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The Pursuit of Social Mix in Housing Through Physical Planning

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PREFACE

I am writing this preface putting six years of studying behind me, apparently in an attempt to grasp as many social sciences as possible. Starting with sociology of religion, to social economics, to human geography and back to sociology of religion. Eventually, I ended up with urban and regional planning which I am definitely happy about.

It is with both joy and sorrow I finish my degree. Honestly, I have really enjoyed studying and could possibly be doing it my whole life. On the other hand, at the time of writing I am in a weird mental state due to lack of sleep, eager to finally submit my thesis so that I can see the sun and have the weekends off.

Some people have been very helpful throughout the process of writing this thesis. I want to thank my supervision Jin Xue who have been both patient and committed through the whole process. Regarding proofreading I want to thank Bente, Kristina, Siv, Sølve, my mom, and my dad. I also want to thank NIBR, the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research for letting me write at their office, and especially Berit Nordahl for pointing me in the direction of the theme I have been investigating.

Finally, a special thanks to Lars and Siv for going on trips, eating food, and making me laugh every day for a whole semester.

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ABSTRACT

In some Norwegian urban areas, the demand for housing entails rapidly increasing housing prices, which might pose a challenge for the municipalities. Unevenly distributed price levels between subareas pose a risk of socio-economic segregation as different income groups might cluster in areas offering dwellings within their budget. Several municipalities consider this development undesirable, Ski being one of them. They indicate a wish for socially mixed residential areas, which is the starting point of this thesis. It could however be challenging to pursue this in physical planning, as social considerations lack emphasis in the Planning and Building Act. The thesis therefore investigates how the municipality of Ski pursue stated objectives connected to social mix through the case of a specific housing development. Further, I discuss how different approaches to planning might have affected the ability to pursue such objectives, and the possible need for additional measures.

The study uncovers that the municipality in this case have utilized few of the available measures to push the development in a direction of socially mixed residential areas. Further, the most important issue when it comes to clustering of different income groups, namely price, are proven difficult to affect through physical planning. As follows, the housing development investigated in this thesis will most likely end up as relatively homogenous considering income groups.

There is a wide range of possible explanations to this, some discussed in this thesis. Due to a shift towards a market-oriented planning, private developers have gained extensive influence in the planning process, and are currently the main provider of housing. Municipalities dependent on private development might therefore take the role as a facilitator for investment rather than securing social considerations. Participation programs could however contribute to secure interests regarding social mix. On the other hand, facing arguments formed by developers drilled in communication, representatives for these interests might struggle to be heard.

The ability to secure socially mixed residential areas might therefore require some changes. Within the frames of the current planning system, I am therefore briefly discussing the suggestion of extending the use of existing measures, establishing new ones.

SAMMENDRAG

I enkelte av Norges urbane områder medfører etterspørselen etter boliger raskt økende boligpriser, som kan innebære en utfordring for kommunene. Ujevn fordeling av prisnivåer mellom delområder utgjør en risiko for sosioøkonomisk segregering der ulike inntektsgrupper samles i områder som tilbyr boliger innenfor deres budsjett. Flere kommuner anser denne utviklingen som uønsket. Ski er en av dem, og indikerer et ønske om sosialt blandede boligområder. Dette er dermed utgangspunktet for denne oppgaven.

Plan- og bygningsloven pekes på som det viktigste verktøyet kommunene har for å påvirke boligutviklingen. Da sosiale hensyn er tillagt liten vekt i, kan det imidlertid være utfordrende å oppnå sosialt blandende boligområdet ved hjelp av fysisk planlegging. Oppgaven undersøker derfor hvordan Ski kommune forfølger uttalte mål knyttet til sosial blanding gjennom et bestemt boligutviklingsprosjekt. Videre diskuterer jeg hvordan ulike tilnærminger til planlegging kan ha påvirket mulighetene til å forfølge slike mål og om det kan sies å være et behov for ytterligere virkemidler.

Studien avdekker at kommunen i dette tilfellet har benyttet få av de tilgjengelige virkemidlene for å styre utviklingen i retning av sosialt blandede boligområder. Videre er det påvist at den største utfordringen når det gjelder blanding av ulike inntektsgrupper, nemlig pris, er vanskelig å påvirke gjennom fysisk planlegging. Som følger vil det fremtidige boligområdet undersøkt i denne oppgaven kunne ende opp som relativt homogen med tanke på inntektsgrupper.

