one of the most important skills in social science research. And, third, interviews showed many aspects of planning profession, which cannot be studies at academic environment. Constructivist approach prescribes interviewer to look for the "participant's definitions of terms, situations, and events" as well as his/her "assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 311). This meant not only asking about events or dates or numbers, but also made personal stories, experiences and attitudes valuable.

3.3 Limitations of the study

Some differences in data collection process and document analysis could have affected the conclusions withdrawn in this research. First of all, the interviews were not conducted in the same way in Sweden and Canada. The mode of the interview (phone or face-to-face) was selected by the respondents. All the Swedish respondents chose phone interviews, while Canadian planners were more open to in-person meetings. The in-person interviews were more unpredictable and frequently deviated from the Interview Guide, while phone interviews were more structured (see Annex 3 for more details). As a result, Saskatoon planners expressed a broad range of personal attitudes and opinions additionally to the "official" position; while Östra Sala backe planners were strikingly synchronised in their answers and interpretations. Thus differences in the method of data collection (phone versus face to face) may have affected the results of the study. Furthermore, since I am less experienced in Swedish (compared to English), some of the discrete meanings or certain passages from planning documents might have been misinterpreted. Partly this problem was mitigated

through discussion of the documents with the interviewees, who helped to clarify some of the ambiguous statements.

One of the most significant barriers throughout the research was posed by a language barrier and cross-cultural interviewing, since I am neither Swedish nor English native speaker. This barrier was less evident throughout interviews conducted in Canada, where respondents were relaxed and comfortable using their native language. Interviews conducted in Sweden were more challenging due to double language barrier: neither me nor interviewees were native speakers (the interviews were conducted in English). My basic Swedish language skills and familiarity with the planning terms helped to mitigate this barrier to some extent, however some of the issues may have not been discussed sufficiently due to limited vocabulary.

There are few other aspects, which *might be* seen as limitations of the study: subjectivity occurring due to unavoidable observer bias and difficulties with generalisation of the context-dependant case-studies. Selection of data sources and interviewees, the "facts" extracted from planning documents and interpretation of interview transcripts would not be the same if conducted by another researcher and, as a result, the conclusions would not be identical. From a standpoint of positivist research philosophy, this study might not be considered enough credible. However, in the frame of constructivist approach, which admits the research bias, this research has the right to exist (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, pp. 311–313). Furthermore, problems associated with subjectivity were partly mitigated: where possible I avoided imposing personal beliefs on respondents; and the research design is presented as transparent as possible, so the research process can be if not reproduced, but reflected and criticised. Another problem is associated with generalisation of results. Case studies provide insights, which are strongly contextualised (Flyvbjerg 2006). Thus, only limited generalisation of results is possible. Use of cross-border comparative study helps to mitigate this problem to some extent. The process of sustainability interpretation is examined in two different contexts, and, hence, if some common traits are revealed in Sweden and Canada, it may help to withdraw general conclusions.

Chapter 4. Context of the study

This chapter has a service function, providing necessary explanations on the context of the study, enhancing the understanding of chapter 5. The chapter begins with an introduction of planning and legal systems of Canada and Sweden; as well section 4.1 provides few notes on the differences in planning processes of these two countries. Section 4.2 outlines some of the peculiarities of Uppsala and Saskatoon, this will help to understand the challenges, which planners were facing in these cities. The summary of the two projects concludes this chapter. Annexes 5 and 6 support the chapter providing lists of abbreviations and terms used in Canadian and Swedish planning.

4.1 Legal and planning context: Canada and Sweden

4.1.1 Canada

In Canada each province has its own planning system and its own set of normative acts. One of the provincial documents, which has a significant impact on planning, is Statements of Provincial Interest (SPI) (Province of Saskatchewan, 2012). It specifies current provincial goals and objectives, so planning departments can take them into account while working on their official community plans. City of Saskatoon has few types of plans and planning documents. The Official Community Plan (OCP) (City of Saskatoon, 2009) outlines the general rules and sets the main directions of city development. Any other (lower level) plans must be consistent with the OCP. Long-term goals for the city and steps to achieve them are outlined in the recently adopted Strategic Plan (City of Saskatoon, 2013). This plan was developed based on extensive public consultation, however not all of community proposals were included in the plan. The public opinion is aggregated in a document called "Saskatoon Speaks: Community Vision" (City of Saskatoon, 2011).

When a city wants to develop or revitalise a certain area, it releases a request for proposals, where it specifies main requirements to developers. In coastal areas of Canada, where the land reserves are limited, prices are high and developers compete with each other, a request for proposal can serve as powerful tool of shaping a city. In such cases, municipality may ask developers to come up with programs of social sustainability and neighbourhood cohesion, peculiar environmental-friendly solutions and so on. Saskatoon has plenty of vacant land, relatively low prices, and is less attractive to developers. Therefore, the municipality has to find ways to provide incentives to a developer, rather how to constrain it. It is part of planners' work to market the land parcels and find ways to satisfy developer, city and dwellers at the same time. Once the City Council chooses a developer (or if there was only one applicant - accepts it), a plan from a developer comes to the planning department. The latter one works on the detailed plan, provided by the developer, to make it consistent with the OCP, and to adjust a plan both to community opinion and city requirements. Thus, detailed planning is mainly the

task of a developer, while the planning department has supervisory and advisory role in the process.

Core neighbourhoods of Saskatoon normally have their own Local Area Plans (LAP). These plans are developed by a local community with a help of the planning department. LAPs reflect community vision of a neighbourhood: what are the problems, what are the opportunities, what are the possible directions of further development. Pleasant Hill has its own LAP (City of Saskatoon, 2002), work on this plan initiated the revitalisation project, which had been launched in 2006.

4.1.2 Sweden

Sweden is peculiar with its unusually high level of decentralization for a unitary state. If in Canada a municipality has to look back at a province and its targets and objectives specified in SPIs, the vast majority of planning decisions are taken by Swedish municipalities on their own. County administrative boards, which represent national government, can intervene into municipal planning only to a very small degree, mostly in cases when environmental issues are on the agenda.

The main planning document in Uppsala is its comprehensive plan (Uppsala Municipality, 2010), it outlines the development of the city up to 2030 and serves as a framework for lower-scale detailed development plans. On contrary to Saskatoon, Uppsala does not have any separate strategic plan, however the first chapter of its comprehensive plan outlines the vision for the city. This vision is called "Uppsala 2030", it sets the targets of the city development. In 2014 the decision was taken to update the comprehensive plan and extend its time horizon to 2050. The necessity to change the plan was explained by unexpectedly rapid growth of the city population. Throughout 2015 the planning department was undertaking a community consultations and was collecting responses and suggestions for the new comprehensive plan. The results of the consultation have been published recently (the latest version became available on May 17, 2016). This study uses both: the comprehensive plan 2010 and the proposed version of the new plan (Uppsala Municipality, 2016a).

Compared to Saskatoon, Uppsala planning department has way more responsibilities and competencies, as well as more authority in negotiations with community and developers. When a particular area is planned to be developed or revitalised, the planning department prepares a planning programme and a local development plan. Östra Sala backe project is executed in few phases: each phase corresponds to a particular land area, and the planning department prepares a separate local development plan for each phase. The plan for phase one was released in 2014, and currently the planning department is working on the plan for the second phase of the project - this task is expected to be complete by the end of 2016.

4.2 History, geography and socio-economic profiles of Saskatoon and Uppsala

4.2.1 Saskatoon

Saskatoon has 260 thousand of inhabitants. It is a growing city - the city planning department accounts to reach half a million in 40 years. To accommodate this growth, the city plans to encourage infill development (currently 85% of growth is achieved through greenfield development) and develop bus rapid transit system. The Pleasant Hill project is in line with the general strategy to encourage infill development. The city is located far from any other urban centres. Saskatoon is considered to be one of the Prairie cities, together with Calgary, Winnipeg and Regina. Flat landscape, agricultural background and "Prairie mentality" define some peculiarities of urban planning in the region. Absence of clear physical borders and attitude to space as something, which must be cultivated and developed, resulted in extensive growth of Prairie cities. The urban density of Saskatoon is relatively low compared to Uppsala, with a high ratio of single-family dwellings and privately owned land. "Prairie mentality" is something that Canadian planners were often referring to during the interviews: "there is no sense of greater good in private interests. [...] There is really a *land ownership ethic* here, people think that with their private property they should be able to do what they want. So government intervention into something, which is known to be private property, is not that well-received. Here in our culture and as result of that public realm often suffers. Because we have to walk around all these private interests. And by private I mean… for instance, people view parking as God given right" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). Abundance of privately owned land parcels in the city, constrains the planning department in the types of initiatives it may introduce straightforwardly.

4.2.2 Uppsala

Uppsala is slightly smaller than Saskatoon hosting around 150 thousand people. The key difference between cities in geographical sense is that Uppsala is located very close to Stockholm - less than one hour by commuter train or car - while Saskatoon is far from any other cultural or business centres of the country. Uppsala falls into the capital's "gravity" - many of the city residents commute daily to Stockholm, where they work or study.

According to the estimations Uppsala will be growing in the upcoming years - up to 180-190 thousand people will live here by 2030 (Uppsala Municipality, 2014b). At the same time Uppsala has a climate target - to become a carbon neutral city by 2030, therefore local planning department aims at making new houses more energy efficient and at transforming the city transport infrastructure in such a way that citizens use more buses, bikes and trains (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). Uppsala, similarly to Saskatoon, plans to develop a bus rapid transit system aiming at noise and GHG emission reduction[6]. This system will require acquisition of road lanes previously used by cars, and turning them into public transport lanes.