Det er et bredt spekter av mulige forklaringer på dette, og noen av de mest sentrale blir diskutert i denne oppgaven. Gjennom et skifte mot mer markedsorientert planlegging har private utviklere fått stor innflytelse i planleggingsprosessen, og er nå den viktigste leverandøren av boliger. Kommuner som er avhengige av privat utbygging, har derfor et insentiv for å ta rollen som tilrettelegger for privat investering på fremfor å sikre sosiale hensyn. Medvirkning kan imidlertid bidra til sikre interesser med hensyn til sosial blanding. På den annen side, i møte med argumenter fra av utbyggere godt trent i kommunikasjon kan det være utfordrende for de som representerer sosiale interesser å bli hørt.

For kunne sikre sosialt blandede boligområder kan det derfor være nødvendig med noen endringer. Innenfor rammen av dagens planleggingssystem diskuterer jeg derfor kortfattet forslaget om å utvide bruken av eksisterende tiltak, og eventuelt etablering av nye.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem formulation

In Norwegian urban areas, there is a tendency of rapidly increasing housing prices in the most pressured districts. This might cause housing prices to differ distinctly between areas within a municipality. It could therefore pose a challenge concerning socio-economic segregation meaning that the least- and the most affluent cluster in areas providing housing available in their price-range. This represents a situation few municipalities want. Thus, many states the wish for housing development with a social profile. At the same time, planners point to difficulties when it comes to secure social considerations through the current planning system stipulated in the Planning and Building Act (Nordahl, 2018). It is therefore interesting to investigate how the municipality actually meets the challenge of facilitating for socially mixed residential areas through land use planning. This will lay the foundation to further discuss possibilities within the current planning system, and further if there is a need for additional measures not available.

Through the history of Norwegian land use planning, shifting ideals have left their mark and affected what measures are available today. The rational, expert driven focus dominating until the 1970s laid the foundation of a hierarchical system regulated by the Planning and Building Act. Further the focus on participation facilitated the representation of nonprofessionals. The most evident shift is however the move towards a more market-oriented planning. This entails a housing development almost entirely provided by private actors, who also prepare most zoning plans for the associated sites (Saglie, Hofstad & Hanssen, 2015; Nordahl, 2018; Falleth & Hanssen, 2012). The interface between market-based housing development and the municipality as a regulatory force is therefore interesting when it comes to securing socially mixed areas. In this context, I am investigating the possibilities of the municipality, and will therefore primarily focus on their role in the planning process through the problem formulation:

How can the municipality of Ski pursue the wish for socially mixed residential areas through physical planning?

1.1.3 Case and context



I have chosen to investigate a case within the municipality of Ski, as several reasons makes this particular municipality interesting. The housing market in Ski have been the subject to distinctly increasing housing prices the last five years (Krogsveen, 2019). In addition, Ski is part of the Oslo urban area, and through *The Regional Plan for Land use and Transport* designated as a regional town. This entails that Ski should facilitate for a high percentage of the growth in Oslo and Akershus, and strengthen its position in the region (Oslo Kommune & Akershus Fylkeskommune, 2015, p. 19). In addition, Follobanen will when completed in 2022 reduce traveling time between Oslo and Ski by train from 23 to 11 minutes (Bane NOR, 2018). It is therefore reason to believe that Ski currently is, and in the future will experience a housing market under pressure, especially close to the train station. As follows, high price levels in this area could pose a challenge when it comes to clustering of income groups (Nordahl, 2018). It might therefore be necessary to use measures actively to achieve a degree of social mix.

The starting point of the thesis is to investigate how the municipality can pursue the wish for social mix in housing and it is therefore necessary to examine a municipality apparently aiming to do that. Formulations in the social element of the municipal master plan for Ski indicates that this is a priority (Ski kommune, 2011). Ski is therefore relevant to this thesis on the background of two factors; they have areas at risk of being inhabited by relatively wealthy

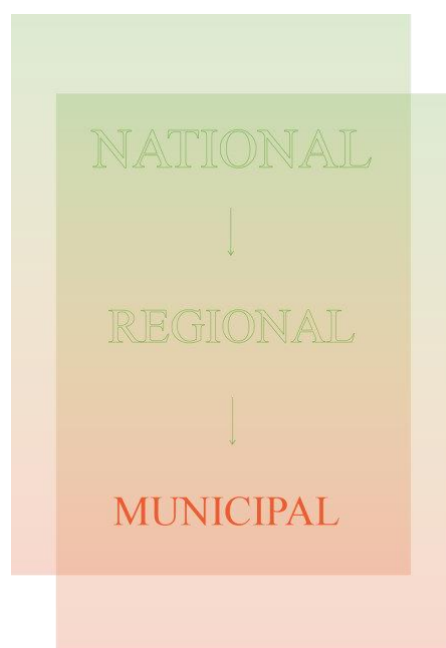
people compared to others within the municipality, and at the same time imply a wish to aim for a social mix.