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[6] Current use of public transport is relatively low in the city - only 13% of all trips (Uppsala Municipality, 2015)

Uppsala structure is peculiar in a sense that many big roads - almost highways - are cutting down the city fabric. Over last decade the city started to gradually transform its structure: the barriers of highways should be removed, and the city should become more connected. The highways are suggested to be transformed into streets (narrowed down, with less traffic) or relocated outside of the city. Previously, the areas along the roads were "very rough, with car parking, not very attractive" (Interviewee #5, April 13, 2016), and city revitalisation projects aim at creating more safe and pedestrian oriented environment (Uppsala Municipality, 2016a).

Furthermore, the new comprehensive plan emphasises the importance of "growing inwards" and making city denser. Uppsala is already a very dense city (triple denser than Saskatoon), and this density will be increasing. Densification is planned to be supported by creation of mixed-used areas, with commercial facilities at the ground floors of residential houses - instead of driving from a residential area to a mall, people will be able to walk around and satisfy majority of their daily needs somewhere nearby. Thus Uppsala comprehensive plans aims at making city more lively, or as planners say at "healing the city" (Interviewee #5, April 13, 2016). Östra Sala backe will embody all these initiatives.

4.3 The projects

4.3.1 Pleasant Hill

Pleasant Hill neighbourhood belongs to the west side of the city, which is considered less prestigious. Before the revitalisation project (and to some extent now) it was perceived as a "socially distrust" area (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). The redevelopment has started in 2006, when the city managed to purchase a large land parcel in the central part of the neighbourhood. Previously this parcel had been occupied with single-family rental houses. These buildings were poorly maintained and were not particularly attractive from aesthetics point of view (Interviewee #3, April 1, 2016). Permanent residents were unhappy with the constant turnover of people coming and going, since it negatively affected the image of the neighbourhood and overall safety. The owner of the housing stock wanted to sell the land, and the city was eager to purchase it, with one requirement - the landlord had to deal with people relocation himself (Interviewee #3, April 1, 2016). Another significant change was a demolition of a historical building of St. Mary catholic school. The school received an new building on the other side of the parcel. One of the requirements[7] to the school from the city was to provide healthcare for kids on site and open an access to its wellness facilities for general public. The latter requirement has not been fulfilled yet - neither school nor city have a staff member to monitor visitors (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

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[7] Normally city is not in charge of school buildings, so in this case the provision of the new building gave a right to the city to set some requirements (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

Picture 4.1. Informal path along the railway   *Picture 4.2 One of a new multi-family houses*
Source: author's own   *Source: author's own*

The work on the project included extensive public consultations, in particular with a group, which was previously involved in preparation of the Local Area Plan (City of Saskatoon, 2002). These consultations helped to reduce tension regarding the old school building demolition and construction works. At a certain point a necessity for environmental remediation occurred - some of the sites were contaminated. This increased the overall costs for the city. Some difficulties were associated with finding developers: the site was not particularly attractive, although the city was taking the remediation costs and was ready to provide serious incentives, e. g. one of the developers had received his piece of land for 1 Canadian dollar - the city compensated the actual price of the land via provincial grant (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). Three parcels are still vacant; the city planning department is currently working on that - the latest request for proposals was released in 2015. However, the Pleasant Hill project is considered to be almost complete by now. The area has received a community garden and a park, a new school, new multi-family houses with residents owing the apartments[8], a community postings board and a welcome sign at the entrance. In the future there will appear a multi-modal (pedestrian and cycling) track along the railway, which goes along the south-east part of the neighbourhood[9]. Right now the area provokes mixed feelings to a visitor - on one hand, the traces of decline are still visible, but central part of the area looks bustling and attractive (see pictures 4.1 and 4.2).

4.3.2 Östra Sala backe

The area looks like a long and narrow belt between Sala backe and Årsta neighbourhoods (picture 4.3). Previously there was an energy line (now demolished), and a highway. The road and engineering communications served as a barrier separating Sala backe from eastern part of the city. As well nearby there is park - one of the biggest in the city, however it was "rather empty" and did not have that many visitors; the area in general was not particularly attractive as well - according to a survey made by the planning department, Uppsala citizens were not eager to live in or visit it (Interviewee #5, April 13, 2016). The initial planning programme for

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[8] Some of the buildings have solar panels on the roofs, installed based on private initiative of the developer.
[9] The unofficial trail along the railway is actively used even now. It is a convenient shortcut to downtown, and residents (many of them do not have cars) prefer to walk or cycle along the track rather than wait for the bus, which does not run that frequent.

this area included fewer residential houses, and had no ambition to narrow down the road. But planners were fortunate - the city has adopted the new comprehensive plan, thus the planning programme (Uppsala Municipality, 2010) could be revised. The detailed plans for the Östra Sala backe project were (and are) being prepared in parallel with the work on the new comprehensive plan, and this way the project will embody the new ideas despite the fact that the new comprehensive plan has not yet been adopted. Planners substantially changed the initial idea of neighbourhood, making it denser, mixed-used, with various types of housing, removing surface parking, introducing separate lanes for buses and many other solutions contributing to the climate target achievement. The active construction works have been launched in 2015.

The project has high ambition regarding renewable energy, sustainable environment and climate mitigation. In particular, Östra Sala backe is promised to be climate neutral and to become Uppsala most climate-adapted neighbourhood. The municipality owned the land, and before selling it, the planning department worked out a set of requirements, which developers had to satisfy. The municipality could afford setting high requirements - Sweden experiences shortage of housing, and new land parcels for residential housing in Uppsala were something that developers were ready to compete for. Thus the municipality had more opportunities to set high standards of environmental quality and aesthetics. That was something that municipality in Saskatoon could not do - due to low competitiveness of land parcels in Pleasant Hill and general abundance of vacant lots in the city. So far it is not clear how Östra Sala backe neighbourhood will look like - the construction works have just started, but the plans available make to suggest that it will be a very attractive place to live in.

Picture 4.3. Östra Sala backe area.
Source: Planning programme 2010.

Chapter 5. Discussion of the results

This chapter presents the results of the study and summarises answers to the initial research questions. The sections are organised in such a way, that they follow the sequence of the research questions and at the same time the structure of the theoretical chapter. Section 5.1 investigates how the sustainability ideas are approached, interpreted and implemented in the city planning practice of Saskatoon and Uppsala; section 5.2 discusses the most contested planning decisions in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe and their justification; and finally section 5.3 reflects upon the argument construction process and underpins the immediate conclusions.

5.1 Concept of sustainability in practice: Saskatoon and Uppsala

This section will examine how the idea of sustainability is interpreted and operationalised in urban planning practice of the two cities. As it was proposed in chapter 2, interpretations of sustainability can be examined in three steps by answering the following questions: how the idea of sustainability in principle is interpreted in strategic planning documents; which objectives are selected to pursue in local development projects; and which means to achieve the objectives were implemented in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe. The answers received through analysis of documents were discussed with planners throughout the interviews. The final results of the analysis are presented below.

5.1.1 Defining the notion of sustainability

In chapter 2 it was discussed that there are two major approaches to define sustainability: one sees it as an anthropocentrist ethical/normative standard (Kemp et al., 2005; Meadowcroft, 2007) and another - as a set of technical requirements (Beckerman, 1994) (see chapter 2, section 2.1). First approach is mainly concerned with the quality of human life and the community/future generations well being; it focuses more on the process rather than the result. The second approach is associated with particular standards and "real" measurable/quantifiable targets.

So how "sustainability" is defined in Saskatoon? There are two strategic documents, which may answer this question: SPI (Province of Saskatchewan, 2012) and Strategic Plan (City of Saskatoon, 2013)[10]. The first document specifies provincial goals, while the second one defines directions of the city planning for the two decades ahead. SPI defines sustainable planning as the one, which is concerned with the "*well being* of urban and rural communities"

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[10] In April 2016 the city of Saskatoon adopted a new strategy "Growth Plan to Half a Million" this new strategy is not analyzed here since it had no effects on the Pleasant Hill project which is almost complete. However, few words on the new strategy will be said in the Conclusion (the new strategy shares some similar traits with the strategic part of the Uppsala new comprehensive plan).

(Province of Saskatchewan, 2012, p. 3). It also formulates a set of planning principles, and the first of those requires planning to be sustainable and comprehensive, meaning that "land use plans and development decisions to consider economic, social, cultural and environmental needs of communities and regions *for present and future generations*" (Province of Saskatchewan, 2012, p. 4). The Saskatoon Strategic Plan sees sustainable development as the process where "the financial and physical resources under our care are used to address *the needs of citizens today and tomorrow*" (City of Saskatoon, 2013, p. 23). There are seven priorities of long-term development outlined in general terms in the Plan (such as sustainable growth, environmental leadership, etc.), however all of them focus on community prosperity and its abilities to sustain itself. The focus on human needs and the community well-being is obvious in these documents, which makes to suggest that it rather follows the first approach in defining sustainability with a very clear normative view on what is the main value, but with not many concrete targets expressed and no explanations why the community is the top priority.

The discussion of the Strategic Plan with planners, shows that absence of precise targets in the Strategic Plan helps, and in some sense facilitates the work: "sometimes broader means better, because it gives us the ability to innovate and touch more initiatives there" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). At the same time, it adds to the responsibility of planners: "I find it important to emphasise that we are charged with interpreting...the authors probably had an intent...but we can only interpret "(Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). Furthermore, the clear normative message of the Strategic Plan lacks rationalisation behind, it does not answer the question of "Why?": "We are not necessarily best in judging what is important and what is not. And knowing the 'Why' and knowing the criteria are of importance" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016).

The rationalization behind community well being as a top value as well as explanations on how it intersects with private interests are something that the Strategic Plan is probably lacking. The municipality compensates the lack of explanations in the Strategic Plan, by the additional work, e.g. the Department of Corporate and Environment Initiatives prepares business cases, which show the benefits of environmental initiatives to the households: "their responsibility is to interpret both to the community and city Council the benefits of environmental initiatives. This is so that the City could show that it is making sound financial decisions and so that residents could use their own financial savings...so potentially to make behavior changes with regards to environmental initiatives" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). Interpreting, suggesting, explaining the benefits - these are the tasks planners have to perform in Saskatoon.

Uppsala chooses to define sustainability through set of goals or priority areas. In the comprehensive plan 2010 and the new version of the plan (Uppsala Municipality, 2016a)[11] the priorities are formulated in a slightly different ways (see table 5.1 for comparison). The goals 2010 were explained in a following way: "attractive" means that the city should have "an influential scientific, cultural and business life", "cohesive" means public involvement in the

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[11] This study does take into account the new comprehensive plan for Uppsala, because the new plan has already been influencing the planning practice in Uppsala. This April Saskatoon has received a new development strategy as well, but on contrary to Uppsala, it has not yet affected the city planning and the Pleasant Hill project, therefore Saskatoon new strategy was not taken into account.

decision-making, as well as safe environment in the city and abundance of public space, and "climate-neutral" includes energy efficiency as well as access to natural amenities in broad sense (such as clean water or green spaces) (Uppsala Municipality, 2014b, p. 3). The first two priorities 2016 more or less correspond to "attractive city" and "cohesive city" from 2010. The third and the forth goals 2016 are more concrete and detailed: they emphasise the necessity to satisfy needs of current dwellers ("good place for living"), but as well they adopt a prudent perspective, taking into account greater picture ("pioneer of responsible development").Furthermore, the new plan gives a very precise and unambiguous explanations on what is "packed" into the third and fourth priorities: "good place for living" means densification of the city (however, it is not explained why living, working and shopping in a close proximity is actually good); and "pioneer of responsible development" includes care of the planet's resources, but as well - development of a public transport infrastructure. Why responsible development necessarily means development of public transport stays not clear for the reader (Uppsala Municipality, 2016a, p. 26).

Table 5.1. Uppsala goals 2010 and 2016

2010	2016
Attractive city; Cohesive city; Climate neutral city.	Uppsala is a driving force in the world; Uppsala is a municipality for everyone; Uppsala is a good place for living; Uppsala is a pioneer of responsible community development.

Source: Översiktsplan för Uppsala kommun 2010 [Comprehensive plan of Uppsala Municipality 2010], page 11 and Förslag till ny översiktsplan [New comprehensive plan proposal] 2016, page 26.

Analysis of the comprehensive plan (both new and old versions) suggests that Uppsala rather chooses the second approach of defining sustainability - through setting concrete goals related to particular spheres of life. On one hand, this approach gives better guidance for planners in their daily decision-making process (compare with Saskatoon, where planners have to undertake interpretation tasks working with the Strategic Plan), but on the other hand, it is not clear how to balance the goals (priorities) in case of conflict between them. The latter consideration - as it becomes evident from the most recent discussion over the new comprehensive plan - is a subject of concern (Uppsala Municipality, 2016b, p. 8). The discussion of the new plan has also showed that the priority "pioneer of responsible community development" attracted most of the questions and suggestions (Uppsala Municipality, 2016b, p. 9). Contributors to the discussion suggested over 20 amendments and concerns on the organisation of public transport, strategy regarding fossil fuels, cycling in the city, etc.

Planners had a very precise and concrete understanding of what they mean by sustainable development in Uppsala: "to create more sustainable city, by reducing the car use and make more people wanted to take the bike or walk, because Uppsala is not that big that you can't walk around"; "to create a city where we can walk or take a bike instead of the car"; "it was that

the city will grow inside. If we have higher density, we will "heal" the city" (Interviewee #4, April 13, 2016). They clearly linked idea of sustainability to very particular solutions.

The first approach to define sustainability, which Saskatoon chooses, is convenient in the sense that since the top value is only one, it provides more clear guidance on *how to judge*. However, planners have to do a lot of work finding how to interpret this top value in practice. The second approach, as it can be seen through the example of Uppsala, is more convenient for executors, for planners, since it provides more clear guidance on *what to do*. At the same time, it limits the number of possible interpretations of the sustainability strategy, narrows down the number of possible planning solutions, and (as it will be shown in section 5.3) provokes more concerns among citizens.

5.1.2 Defining objectives of sustainable development

Chapter 2 suggests that the spectrum of possible objectives of sustainable development can be analysed based on the way they accommodate anthropocentric versus ecocentric values. In this subsection I will examine the objectives of sustainable development using the examples of the two projects: Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe. The material for the analysis was extracted from the local development plans and requests for proposals. Furthermore, throughout the interviews planners were giving their personal explanations of rationale (or idea) behind objectives of the projects.

Table 5.2. Pleasant Hill: objectives

LAP 2002	Workshop 2006
-Create a family-oriented community; -Build inclusive environment, which is intergenerational and multicultural; -Make it green, clean, and healthy; -Provide access to recreation and leisure activities, healthcare, employment centres, public transit, church and education facilities; -Maintain good bus service, respect the needs of pedestrians. -Increase home ownership ratio and promote responsible development of rental properties.	-Create a sense of a community, of a safe place; -Develop more park space; -Foster the safety and comfort of residents. -Promote walkability. -Provide variety of housing types, which will meet the needs of families and seniors; -Include mixed uses; -Ensure appropriate density to have a critical mass of people, create vitality and support potential new local services.

Source: Pleasant Hill: Local Area Plan 2002; Redevelopment principles 2006.

Objectives for the Pleasant Hill project were formulated in two steps. In 2002 the local community with the help of the planning department prepared the Local Area Plan, which suggested vision and improvement strategy for the whole neighbourhood. LAP 2002 initiated a discussion of the revitalisation project, which was launched in 2006. The objectives for the project were formulated at workshop, which took place in 2006. The main stimuli to initiate redevelopment of the neighbourhood was its physical deterioration and socio-economic downturn, thus the objectives formulated in LAP 2002 are mainly focusing on social sustainability and infrastructure improvements. The motto of the process was: "to put the

'Pleasant' back in Pleasant Hill" (City of Saskatoon, 2002, p. 7). The objectives formulated in LAP 2002 as summarised in the first column of a table 5.2.

Objectives 2006 are consistent with the ones formulated in 2002, but are more specific and more pragmatic, oriented for the economic feasibility (table 5.2). All the objectives are aiming at solving the problem of decline. The objective of diversifying the age structure of Pleasant Hill occurred due to very high ratio of youth and children in the area. More balanced age structure was seen as something that could bring more peaceful environment to the area (Interviewee #3, April 1, 2016). "Family-oriented community" also aims at bringing stability to the area. Higher density is needed to be able to finance services, and services are needed to attract higher-income residents. Needs of pedestrians and promotion of walkability were emphasised due to low car-ownership in the area (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). Green infrastructure was promoted in association with the Crime Prevention through Environmental Design concept - as something which can help reduce crime rates and enhance safety in the area (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

Talking about development objectives planners in most cases were explaining them through rational considerations of organisational and financial efficiency: "compact, continuous and connected city - all those things are good for neighbourhoods, when you make amenities easy to access, for folks to get around, to use active transportation or shorter trips, and create that critical mass to have amenities that we wanna see in the neighbourhoods. So that is the social side, there is also a financial side - economically efficient from the developer's perspective and in many cases from the city's perspective in terms of servicing and roadway construction - so it is better for the area to be compact" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). Even aesthetics, beauty is something which has its monetary value: "There is also the amenity aspect, something nice to look at, and it tends to raise adjacent property value significantly" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). However, some less tangible and not that easy to rationalise ideas were also expressed, for instance objective of making Pleasant Hill safe was not explained though raise of property value, but through idea of bringing "pride and neighbourhood cohesion" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

In general, planners were very pragmatic and problem-oriented formulating the project objectives. At the same time the interpretation of the *general idea* of sustainability in Saskatoon was essentially normative - strategic documents were referring to values of society rather than to facts or evidence.

The anthropocentric objectives of Pleasant Hill, with their explicit focus on social and economic issues might be explained by the specific character of this disadvantaged area. The project had no environmental ambitions; however later, due to private initiative, some features associated with "environmental sustainability" were added (see the next section).

Objectives for the Östra Sala backe project were formulated in the planning programme released in 2010. The planning programme, which was adopted that year, was substantially different from its draft version - it became more ambitious. That became possible due to

change of the political situation in Uppsala and the new comprehensive plan coming into force (Interviewee #5, April 13, 2016). Objectives formulated in 2010 are summarised in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Östra Sala backe: objectives

Planning programme 2010
-Create a coherent urban structure that connects the Sala hill and Årsta and this way "heals" the urban fabric; -Attract people with different background, lifestyles, interests, cultures and of various age; -Easier and safer travels between parts of the city; -Mixed residential and commercial uses; -Sustainability (ecological, social and economical) is the focus of the development; -Bring diverse developers, with new knowledge and various experience.

Source: Planning programme 2010

The objectives formulated for Östra Sala backe are clearly more diverse compared with those for Pleasant Hill. Both projects are aiming at making the area attractive, however the Pleasant Hill project chooses to solve the task focusing on social and economic objectives, while Östra Sala backe "want it all" - social, environmental and social sustainability. Planners, with whom I was discussing the objectives, were not focusing on particular problems or facts that much, but rather had a holistic vision, where the project was seen as part of the city. They were choosing a normative approach to formulate the project objectives, justifying them through the references to the city strategies and aims: "If you have a map in front of you, you could see that there are a lot of roads, big roads going through the town. So one of the missions for the city was to make it whole. It was parking, it was rather rough area around [Sala backe]. And ambition was to build the urban environment in this area" (Interviewee #5, April 13, 2016).