Within Ski, I will investigate the housing project of Magasinparken. It is located within an approximate distance of one kilometer to the train station. As this span is often used as a measurement for walkable distance in land use planning, it could be defined as close regardless of transportation mode (Oslo kommune & Akershus fylkeskommune, 2015). This location indicates that housing here might be expensive. Further, it is a recent project regulated within the frame of plans dated after 2008, which enables a discussion of available measures in the current Planning and Building Act adopted in 2008. To mirror a reality of a typical current housing development in Norway, it was also important to investigate an area privately owned by the time of the detailed planning, and further that the developer initiated the regulation as most detailed zoning plans today are proposed by private actors (Hofstad, 2018).

As follows, I will investigate the case of Magasinparken within the context of Ski municipality. The whole site of Magasinparken consists of several building fields. The only building field with an adopted detailed zoning plan is BB1. BB1 will therefore be emphasized, while the planning proposal for BB2 and BB3 will be mentioned when relevant.

1.2 Delimitations

The Norwegian planning system is based on the process stipulated in the Planning and Building Act of 2008 (Plan- og bygningloven, 2008). In this system, there are three planning levels; the national, the regional, and the local. It is possible to develop plans on the national and regional level including provisions for land use, but the municipality on the local level is the most important planning actor, entrusted to make the majority of legally binding plans. As follows, plans on the national and regional level mainly contain guidelines for local planning (Saglie et al., 2015; Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008,



§§3-1 - 14-6). I will therefore focus on municipal planning, as measures to pursue social mix in housing are found at this level.