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If Pleasant Hill objectives were clearly focusing on the needs of the particular neighbourhood and were clearly anthropocentric; the objectives for Östra Sala backe are focused on the needs of the city as a whole, are more comprehensive: having environmental, social and economic elements. Thus, Saskatoon and Uppsala follow the opposite strategies: Canadian planners interpret the general ideal of sustainability in a normative way, but formulate the particular objectives very rationally; Swedish planners, on contrary, have a very clear and rational interpretation of the sustainability concept in general (in figures, targets, measures), but but choose more normative objectives for the particular projects.

5.1.3 Selecting the means of sustainable development

The last step in studying the sustainability interpretations is to find out what do Saskatoon and Uppsala planners see as appropriate means of achieving the sustainability objectives. As it was discussed in chapter 2 nowadays there is no common view on which types of actions can (or should) be considered as "more sustainable". Furthermore, certain views (anthropocentric, ecocentric) do not necessarily prescribe what should be the actions (Gibson et al., 2013; Pezzoli, 1997). It is convenient to analyse the "practical sustainable development" through the prism of the architectural metaphor (Mebratu, 1998), investigating the actual combination of

activities aiming at social, environmental and economic sustainability. This subsection analyses the *solutions*, which planners selected to embody their vision of sustainability. In the frame of this research the two projects served as samples to study practical solutions (since it was not feasible to study all the activities taking place in Saskatoon and Uppsala). The sustainability features of the Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe projects show how the sustainability rhetorics (from the planning documents) is interpreted in real city planning practice. The features are summarised in the table 5.4 presented at the next page.

Table 5.4. Sustainability features of the Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe projects

Sustainability	Pleasant Hill	Östra Sala backe
Social	Community garden; Healthcare facilities and public access to wellness facilities at St. Mary School; Community postings board and welcome sign;	Community gardens; Redesign of local park; Daycare; Nursery; Commercial premises;
Economic	Higher residential density, *higher ratio of privately owned housing; affordable housing;*	Higher residential density; *multiple housing options (rental and privately-owned)*;
Environmental	Solar panels at multi-family dwelling units; *Multi-modal path along the railway; Pedestrian infrastructure.*	Certification of construction standards; Energy-positive housing; Storm-water retention; Green roofs; Reduced parking space, public transport lanes, rapid bus transit; carpooling facilities, bike infrastructure, pedestrian infrastructure.

Source: author's own, based on analysis of documents and private communication with the planners.

The community garden, healthcare and wellness facilities together with new residential properties were the key means of achieving social sustainability in Pleasant Hill. Postings board and welcome sign were complementary actions and had a symbolic meaning, serving as evidence of a new friendlier community. The features of Pleasant Hill, which are marked with italics in table 5.4, in fact must be referred to social sustainability as well: privately owned housing was introduced in order to stabilize social structure of the area, make it more attractive. Affordable housing programme was aiming at bringing potential new homeowners to the area (Saskatoon has plenty of housing options, so strong incentives were needed to bring people to this area considered to be disadvantaged). The same with multi-modal path and pedestrian infrastructure - that was done not to reduce GHG emissions, but to provide feasible transport solutions for the dwellers of the area with low car-ownership. Some of the sustainability traits appeared "by itself", such as solar panels, which were a private initiative, and were not part of initial plans.

The planners of Pleasant Hill were justifying the features of the project by the needs of this particular community: "St. Mary's is another example with both school and the wellness centre. On site there is also pediatrician, there is a dentist there, so parents can bring their kids to

school but then also have their primary health care on site. And this is particularly important in this area, where the car ownership is low compared to other neighbourhoods and walking...dependence on active transportation is higher. Not for recreation but to get around to meet daily needs. There are lots of people walking and cycling taking the bus in this area. So St. Mary has wellness, health care components; it also has a community track and gym space, which is meant to be open for the community" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016); "There was a community garden, which I guess can be social sustainability. They are all interrelated right? So the community garden was established south of 22nd street, there is a rental senior's housing, the serviced building was purposefully built there. It was felt that the community garden was really valuable at this site to bring the community together and also to tie this relatively small area with the relatively large area" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

The solutions proposed for Östra Sala backe are more diverse and ambitious. Unusually high residential density; deliberate reduction of parking spaces and limitation of private car accessibility; prioritisation of pedestrian, bike and public transport transit - all these features require neighbours and new dwellers to reconsider their lifestyles. These radical solutions resulted in significant opposition of residents. Ambitious environmental features, such as strict requirements to insulation, ventilation and energy supply to make houses "energy positive" (returning to the system more energy than they consume); underground parking; storm water retention and green roofs resulted in higher costs to the developers. Most of the features of social sustainability are complementary to the environmental features - facilities such as daycare or shops - are compensating the lack of car accessibility, providing a chance to reduce total number of car trips, but at the same time require change of lifestyle.

While in Pleasant Hill the features were clearly responding to essentially local problems of the neighbourhood, in Östra Sala backe most of the features were justified by reference to city ambitions and city goals:" We wanted green roofs and solar panels for low-energy housing. Uppsala has this strategy, vision that we will be climate neutral in 2030. In order to reach this goal, we need to provide this kind of solutions" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016); "That was a goal which we had in the comprehensive plan. Uppsala was going to make it possible to have separate lines for buses. For the whole city to create very fast bus lines...So that was a goal, it was strategy in comprehensive plan to reach the climate goals and to handle the effects of CO_2. So that was important to put this into plan" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). Local needs of the neighbourhood were almost not mentioned by the planners in the discussion of the sustainability features of the project.

Planners of Ostra Sla backe were very confident and convinced in the solutions chosen. For instance, the new transport scheme was justified in the following way: "And this, in our way of looking on that, is a clear sustainable feature of the project. Dealing with the traffic, not giving that much space for traffic and perhaps not letting traffic to have such impact on everything around, and try making people moving different ways rather than their own cars. So in our eyes, eyes of city developers it was not a question, but it has focused a lot of critique" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016).

After going through sustainability interpretations, objectives and solutions in the two cities the difference in their approaches becomes apparent. In Saskatoon sustainability is seen as a measure of local well-being; in Uppsala it is interpreted as a set of particular targets. Pleasant Hill objectives aiming at solving its own problems; Östra Sala backe objectives are the objectives of the whole city. In Pleasant Hill solutions are aiming at incremental changes, while in Sotra Sala backe at more radical restructuring. Saskatoon planners see their task in serving the community needs in most efficent way: "I think as planners we need to balance community needs and demands of the area with what technically feasible" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). Uppsala planners, apart from immediate tasks, have a guiding, educating role for the community. For instance, that was the way Interviewee #4 was talking about shift to cycling and public transport of transport: "We foresaw it, we knew that it's coming for a long time. People living, they don't have the same knowledge. So we need to be better at telling this kind of information." (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016).

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Table 5.5 aggregates the findings obtained while studying the sustainability interpretation process and summarises results of the argument analysis. The two cities chose different strategies in translating sustainability idea into practice. Saskatoon starts this process by articulating the core value of all the planning activities. This main value (community well-being) is codified in all the higher level laws and documents. This codified norm serves as the key normative argument to justify further actions associated with sustainable development. Uppsala starts from justification of the need for sustainability through reference to scientific evidence and facts (climate change, population growth) - which makes me to classify it as a rational argument.

Pleasant Hill's objectives were worked out in two phases: initial objectives were justified through reference to the community input, and the final version of the objectives refers to planners' analysis of the economical and technical feasibility. Thus, the combination of normative and rational arguments was used for defending the sustainability objectives. Östra Sala backe objectives are justified by references to documents: Uppsala comprehensive plan and climate strategy. As well planners were often defending the objectives by saying that a project will help to "heal the city" (Interviews 4, 5, 6). Thus, Östra Sala backe objectives were justified through exclusively normative arguments.

Solutions for Pleasant Hill were proposed by developers and assessed by planners and the community committee. Planners, explaining the final selection of the solutions, were operating mainly with rational arguments (reference to technical expertise). However, the justification through reference to community opinion (normative) also took place. Östra Sala backe planners were taking responsibility of making the choice on their own. The selection of particular solutions was explained with a frequent use of phrases such as: "in our way of looking on that", "so in our eyes it was not a question" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016); "we

foresaw it, we knew that" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). Planners of Östra Sala backe were mainly referring to normative arguments, justifying the sustainability solutions[12] proposed.

Table 5.5. Arguments[13] in the sustainability interpretation process

Layer of interpretation	Saskatoon	Uppsala
Nature of the notion: - type of the reference; - type of the argument.	Community well-being: - codified norm; - normative argument.	Particular targets in few areas: - scientific facts; - rational argument.
Objectives: - type of the reference - type of the argument	Analysis of the needs of the neighbourhood and individual households: - (1) community opinion (2) market analysis and technical expertise; - normative + rational.	Reference to higher level documents; planners' interpretation of the city needs: - (1) codified norm, (2) planners' interpretation; - normative arguments.
Practical actions: - type of the reference; - type of the argument	Cost efficient and technically feasible ways to satisfy needs of the neighbourhood: - planners' decisions are based on (1) expertise; (2) community approval; - rational + normative arguments.	*Best* ways to achieve the city targets: - planners interpret "what is best"; - normative arguments.

Source: author's own

The analysis of the sustainability interpretation process in Saskatoon and Uppsala has showed that the cities' strategies are different and make some sort of "twist": Saskatoon starts from normative ideas, but later comes up with more rational objectives and solutions; while Uppsala goes other way round - it formulates the rational goals, but relies more on normative justification of objectives and solutions proposed. Some reflections and possible explanations of such a difference will be presented in section 5.3.