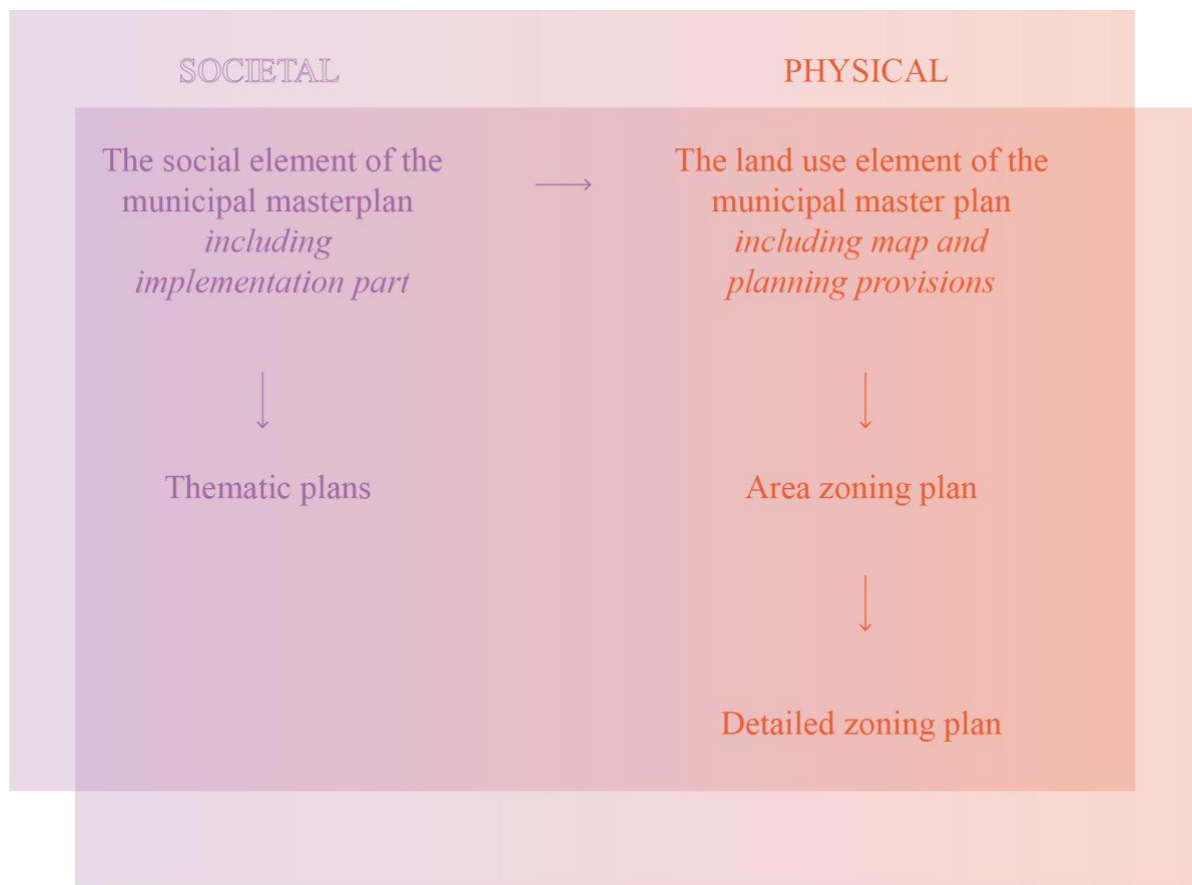


Figure 1: Municipal planning

Simply explained, planning at the municipal level starts with a municipal planning strategy. This should simply account for challenges and possible strategies, long term and within the ruling period of the elected municipal council. Further, they have to make a municipal master plan consisting of two elements; a *social element* including an implementation element, and a *land use element* including the legally binding planning map and planning provisions. Within the municipal level, it is therefore possible to distinguish between societal planning and physical planning. Through the societal planning, subordinate plans divided in themes with accompanied implementation plans can be made. When it comes to physical planning, it is possible to make zoning plans on two levels; area zoning plan, and detailed zoning plan (Saglie et al., 2018; Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §§10-1 – 12-17). In this thesis, I will account for objectives relevant to social mix in the social element of the municipal master plan. Besides this, the investigation will be delimited to physical planning as this is where

legally binding measures are implemented. The specific measures available will be elaborated in the empirical part.

In the case of Magasinparken, the planning process have been conducted in accordance to the illustration above as the physical plans covering the area consists of the municipal master plan, an area zoning plan and a detailed zoning plan. This structure will be the basis for the empirical analysis.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. The first being the introduction presenting the main problem formulation: *How can the municipality of Ski pursue the wish for socially mixed residential areas through physical planning?* and accounts for why this is relevant to investigate.

Chapter two concerns the methodology of the thesis and explains the choice of methods as well as an elaboration on how they were conducted.

The third chapter is the theoretical part of the thesis, and address the first research question: *What are the most influential theoretical approaches to contemporary Norwegian planning, and how can they affect the pursuit of social mix through physical planning?* To do this, I will define the concept of social mix, and account for the three most influential theoretical influences on the current Norwegian planning system. Finally, I will explain how they can be connected to social mix, which will be the analytical framework for the discussion.

The empirical analysis in chapter four presents data gathered from the document analysis. This is used to detect gaps between the planning levels when it comes to pursue overarching objectives throughout the regulation process, and will answer the research question: *To what extent are overarching objectives of social diversity pursued in physical planning in Ski?* Further, I present data from the interviews in connection to the gaps where the respondents reflect on challenges that appears on different municipal planning levels.

Chapter five ties the theories to the empirical data through a discussion. This will along with literature on Norwegian planning be used to discuss the research question: *Why are there gaps between objectives approaching social mix and measures implemented in physical plans, and how could they be reduced?* As follows, this chapter contains two parts, one discussing what might cause the gaps, and one briefly discussing changes that could be suggested within the current planning system.

The sixth and final chapter presents the conclusion, which will summarize findings discussed in chapter five, and briefly comment on the possible need for more radical changes to current Norwegian planning to make the municipality able to pursue their desire for social mix.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research design