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[12] This research was not investigating all the technical solutions selected for the two projects. It was focusing exclusively on those traits of the projects, which were labelled as sustainable ones. All the considerations regarding types of arguments referring only to these solutions.
[13] For categorisation of arguments - see chapter 2: section 2.3 and table 2.3.

5.2 Trade-offs of sustainable development: conflict resolution in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe

This section is dedicated to the results obtained while answering the second research question. Conflicts over the most contested planning decisions serve as the material to analyse arguments, which planners put forward to justify and defend sustainability innovations. This section will provide an overview of the disagreements occurred in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe (summarised in table 5.6). It is structured around three types of conflicts identified in chapter 2 (section 2.2). Brief outline of the nature of the conflicts opens up the section. The outline is followed by three subsections, which provide further details and examine the conflicts of interests, values, and scale. The section is concluded with the categorisation of arguments, which were put forward in the conflicts.

Table 5.6. Concerns and conflicts over planning decisions in Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe

Pleasant Hill	Östra Sala backe
1. Relocation of dwellers of rental houses; 2. Safety concerns over remediation of contaminated sites and demolition works; 3. Demolition of historical building of St. Mary church; 4. Architectural and landscape design. 5. Private house blocking part of the trail along the railway (prevents extension of multi-modal path to Pleasant Hill).	1. Reduction of parking space 2. Reduction of car lanes; 3. High-rise buildings and densification (construction blocked the view); 4. Feasibility of some technical solutions; 5. High level of requirements to developers - and, hence, higher construction costs.

Source: author's own, based on analysis of documents and private communication with the planners.

The Pleasant Hill project in general was very peaceful. The Local Area Plan process, which preceded the revitalisation project, had prepared the soil for the constructive discussion of changes in the neighbourhood. The initiative group, which had been working on the plan, kept representing the neighbourhood later as well, thus the constructive dialog with planners had been already established by the launch of the Pleasant Hill project in 2006. Objectives and many features of the project were proposed by the community, which could also influence the developer selection process: "...we have community review committee in place. We work with them, to write any requests for proposals or tendering process to sell the land. They have done large work reviewing all the proposals that have been coming from developers. They were involved back in 2006 and even before developing this vision. The features you can see - housing surrounded by a park, community garden, basketball court, trails running through the park - this was the vision that the community had" (Interviewee #2, April 30, 2016). However, few situations could be seen as potentially conflicting ones. First, when the process had just started a significant number of people had to be relocated. Previously they had been occupying rental houses, which were sold to the city and demolished. The demolition works and cleaning up contamination on the sites was also provoking certain concerns among

residents. Serious discussions occurred due to demolition of St. Mary catholic school - it was a historical building and many were upset when it disappeared. The details of the design project were provoking many discussions as well. Finally, one of the latest issues - is the discussion over construction of the multi-modal path along the railway. Generally, the idea is accepted and supported, but the way is blocked by the private property, so the owner is not enthusiastic about the path crossing his parcel.

The Östra Sala backe project has completely another character. First of all, objectives were formulated by the planning department and inspired by the new comprehensive plan. The solutions were proposed by the developers: there were number of competitions, where they could present their projects. The applications were evaluated through point system, and the developers could earn points for each socially, economically or environmentally sustainable solution[14]. The objectives and solutions were later *discussed* with residents. If Pleasant Hill was a purely revitalisation project taking place inside of the old, well-established neighbourhood, the Östra Sala backe project is slightly different. It is a densification project - the new construction takes place on the vacant parcels inside of the two pre-existing neighbourhoods. On one hand, it may appear as beneficiary situation - no relocation of people and demolition is required. But, on the other hand, residents had been using this space somehow for a long time: they were walking there, parking their cars, they had certain view from their windows. And the new construction has completely changed the environment they got used to. Most of the conflicts in Östra Sala backe were occurring due to the fact, that residents had to reconsider their lifestyles. And the planning department was imposing this change rather actively. Reduction of car parking, relatively high buildings, reduced accessibility for private cars - these were main concerns of residents. The planning department had a very precise vision of the design and technical solutions needed for the project - and this was a subject of serious discussions with developers, who were not fully convinced in the feasibility of the proposed solutions and were upset with higher costs imposed on them.

5.2.1 Conflict of interests

As we have previously defined them in chapter 2, these are the conflicts, where interests at stake can be quantified, expressed in measurable units, in best case scenario - in money equivalents. These types of conflicts normally find their resolution through assigning a proper compensation for those whose interests were discriminated.

Planners in Saskatoon try to "quantify all that they can" and "measure in dollar equivalent" in any situation where pros and cons should be weighted against each other (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016). In Pleasant Hill Village the demolition of the old school building and construction of the new one could serve as an example of the conflict of interests. When community members were opposing the demolition of the historical building, the planning department put forward two arguments: "it is more cost efficient to build a new school rather than repair old one" and "you will have access to the amenities in the new building, which will

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[14] See for example see "Östra Sala backe Underlag till markanvisningstävling [Request for proposals: Östra Sala backe, phase 2]" (Uppsala Municipality, 2014a)

let you save money for healthcare and wellness" (Interviewee #3, April 1, 2016). The arguments were supported with calculations and market analysis. These arguments turned out to be convincing enough, and the new school has been built in Pleasant Hill. What is peculiar, in the end the wellness access was not provided to the residents: neither city, nor school had funds to hire managers, who would let visitors in. Probably in the future the situation can be resolved, but it can be seen as a lesson - compensations and benefits should not be promised unless the financial responsibility is clarified. Planners were evaluating this situation as "unethical": "So that's one thing that the city wanted to do, and I think was ethically obliged to do as part of provided funds to the project...but it hasn't been fully worked out yet...how it will be implemented" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

Discussion with the developers over higher costs of the construction on Östra Sala backe can serve as another example of the conflict of interests. The design guidelines formulated for the project included many requirements to the developer. For instance, the residential houses should have small community gardens inside of the blocks. At the same time the houses should have underground parking, which are wide and are partly located under the gardens. The developer was ready to put a thin layer of soil, but the planners wanted to see diverse plants there, including trees, thus requested 1 meter of soil, which required more robust constructions and, hence, implied higher costs to the developers (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). There were many requirements of this type to the planning department. So the planning department had two arguments: "you can pay it back by setting higher price for those who will buy apartments here", and "we are ready to tell you price of the land early in the process, so you can calculate your costs" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016). Apparently, higher price of the residential dwellings was not perceived as a problem from the point of view of the planning department and was not seen as a threat to the social sustainability of the project.

In Saskatoon planners were feeling very confident operating in terms of costs, appropriate compensations and market values. In Uppsala this task was considered as challenging one: "I mentioned the builders. It is always difficult to address, because we don't have economical analysis, we don't have the same awareness of what market can take in terms of costs" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016).

5.2.2 Conflict of values

Conflict of values is particular case of conflict of interests. When such a conflict occurs the sides of the conflict "speak the different language" and cannot understand the values of their opponents. The main challenge for planners is to find arguments, which will sound if not convincing, but at least relevant or appropriate.

A situation with a private owner blocking the construction of the pathway along the railway in Saskatoon, can possibly serve as an example of conflict of values. The informal path along the railway has been existing for along time. Few years ago the city was extending a freeway and it crossed the railway. Thus the administration of the railway asked the city to build a pedestrian crossing in accordance with safety regulations. The planning department saw an opportunity the make something bigger out of that, and suggested constructing a real path for

pedestrians and bikes along the railway. That was done, but so far this path stops before reaching Pleasant Hill. It could be a very convenient way to downtown for the residents, who walk and cycle a lot (not so many of them have private cars). Unfortunately, so far the extension of the path is not possible due to private dwelling blocking the path. The owner does not want the compensation and wants the city to respect his private property rights. That is a situation, when it is hard to find proper arguments to prove that private rights have less weight compared to possible benefits this project can bring to the community. As Saskatoon planners were saying it one of their greatest challenges: "These are the things we have to struggle with in Prairie context, there is no sense of greater good in private interests [...]Because we have to walk around all these private interests. [they say] 'That is my private property and otherwise I don't understand why my taxes are going to services I don't even use'. You know, this kind of mentality" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016).

The situation with parking lots in Östra Sala backe can serve as another example of conflicts of values. This densification project has significantly reduced number of parkings available in the neighbourhood. The residents were frustrated with change, planners admitted that it was the most sensitive issue: "A lot of people living in this area were very concerned where to park their cars. And nowadays it's one of the big questions in planning in Uppsala. People always get offended or scared, when we are doing something, they want to know where to park their cars. This is something that they are always concerned about" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). The planning department was putting forward various arguments: that alternative transportation modes, such as bike infrastructure and fast buses, will be provided; the department was referring to the estimations, that in fact there are enough parking spaces, although some walking required to reach those places (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). Planners were talking about new ways of living: "we try to show our idea of denser city, more diverse city, with a lot of facilities for your daily life in your neighbourhood that we can develop. I mean you can have your housing and your shops and your working place, and daycare for kids, and schools, and recreational places - everything closer to you" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016). But residents did not appreciate these arguments, because freedom of parking and freedom of using the private car whenever they want was more important. Planners were commenting the resident's position in a following way: "... people are very protective, they don't want to pay for parking space and they don't want to walk to their car", - seeing their position as unwise (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016).

In a situation, when values of the sides of the conflict are not understood or appreciated by their counterparts, planners in Uppsala were using all the spectrum of arguments they could come up with, however, none of them seem to be working sufficiently well. Planners in Saskatoon in the same situation, apparently, did not see it legitimate (or worth trying) at all to try to change the beliefs of residents.