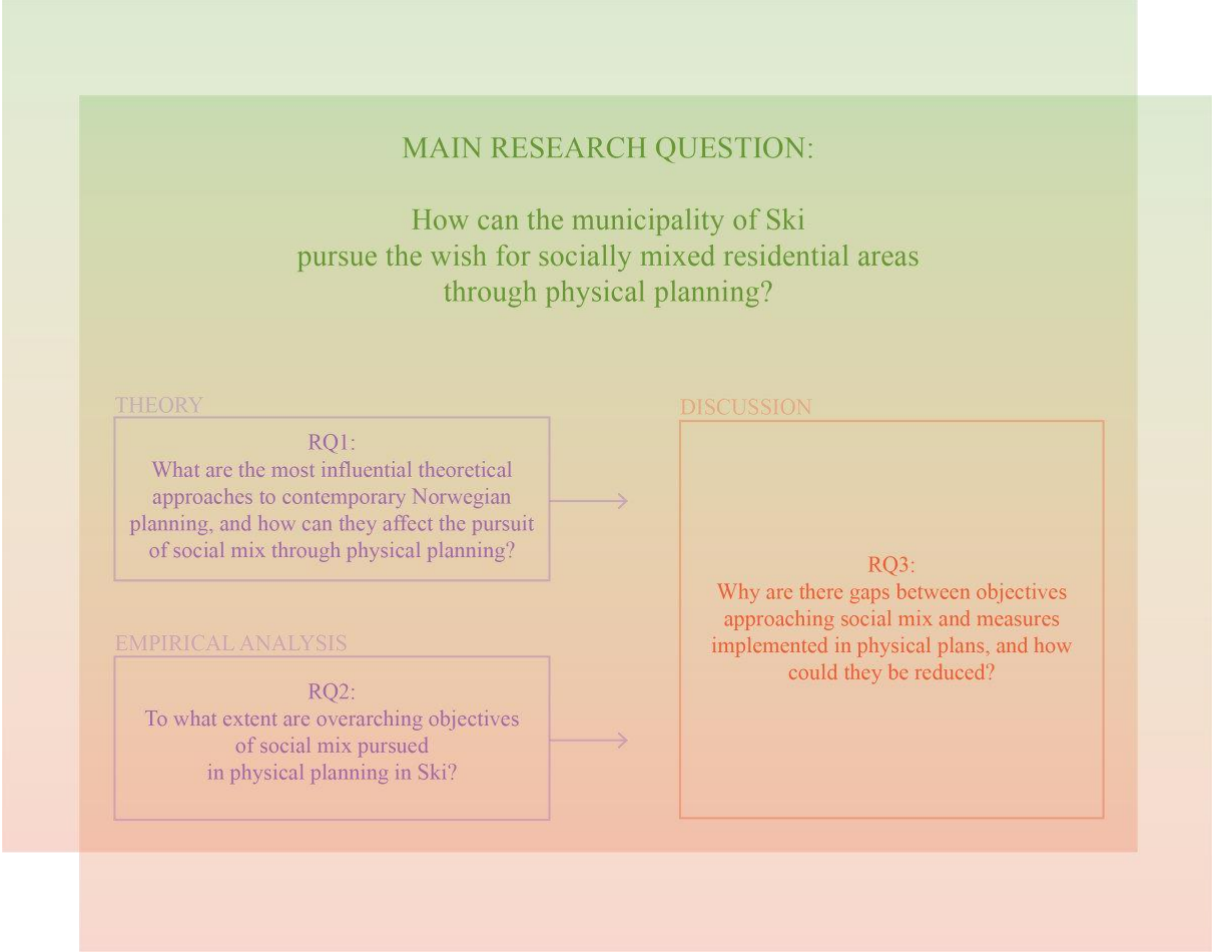


Figure 2: Research design

	Research question	Information	Main sources
Theoretical part	RQ1: What are the most influential theoretical approaches to contemporary Norwegian planning, and how can they affect the pursuit of social mix through physical planning?	Definition of the concept of social mix Presentation of the most influential theoretical approaches to Norwegian planning Connection between the approaches and facilitation for social mix	Berit Nordahl Edward C. Banfield Eva Falleth Inger-Lise Saglie John Forester John Friedmann Judith Innes Kathy Arthurson Linda C. Dalton Mark Purcell Nigel Taylor Patsy Healey Peter Hall Roar Amdam Tore Sager Toril M. Ringholm Torill Nyseth
Empirical Analysis	RQ2: To what extent are overarching objectives of social diversity pursued in physical planning in Ski?	Presentation of the case Analysis of data from the document analysis and interviews identifying gaps between objectives and measures	Documents: The municipal master plan. The area zoning plans for Ski Vest. The detailed zoning plan for building fields BB1. Protocols from political meetings. Respondents
Discussion	RQ3: Why are there gaps between objectives approaching social mix and measures implemented in physical plans, and how could they be reduced?	Part 1 Potential causes to the gaps. Results from the empirical data discussed in the light of how theoretical approaches influence Norwegian planning Part 2 Brief discussion on possible suggestions to improve the municipality's ability to achieve social mix	

2.2 Qualitative methodology

This thesis is investigating *how the municipality of Ski can pursue the desire for socially mixed residential areas in central areas through physical planning*. As follows, I want to examine if and why available means are or are not utilized, and the possible lack of available means. To get a deeper understanding of this, I found it essential to ask actors directly involved in municipal planning how they reflect on the possibilities of pursuing their own

objectives. Hence, a specific case where I could follow the whole planning process, and respondents who could reflect on the choices made along the way was necessary. On this basis, the thesis is built on a qualitative strategy.

2.3 Choice of methodological approaches

The first methodological decision was to do a *case study*. This is according to Thagaard “an investigation where a phenomenon is studied in its natural context and the investigation is based on several sources of data” (Thagaard, 2009, p. 49). Further, Ringdal (2013) describes case analysis as an intensive investigation of few units, or only one. This thesis aims to investigate land use planning in connection to social mix in housing. In this manner, the municipal level is the most important. Hence, I have decided to focus on the municipality, which would make me able to study land use planning in “its natural context”. It implies delimitation on three dimensions; the municipal part of the planning system, the geographical border and the administrative unit. Within this limitation, it is necessary to identify one, or a few areas that had been subject to municipal planning all the way down to a detailed zoning plan. This area would represent the unit for “intensive investigation”, and thus be the actual case.

As Thagaard (2009) mentions, a case study could be conducted using different types of data. In this thesis, I have chosen to use a combination of document analysis and interviews. The main research question entails a need to identify what overarching objectives the municipality has targeting social mix, and what means that are implemented in the physical plans. Planning documents and protocols from political meetings containing this kind of information is therefore the most reasonable source to begin looking for data. Hence, the choice of *document analysis* as a basis to answer RQ2.

Through analyzing the documents, I was able to establish what objectives and measures are adopted on paper. Further I involved professionals and politicians to elucidate how they interpreted the meaning of the objectives, how they could be pursued, and what they find challenging in this process. It was therefore necessary to conduct *interviews* to provide data that makes me able to answer RQ3.

2.4 Conducting the chosen methods

Thagaard (2009) points out that qualitative research is still in a phase of development. To make the research plausible, it is therefore important to have a transparent process where it is clarified how the data collection are designed, conducted and analyzed. In this section, I will therefore elaborate how I applied the different qualitative approaches.

2.4.1 Case study

Creswell (2013) presents case studies in three categories where one is called “instrumental case studies”. This applies to studies investigating a phenomenon through a delimited unit. The unit serves as an empirical basis to understand the phenomenon, which is the main interest of the project. My case is the area where the housing project Magasinparken is being developed. Hence, this is the delimited unit I will use as a basis to understand the phenomenon of securing social mix through physical planning. The case study conducted in this thesis could therefore be defined as instrumental.

Weaknesses

The premise of Follobanen increasing the demand for housing close to the trains station in Ski will not be visible until the development is done in 2022 (Bane NOR, 2018). Studies on decreased travel time by train and the effect on housing prices did not find reason to conclude that it resulted in higher housing prices (Holmsen, 2013). It is therefore only reason to claim that it possibly *could* increase pressure on the housing market. In combination with the fact that the *The Regional Plan for Land use and Transport* specifically determines that Ski should facilitate for growth in the Oslo Region, it is however reason to believe that Ski might experience high demand for housing in central areas in the future (Oslo Kommune & Akershus Fylkeskommune, 2015).

Further, the fact that only a part of Magasinparken is regulated could make it difficult to conclude on how the residential area will become as a whole. However, the area zoning plan covering all the building fields and the detailed zoning plan proposal for the rest of the housing project makes it possible to do some assumptions.

2.4.2 Document analysis

Selection of documents

Qualitative investigations are based on strategical selections (Thagaard, 2009). This also applies to the document analysis, and the documents I have chosen to analyze is based on two considerations. First, I detected all the adopted physical plans directly connected to the area of Magasinparken. This amounts to the municipal master plan, the area zoning plan for Ski vest and the detailed zoning plan for building filed BB1 and BT/1. The plans give information about what actually have been adopted, and to some extent the rationale behind the decisions. In addition, the maps show the geographical extent of the case area.

Second, I needed to find documents connected to the process of adopting the plans. This includes protocols from meeting in the planning and building committee and the municipal council, as well as comments given under public inspection periods. These provide information about changes made when planning proposals are politically treated, why the changes are suggested and who suggested them. To dig out these documents, I had to go through the political meeting calendar for the municipality. As you have to know the exact dates they have been treating questions related to the plans, I might have missed some documents. Through the analysis of the collected documents, all documents of significant importance appear to be covered.

Analyzing the data

When collecting data from the documents, I followed the planning process chronologically. I first identified relevant objectives in the social element of the municipal master plan, then analyzed each of the plans down to the detailed zoning plan, first identifying legally binding measures contributing the pursuit of the objectives and further how they were mentioned in the description of the plan. This also made it evident what measures had not been used. After doing this, I started to look at protocols from political meetings, to identify if the specific measures pursuing the objectives were explicitly discussed here. In total, I ended up sorting the information in four categories based what plan it is connected to. This formed the basis for the interview guide, which is loosely divided into sections connected to each planning level.