5.2.3 Conflict of global and local objectives

The conflict of global and local occurs when the interests of the particular local community contradict to the interests of the city or region (or even country or whole world). These type becomes especially difficult, when it is combined with conflict of interests: when immediate,

evident, quantifiable benefits of a community are weighted against long-term global (or large scale) benefits. And it becomes almost impossible to solve, when it is combined with conflict of values (e.g. mining of rare earth metals on indigenous lands, which have ritual meaning).

In this research the conflict of scale can be illustrated by tensions occurring between city interests and local community interests, or between short-term interests of individuals and long-term interests of the city. There were no conflicts of this type in Pleasant Hill, the project from the very beginning was guided by local interests exclusively. However, Saskatoon as a whole has such a problem: that is problem of sprawl, which is typical for each Prairie city. The current balance between greenfield and infill development in the city is 85% to 15% (Interviewee #3, April 1, 2016). The planning department tries to promote idea of making the city more compact, augmenting it by higher infrastructure maintenance costs, which the city will have to face in the future: "there is also a financial side - economically efficient from the developer's perspective and in many cases from the city's perspective in terms of servicing and roadway construction - so it is better for the area to be compact" (Interviewee #1, March 24, 2016); "there is a cost argument. If we continue to grow out horizontally, we are going to pay a lot for road maintenance and parking" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). However, the benefits of greenfield construction so far overweight the long-term considerations.

In Uppsala the discussions over separate bus lanes can serve as an example of conflict of scale. The city works on the bus rapid transit system and for that reason private cars will lose access to part of the lanes along the city streets. This change is planned for Östra Sala backe central street as well. However, residents are not yet fully convinced in this idea. Planners were putting forward possible benefits: "We tried to show effects of decreased car usage. The noise, for example, decreased a lot. So we can have more silent gardens, where people can go and relax" (Interviewee #6, April 15, 2016). Planners were referring to the evidence, surveys showing that the car usage in the city is decreasing and that the proper infrastructure (bus and bike lanes) must be provided: "In 2015 we did this travelling survey. We tried to find out which type of transport people travel the most [...] And what we can see today in Uppsala it is more efficient to go by bike then with car. So more people use their bikes than cars in Uppsala. And these are very happy news for us. Many believe that the number of cars increasing, but that's not true for Uppsala - we travel by bikes more than with cars. We also can see that travels by buses are increasing. It's not the bikers that take the bus. A lot people leaving their car and take the bus when going to work" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). However, some of the residents still oppose; as planners say with regret: "and many people even do not have any arguments, they are just [saying]: 'Oh, you can't do this! How naive you are! That isn't a good solution. That is not what we want. That is not the way to build a city'" (Interviewee #4, April 7, 2016). Nevertheless, Uppsala planners believe that if they keep educating and explaining residents the progress in the discussion can be reached[15].

The planning departments of both cities resemble each other in the assumption that they have better understanding of the long-term perspective: In Saskatoon one of the planners was

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[15] Probably that is one of the reasons, why the project is taking so long. Progress in discussions can be reached, but very incrementally.

characterising the situation with sprawl in a following way: "because if we don't do anything, than we going to have a lot of consequences...not today. But 20-30 years from now, we will be dealing with infrastructure deficit, traffic congestion, because everyone will be driving daily and we do not have effective transit, no sufficient pedestrian and cycling infrastructure. If we don't do it now, we will be dealing with the consequences later. But it's a hard argument to make, because politicians and public think pretty short term" (Interviewee #2, March 30, 2016). An Uppsala planner was saying about shift from private car transit to other modes of transportation: "We foresee it; we knew that it's coming for a long time. People living, they don't have the same knowledge. So we need to be better at telling this kind of information" - in Uppsala.

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Table 5.7 aggregates the results of the conflict analysis and indicates what were the types of arguments used to defend planners' position in these conflicts. From a first glance, it may appear that planners of Saskatoon and Uppsala were choosing the similar strategy in case of conflict of interests - to refer to market analysis (rational argument) and to suggest appropriate material compensation. However, in case Saskatoon the analysis really took place, while in Uppsala planners only *assumed* that the developers may be able to request higher price for the apartments, they did not undertake market analysis as such. In chapter 2 an argument, which refers to *an expert opinion*, was suggested to classify as a rational one. However, Uppsala planners were acknowledging that they are not qualified to give expert opinion in this matter so technically, using the frame of this research, this argument was based on *planners' interpretation* of possible economic reality, which was suggested to classify as normative argument in chapter 2. On the other hand, if developers undertake their own analysis and confirm this opportunity, then post-factum it will turn out that the argument relies on the fact. If the developers discover that that they cannot raise the prices, then the argument will become justified by planners' belief. This makes me to classify it as an "argument in superposition", which was not foreseen by the initial categorisation of arguments. Such argument may be seen as both rational and normative, at the moment, but when it becomes clear which price can the market accommodate, "argument in superposition" will turn out to be whether rational or normative.

In case of conflict of values planners of Saskatoon did not have any arguments to put forward against the owner (or did not feel that it was appropriate to push the owner), so this part of comparison is missing. Planners of Uppsala were actively using all types of arguments: referring to the facts (total number of parking places in the area), and their own interpretation of needs of the residents (planners assumed that if the area will receive stores and social infrastructure, public transport, residents will use their cars much less, so even inconvenient parking space, which is far from home will not make a problem).

While discussing the conflicts of scale Saskatoon planners were explicitly emphasising that normative arguments will not work and were choosing to rely on rational arguments based on calculation of costs associated with infrastructure maintenance. Uppsala planners were referring to the facts as well, and illustrated the advantages of the solution proposed, through figures showing noise reduction and increase of green areas. Another rational argument was

based on evidence - it was referring to the survey proving that shift towards public transport and cycling is really occurring in Uppsala.

Table 5.7 Arguments in conflicts

Type of conflict	Saskatoon	Uppsala
Interests: - type of the reference; - type of the argument	Access to facilities and new services: - economic analysis of benefits; - rational argument	Assumption that the price for future residents can be increased: - [planners' assumptions about] possible market opportunity; - "argument in superposition"l
Values: - type of the reference; - type of the argument	*No arguments*	Number of parking place available; "advertising" the alternative modes of transportation and living: - facts+planners' beliefs - rational+normative arguments.
Scale: - type of the reference; - type of the argument.	Growth of infrastructure costs: - facts and evidence - rational arguments.	Survey of transport modes; data regarding noise reduction: - facts and evidence; - rational arguments.

Source: author's own

Summarising, it can be said that in general Saskatoon planners were explicitly relying on rational arguments in conflicts, while Uppsala planners were using both types of arguments. Another finding is that conflicts of values appear to be the most difficult to construct arguments for and to resolve. In the final section 5.3 I will reflect upon these findings.

5.3 Construction of arguments in planning for sustainability

This section reflects upon the results of sections 5.1 and 5.2 and outlines answers to the central research question.

The first finding in this research is related to the "twist" in the approaches adopted by Saskatoon and Uppsala in sustainability interpretation process: normative ideology serving as a basis for rational local practice or rational sustainability foundations combined with normative rhetoric in practice. One of the possible explanations regarding the presence of this "twist" is perception of solely rational or exclusively rational arguments as insufficient: thus, if justification of the need for sustainability starts from normative ideas, later in the process it has

to be supported by rational arguments in order to be convincing (and vice versa). It would be interesting to expand this research and see if there are cities, which build their sustainability interpretations exclusively on rational or exclusively normative justifications. But so far the presence of this "twist" in both cases makes me think, that these two lines if interpretation - rational and normative - are mutually reinforcing: normative justification is perceived as more legitimate, when it is supported by evidence as fact, and vice versa, 100% utilitarian considerations are not convincing enough if there is no ethical background behind them.

Second finding of this research was that Saskatoon planners were mostly relying on rational arguments, when it was coming to "sustainability in practice"; while Uppsala planners were confident using the normative arguments even in the immediate communication with the community (in combination with rational arguments). This finding might be particularly interesting if we also consider differences in planning competencies and land market in these two cities. Planning in Saskatoon has a supportive, guiding role, while private landowners and developers are actual decision makers. Furthermore, Saskatoon has lots of land available, and there is no strong competition for it - thus the municipality and the planning department cannot dictate the "rules of the game". In Uppsala municipality in many cases acts as a developer. Furthermore, it controls the scarce resource - land available for the residential development. Sweden experiences shortage of housing, and Uppsala located in the close proximity to rapidly growing Stockholm has no lack in potential developers and residents. Thus planning department here has more power compared to Saskatoon (formally and due to context of land market). It means, that planners in Saskatoon had to search for "better" arguments, more convincing ones, which residents and developers cannot ignore. While Uppsala planners could be more "relaxed" in that regard, since they have more authority and power to push through their ideas. It may bring us to a conclusion, that rational arguments are more convincing (or are believed to be more convincing), when it comes to actual decisions which affect daily lives of residents.

There also might be an alternative explanation to more explicit reliance on rational arguments in Saskatoon. In this alternative explanation rational arguments are not seen as "stronger" ones. This alternative explanation exploits differences in cultural context: in Uppsala planners believe that citizens are generally prepared to accept changes associated with collective responsibility, even if these changes do not bring immediate benefits for private individuals; while in Saskatoon planners assume that economic arguments and emphasis on benefits for the individual households are necessary. However, material of this research are not sufficient to prove this explanation. Would be interesting to make another comparative study, but this time consider one of the coastal cities in Canada, where high competition for land puts a planning department in stronger position, and compare it again with Uppsala or another growing Swedish city. If this hypothetical study would still demonstrate predominant reliance on rational arguments in Canada, then this alternative explanation might be accepted.