2.4.3 Conversational Interview

Interviews is the most dominant qualitative method. The advantages of collecting data through interviews is its openness in form, where the respondent can give information about how they perceive their own experiences (Thagaard, 2009; Kvale, 1997). Due to its openness, it is important that the conduction is based on knowledge about both the theme investigated, and how they affect the result of the project (Kvale, 2007). There are however many different ways to design, and conduct them. In this thesis, I have chosen to conduct conversational interviews in person.

Selection of respondents

This thesis is investigating a specific theme thorough a case. It is therefore possible and advantageous to choose respondents tactically based on the purpose of the investigation (Ringdal, 2013). As I am doing the latter, my selection of the respondents is based on the tactical assessments explained in the following paragraphs.

The first step of the selection was to find respondents that had been a part of the planning process of Magasinparken at different levels, and in different positions. As I am focusing on the role of the municipality, I chose to emphasize respondents within the municipal organization. Reflections from the developer would however also be interesting, to get a different perspective, and try to understand their intentions. I therefore chose to contact one representative from the developer side that had been involved in the regulation.

The second step of my selection was to establish positions the respondents should hold within the municipality. It was important to talk to representatives from both professionals actually preparing plans, and the political body adopting them. Second, I wanted to talk to different types of professional planners entering the planning process at different levels. Third, I considered it as important to interview someone in a leading position who are not directly involved in the design of the planning documents. This could contribute to an overview of the coordination between different planning levels, and reflections that is less professionally conditioned than the different planners. The selection of respondents is mainly meant to complement each other to get a comprehensive picture of the case. It should however also be possible to examine where there is consensus and where they have inconsistent perceptions on the same themes.

The third step was to pick out specific respondents representing the positions mentioned. When deciding which politicians to talk to, I preferred someone having insight in the process of adopting a plan. The leader of the planning and building committee was therefore chosen as a suitable respondent. In addition to the municipal council, the planning and building committee makes decisions regarding zoning plans with the legal basis of the municipal act (Kommuneloven, 1992, §10). Hence, they follow the whole planning process (Ski kommune, 2017f). In the interview, he is therefore speaking as the leader of the committee. It is however important to have in mind that he is also a politician representing “Arbeiderpartiet”, which could influence his answers. He will further be referred to as “the politician”.

When it comes to planners, I preferred to talk to the listed case manager on the detailed zoning plan for filed BB1 (Ski kommune 2017a; Ski kommune 2017b). By virtue of being a land use planner who had been working on this specific plan, I considered him to be informed about the professional rationales. Also, he is presumably familiar with the regulatory framework established in superior plans, measures available in physical planning, and challenges using them. Further, he could answer questions on a detailed level like specific articles applied in the planning provisions. This respondent will further be referred to as “the physical planner”

Further, I also wanted to interview the societal planner as she could contribute with a different perspective than the planners working at the land use level. The societal planner is presumably well informed the intentions behind objectives in the social element of the municipal master plan, and might have some interesting reflections on how they are expected to be pursued in further regulations. She will further be referred to as “the societal planner”.

As a representative for the leading role, I decided to talk to the chief municipal executive. She is the chief of administration, and is supposed to ensure that all cases presented to elected bodies are adequately examined. Hence, she could provide an overview of the desired development for the municipality as a whole. Further, she does not represent one delimited field of planning, and could perhaps point to challenges regarding measures for social mix through a more external perspective. It is also interesting to observe the consistency between the leader and the different professionals to examine if they work towards the same goal. She will be referred to as “the chief municipal executive”.

All the respondents contacted agreed to be interviewed. Hence, the selection covers the different positions. In retrospect, it could however have been beneficial to interview more than one land use planner as different planners have different opinions on the use of measures. It is evident for example in Børruds (2018) investigation of area zoning plans that her respondents sometimes have quite different interpretations of how this planning instrument should be utilized.

Question design

A conversational interview typically consists of open questions which makes the interview flexible. This might entail that the questions vary from interview to interview. Consequently, it might be difficult to identify connections between the answers, and interpret what the respondents actually are reflecting on. A solution is therefore to ask some fixed questions to all respondents which provides a framework of different themes that should be covered (Ringdal, 2013). Hence, I decided to make a first draft for the interview guide that was somehow structured, and use this as a starting point.