Third finding was related to conflict analysis: planners in both cities were relying more on rational arguments in conflict resolution. The situation with conflicts over proposed sustainability solutions showed that residents in both cities were more responsive to the rational arguments, especially the ones which were providing concrete figures and facts

regarding immediate individual benefits. More abstract ideas and hypothetical benefits for the community as a whole in the long run were less efficient as reference to build an argument for conflict resolution. Even without the evidence provided by the research, such an assumption might have been made intuitively. People are likely to support great ideas rhetorically, but when it turns out that such an idea requires some changes in our daily routines, some "physical payback" is very much appreciated.

Fourth finding was obtained based on the conflict analysis as well. Conflicts of values appear to be the most challenging for planners to resolve. Uppsala planners were applying all range of arguments in this type of confrontation, but still the results were not particularly impressive. Saskatoon planners did not make an attempt to change the beliefs of the residents at all. Based on the conversation with the planner I got an impression that it [attempt to change opinion] was not seen as feasible option at least at the current stage. Here I can refer to another episode from the history of the Pleasant Hill project, which was briefly mentioned in chapter 4. When the project has just started, tenants of rental houses had to be relocated. All the negotiations with the dwellers were done by the landlord - the city specifically put it into the requirements (and otherwise would not purchase the land for redevelopment). This small episode may also illustrate unwillingness or inappropriateness of interfering into such sensitive matters in Saskatoon planning[16]. This phenomenon might be explained by local professional ethic, and/or fundamental respect to individual values and priorities associated with private property. Greater confidence of Uppsala planners in these matters might be explained by their greater experience in this type of conflicts and negotiations or by stronger position of the planning department.

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In conclusion the observations obtained while answering the three research questions can be summarised.

1.Two cities are interpreting sustainability in different ways: "Saskatoon sustainability" is focusing on local problems in the short run, prioritises well-being of the community, where "well-being" mainly includes economic opportunities, developed infrastructure and safe environment (in sense of low crime risk); questions of resource efficiency and environmental quality are secondary. "Uppsala sustainability" is more comprehensive, has longer time horizon, and includes financial, social and environmental priorities, with a great focus on resource efficiency.

2. Planners in the two projects had different strategies. The community in the eyes of Pleasant Hill planners had the leading role in defining objectives and appropriate means of sustainable development, while planners acted as facilitators, who were helping the community to articulate its ideas and find appropriate solutions. Planners were emphasising immediate benefits of the solutions proposed. Östra Sala backe team was more pro-active, promoting and "advertising" sustainability solutions even if some of them were not well-received at the

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[16] It may also illustrate importance of power distribution in conflicts. In the end residents could not do much.

beginning. he city vision of sustainability. Planners were emphasising long-term benefits of new ways to organise the city life.

3. The main finding is related to distinctive traits of the argument construction process in both cases. At the higher rhetorical level rational and normative arguments worked equally well, and even better - in combination. At the practical level, especially in conflicts, citizens were more responsive to rational arguments. Swedish planners, nevertheless were applying normative arguments at local level as well and had more confidence using them.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1 Theoretical reflection

The contemporary academic debate has identified few problems associated with interpreting sustainability into local practices, one of them is how to find the balance between global and local challenges, where, on one hand, "in a world facing sustainability problems at multiple intersecting scales, reliance on locally situated discourse alone is not workable", but at the same time "no one is in a position to dictate a set of global rules for sustainability decision making" (Gibson et al., 2013, p. 90). Based on the results of this study a "reliance on locally situated discourse" is a predominant strategy in Saskatoon and to some extent in Uppsala (however, the latter one still includes global problems, e.g. GHG emission reduction is one of its main sustainability goals). Predominant reliance on "locally situated discourse" identified in this study is contradictory to Campbell expectations, which he has expressed twenty ago saying that sustainability is "a unifying concept" (1996, page 302). Over last two decades' pluralism of "practical sustainability" became legitimate: actual practice of sustainable development in local contexts is not originating directly from global "sustainability ideology", and is rather conditioned by the particular circumstances and problems of a given locality. Practical implication of that is that it's pointless to talk about urban sustainability without specifying what is "packed" inside of the concept in each particular case, or assume that "sustainable development" in one part of the world is the same type of development, which is also labelled as sustainable in the another part of the world.

Another problem outlined in literature is ambiguity of local strategic planning documents, which are often very difficult to be interpreted in practice in a straightforward way (Gough 2015). Urban sustainable development goals often are not formulated precisely and need additional interpretation on case-by-case basis. Such situation was identified in Saskatoon. However, the research showed that, in fact, such approach is not a problem. Indeed, it requires some additional efforts, when planners have to additionally interpret and "translate" their own guiding documents. At the same time this approach allows to be more flexible in choosing solutions for local projects, which in turn helps to prevent or mitigate possible misunderstanding or conflicts with residents. Case of Uppsala has demonstrated that clear and explicitly formulated goals, on one hand, serve as an excellent guidance for planners and in the long run result in more convincing city transformation; but, on the other hand, reduce flexibility in choice of particular solutions.

Corpus of research on communicative planning (Innes 1998; Healey 1996) suggests that one of the most challenging tasks in planning is associated with a situation, when parties involved have different perception of the problem. This study using the example of conflicts of values has demonstrated that indeed, when it comes to people's values and individual interpretations, finding consensus is a very time-consuming process, where simple rational arguments often do

not work well enough. In fact, this task requires planners to find ways to "amend" the values of the residents using communication and persuasion (which Swedish planners have demonstrated). However, case of Saskatoon shows that not in any context an attempt to change counterpart's values is seen as appropriate. The question on how to construct better arguments for conflicts of values is still open, so far neither practice nor theoretical studies gives an answer to it. As Lapintie has regretted: "the only available options for valid argumentation seem to be mere rhetoric or simple use of force" (Lapintie 1998, page 189).

6.2 Practical implications

The main practical finding in this research is related to the "functions" of rational and normative arguments in debates over sustainable development. The analysis of Pleasant Hill and Östra Sala backe projects shows that the most contested issues are normally supported by rational arguments referring to "hard" facts, scientific evidence, expert opinion. Apparently, arguments of this type are seen as more convincing ones. However, in a situation, when there are *no* rational arguments, or existing arguments are not perceived as convincing ones, planners do not often know how to break the deadlock. One possible option in such cases, which was described (and criticised) by Lapintie, is to present proposed solutions "as natural or even inevitable, in order to avoid them being challenged" (1998, p. 196). However, such approach cannot be seen as ethically acceptable. Another option is to use normative arguments, but in this case planners have to use their own interpretation of reality, which implies strong personal belief in the "goodness" of the proposed solution. In order to be convincing, to be able to use normative arguments for persuasion (especially for someone who doesn't share values, which this argument is referring to), planners have to believe in what they are saying. Case of Sweden has showed that step by step the "educational" work of planners gives its results. Judging based on the interviews I may say that planners' personal commitment to the ideas they promote has important role in sustainable transition of Nordic cities. Thus, in some contexts planning for sustainability stops being "technical" task, and gets some traits of proselytism. However, the appropriateness of use of personal beliefs as references to construct arguments may be ethically inappropriate in some of the contexts. As Campbell puts it "planners will have to decide whether they want to remain outside the conflict and act as mediators, or jump into the fray and promote their own visions of ecological-economic development, sustainable or otherwise" (Campbell 1996, page 309).

This small work is not sufficient to fully cover the appropriateness and techniques of normative and rational arguments application in various situations. More research and guidance is needed on how to construct suitable, honest and convincing arguments in situations of uncertainty (when there are no data to build rational arguments) or necessity to make a judgment (e.g. resolving conflicts of values).

6.3 The research design and results

Before evaluating the results of this work the following circumstances must be considered. First of all, the results of the study might be not fully accurate due to language barrier: some of the

discrete meanings may have been lost or misinterpreted in the process of data analysis. Furthermore, lack of deep understanding of the context may result in naive or inaccurate explanations of cause and effect relationships behind revealed peculiarities of sustainability interpretation and argument construction, therefore section 5.3 should be seen only as personal reflection on the results of the study. For instance, some traits of local relationships between planners, developers and citizens were explained through competition/lack of competition over land parcels available for development, however actual cause-effect relationships might have been much more complex.

The most essential limitations originate from the design of the study: constructivist approach and relatively rigid conceptual framework. The limitations imposed by the former has already been discussed in chapter 3. The framework adopted in this study has predefined to some extent its results. For instance, the result showing reliance on rational arguments in conflicts depends on the way "rational" arguments were defined in this research. However, this narrow framework gave an opportunity to systematise a lot of materials in a short period of time.

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Annex I. Interview Guides

Interview #1. March 24, 2016

1- Describe your current tasks and competences.

2- Both Strategic Plan 2013-2023 and OCP emphasise that city's long-term development should be sustainable. OCP as well stresses out that development should "take place in an orderly and rational manner". Further, OCP clarifies the meaning of sustainability as creating of a community "that sustains its quality of life and accommodates growth and change by balancing long term economic, environmental and social needs". However, economic, environmental and social needs cannot be always equally weighted, they should be somehow prioritised. Could you please give few examples [from your work, your tasks] of achieving the balance between these three types of needs. How do you find this balance? How do you prioritise these needs, based on which considerations?

3- Regarding Strategic Plan 2013-2023 and one of its goals "Environmental Leadership", which includes a short-term priority "to communicate the financial benefit of environmental initiatives". Could you, please clarify this point: communicate the benefits to whom, and which exactly benefits are emphasised? Apparently, if there are benefits there are costs as well. Could you please outline what are the concerns associated with environmental initiatives? [You can choose any initiative you are interested to talk about]

4- Regarding the strategic goal "sustainable growth". Which arguments you use to encourage infill development and neighbourhood revitalization? What are the negative sides of infill development or citizen's concerns regarding this issue?

Interview #2. March 30, 2016

1- Describe your current tasks. What do you do as a project manager of PHV? Which other urban renewal projects are you involved in (or have been previously involved). If there are (were) some other projects, please, tell few words about them as well.

2- What were the peculiar proposals/visions regarding this part of the city? (Ideas, which were not realised in the end, but which you find worth mentioning?) What were the key arguments against these proposals?

3- What were the sustainable solutions introduced as part of the neighbourhood revitalization? What were the arguments supporting these solutions? Please, name few peculiar solutions and briefly outline rationale behind introducing them

4- Could you please outline main concerns of the project stakeholders regarding sustainable features of PHV? What were the arguments against proposed solutions?

5- How did you deal with those concerns? What type of arguments were used to justify the contested solutions?

Interview #3. April 1, 2016

1-What is the long-term strategy and vision regarding urban renewal in Saskatoon?

2-How this vision was developed? Based on which types of inputs? What was the critique or concerns associated with this vision?

3-Which urban renewal projects in Saskatoon have you been directly involved in and what was your position at that moment?

4-What were/are the sustainability features of these projects? [There is no need to talk about all the projects, which you have been involved in, one or two will be enough. In particular, I would appreciate a lot if you say few words about the Pleasant Hill Village project. However, if you are more interested to refer to any other project, it will also work for me]

5-What were the concerns associated with the sustainability features of these projects (or even criticism)? [From the sides of residents, developers, the city Council, inside the Planning Department]

6-How did you deal with those concerns (criticism)? Which arguments did you put forward to convince opposition?

Interviews #4, 5, 6. April 8, 13, and 15, 2016

1-Describe your current tasks. Have you been previously involved in any other neighbourhood development/urban renewal projects?

2- What is the long-term strategy and vision regarding urban renewal in Uppsala? What are the current goals of the city? Have these goals been amended or changed since the Östra Sala backe project was first formulated?

3- What were the alternative proposals/visions regarding this part of the city? (Ideas, which were not implemented in the end, but which you find worth mentioning?) What were the key arguments against these proposals?

4- What are the sustainability features of the Östra Sala backe project?

5- What was the critique against proposed sustainability features or what were concerns associated with these features? (You can select one feature and talk about it, or give general overview of criticism and concerns).

6- How did you deal with the criticism? Which arguments you used to justify the proposed features?

7- How would you define sustainable urban development?

Annex 2. Interviewees taking part in the research and their characteristics

Interviewee	Position	Relevant work experience, focus of the interview	Date and type of interview
#1	Senior planner in the unit of Long Range Planning in the city of Saskatoon	Has been working for 9 years in urban planning (all the period - in Saskatoon). Is in charge of strategic planning in Saskatoon, communicates a lot with Environmental & Corporate Initiatives Division regarding environmental initiatives. In particular is in charge of Wetland preservation project in Saskatoon.	March 24, Face-to-face
#2	Senior planner in the unit of Neighbourhood Planning, city of Saskatoon	Has been working for few years in the city of Winnipeg, where was in charge of transition towards more sustainable city transportation. Last two years has been working in Saskatoon. Pleasant Hill project manager (at the current final stage of the project). Currently works to market the remaining land parcels.	March 30, Face-to-face
#3	City of Saskatoon Director of Planning & Development	Former head of Neighbourhood Planning unit, and used to manage Pleasant Hill project starting from original initiative and up to the moment Interviewee #2 has stepped in.	April 1, Phone
#4	Planning architect in the Planning department of Uppsala	Is in charge of detailed planning for the second (current) phase of Östra Sala backe project. Is in charge of operational management.	April 8, Phone
#5	Planning architect. Currently employed at Boverket, Karlskrona	Used to be an Östra Sala backe project coordinator starting from original initiative and up to the moment Interviewee #5 has stepped in. Formulated the initial project concept.	April 13, Phone
#6	Planning architect in the Planning department of Uppsala	Coordinates the Östra Sala backe project, is in charge of strategic dimension of project management.	April 15, Phone

Source: author's own.

Annex 3. Phone versus face-to face interviews

Parameter	Phone	Face-to-face
Cost	Low: may increase in case of international call, but still much cheaper than travelling	High: travel arrangements, transportation, etc.
Time	Shorter: communication "outside" interview guide is minimised. Interviewees tend to give shorter answers and are more focused	Longer: extra time spent for greetings, small talk, forms of politeness, informal conversations, occasional communication with other colleagues/people in the office
Challenges for an interviewer	Very demanding: should articulate questions very clear, sharp and focused, because non-verbal communication does not work. In case if connection quality is low, an interview has to repeat questions, which makes participants less interested in elaborate conversation	Less demanding: conversation is more natural; sketches, drawings, gestures, facial expressions, pictures can facilitate explanations. However, more careful preparation is required in case of cross-cultural communication (find out what is appropriate
Challenges for an interviewee	Less demanding: shorter; answers can be formal; no need to establish personal communication, easier to cancel	More demanding: has to organise meeting (e.g. visit to the office); more time-consuming; answers have to be more elaborate; higher chances of exceeding a time limit
Control	Lower chances to loose control over the interview	Higher chances to deviate from the topic
Answers	More formal and short. Higher chances to receive a precise answer to a question	More elaborate, but might be less focused. Higher chances to receive unexpected but nevertheless useful explanations (answers to questions an interviewer did not ask)
Results	More uniform and comparable (in a set of interviews)	Less predictable, might be incomparable

Source: based on author's experience; parameters formulated with the help of (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003).

Annex 4. List of Planning Documents

Saskatoon

City of Saskatoon. (2002). *Pleasant Hill Local Area Plan Final Report*. Retrieved from https://www.saskatoon.ca/sites/default/files/documents/community-services/planning-development/neighbourhood-planning/pleasant-hill-lap/pleasant_hill_final.pdf

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City of Saskatoon. (2015a). *Pleasant Hill Local Area Plan Implementation Highlights*. Retrieved from https://www.saskatoon.ca/sites/default/files/documents/community-services/planning-development/business-license-mapping-research/mapping/local-area-implementation-maps/Pleasant%20Hill_Recom%20Map.pdf

City of Saskatoon. (2015b). *Request for Proposals: Pleasant Hill Village (Multi-Family Housing).pdf*. Retrieved from https://www.saskatoon.ca/sites/default/files/rfp-_saskatoon_pleasant_hill_village_multi-family_housing.pdf

Uppsala

Uppsala Municipality. (2010). *Oversiktsplan 2010 [Comprehensive plan 2010]*. Retrieved from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/886fdc4d05614bcba2fa6191580c725f/oversiktsplan_2010_200dpi.pdf

Uppsala Municipality. (2010b). *Östra Sala backe: Planprogram [Planning program]*. Retrieved from

http://ostrasalabacke.uppsala.se/Global/Ostra_Salabacke/Dokument/Planprogram_Ostra_Sala_backe.pdf#page=6

Uppsala Municipality. (2010c). *Östra Sala backe: samrådsredogörelse [Consultation report]*. Retrieved from http://ostrasalabacke.uppsala.se/Global/Ostra_Salabacke/Om%20Projektet/dokument/samradsredogorelse.pdf

Uppsala Municipality. (2014a). *Detaljplan för Östra Sala backe, etapp 1 [Östra Sala backe detailed development plan, phase 1]*. Retrieved from http://ostrasalabacke.uppsala.se/Global/Ostra_Salabacke/Om%20Projektet/Detaljplaner_etapp_1/detaljplan-etapp-1-ostrasalabacke1.pdf

Uppsala Municipality. (2014b). *Östra Sala backe Underlag till markanvisningstävling [Request for proposals: Östra Sala backe, phase 2]*. Retrieved from http://www.ostrasalabacke.uppsala.se/markanvisning

Uppsala Municipality. (2014c). *Uppsala in twenty years: a summary of the 2010 comprehensive plan*. Retrieved from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/34f7e265c07241dfb067afde55c18ba2/op-sammanfattning-2010-eng-webb.pdf

Uppsala Municipality. (2015). *Resvaneundersokning 2015 [Survey on the transportation modes 2015]*. Retrieved from https://www.uppsala.se/organisation-och-styrning/publikationer/resvaneundersokning/

Uppsala Municipality. (2016a). *Förslag till ny översiktsplan [New comprehensive plan proposal]*. Retrieved from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/69bcc594a77647c2b6ab3efc5e0a63b9/op-del-a-webb-ny

Uppsala Municipality. (2016b). *Samrådsredogörelse över förslag till översiktsplan 2016 [Consultation report for the new comprehensive plan 2016]*. Retrieved from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/1b6e1cfd17fa479185e07aa0788a4d92/samradsredogorelse-oversiktsplan.pdf

Annex 5. Some of abbreviations and terms used in Canadian planning

SPI - Statements of Provincial Interest

Greenfield development - development in the new area, previously undeveloped (mainly in suburbs)

Infill development - development taking place within already developed area

Sectoral plan - in Saskatchewan, a strategic plan of a new (greenfield) city area

LAP - Local Area Plan

A-lands - agricultural lands

OCP - Official Community Plan

CPTED - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

Annex 6. Some of abbreviations and terms used in Swedish planning

Comprehensive plan - Översiktsplan

County - Län

County Administrative Board - Länsstyrelsen

County Council - Landsting

Detailed development plan - Detaljplan

Environmental code - Miljöbalken

Municipality - Kommun

National Board of Housing, Building and Planning - Boverket

PBL - Planning and building act - Plan och bygglagen

Development - Utveckling