The structure of the interview guide was based on data from the document analysis, following the plans chronologically in time and detail-level based on when they were adopted. The questions were therefore organized in four categories connected to the different plans. This was to ensure that all remarks I had been doing along the analysis were covered. Further, the loose form of a conversational interview could make it confusing for the respondent to keep up with what plan we are talking about. Some of the specific terms and articles are quite similar from plan to plan. With the chronological structure, the respondent could therefore follow a path already familiar to them.

In the end of the interview I would ask questions that was directly connected to their position in the municipality, and also ask if they had something to add. The last part will therefore contain the most varied questions.

Challenges in the field

When conducting interviews, the relation between the interviewer and the interviewed becomes essential to the quality of the data (Thagaard, 2009). As this was my first time conducting interviews of this scope, I had some challenges.

First, there is an important ethical consideration of having to inform the respondent about the project in advance (Ringdal, 2013). This could however make the respondents adapt their answers in accordance to the project. As this thesis is focusing on social mix, some respondents might have communicated their concern for this issue to a greater degree than they would otherwise. This might have given a distorted picture on how much they actually emphasize social considerations in their work.

Second, the quality of the interview is dependent on the motivation of the respondent (Ringdal, 2013). There were variations when it comes to how talkative my respondents were, and how precise answers they gave. Some respondents were easy to talk to, and would gladly elaborate their answers without me needing to push for more. The most talkative respondent also appeared to give the most straightforward answers. Hence, it was easy to spot interesting statements along the way and ask follow-up questions. At the other end, there were respondents who gave short, and sometimes vague answers. It was therefore challenging to identify statements that should have been elaborated during the interview. Some of the content did simply not appear interesting until the transcription, as the meaning were somewhat hidden. Although I emailed a few follow up questions, some valuable information was most likely unconsciously ignored due to unclear formulations not being followed up.

Third, when I actually did perceive a statement as interesting to dig further into, it could be challenging. As a human being, it is hard to restrain from the instinctive of not wanting to offend the respondent. Some questions that might be perceived as offensive was therefore hard to ask. Even though I resisted the instinct and asked some critical questions, I probably lost some information due to me being an inexperienced interviewer who could have been more insistent. Ringdal (2013) points out the importance of establishing trust. On some occasions it was therefore an active choice not to appear pushy. Offensive questions can make the respondent defensive, which in turn could influence their answers. As I was dependent on respondents' willingness to talk about difficulties throughout the planning process, I wanted to avoid them getting in a defensive position. The balancing of when to push and when to make the respondent comfortable was a new and sometimes challenging experience. However, I managed to collect a lot of valuable information.

Analyzing the data

As an unexperienced interviewer, I wanted to eliminate sources of distraction during the interviews. I therefore chose to record all the conversations so that I did not have to make choices on what to write down while talking to the respondent. The data that are being analyzed is therefore transcribed from the recording.

The openness of the conversational interview became a challenge. Some questions gave information that I realized I should have gathered from the other respondents too, to determine if they are on the same page. The result is that some of the topics discussed in the thesis are reflected on by few, or only one respondent. In retrospect, some of the questions that were not fixed should have been so.

2.5 Ethical considerations

The main issue regarding research ethics in this thesis is the privacy of the respondents. The respondents are anonymized by not using their names, but they are indirectly identifiable through information about their position in the municipality, and gender as I refer to them as “he or “she”. I considered it necessary to include information about position as it is relevant to their interpretation of the plans investigated. All respondents were informed about this in advance, and gave written consent in accordance with the requirements from NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata).

2.6 Reliability, validity and transferability

Reliability

Reliability refers to how credible the result from the study are, and if a repetition using the same method would give the same result (Ringdal, 2013). It is a term originally connected to quantitative research, which makes the qualitative interpretation different to some extent. In qualitative research, it is especially important to have a transparent process of data collection, and account for the relation to the participants and experiences in the field that might affect the result (Thagaard, 2009). In this chapter, I have tried to do a thorough explanation of the choices made and therefore consider this part to be reliable.

Validity

Validity refers to the ability of the study to measure what it actually tries to measure (Ringdal, 2013). It is important to be critical to the foundation of own interpretations, for example the researchers' connection to the environment studied (Thagaard, 2009). I had little previous knowledge about the municipality of Ski. Further, I did not have any connection to the municipality of Ski, the respondents, or any other actors involved in the regulation. Hence, I had an external view that gave me few challenges in terms of being too close. On the other hand, having a closer relation to the studied environment might provide knowledge about for example where to look for data that is missed when having an external position.

Transferability

Transferability concerns the ability to apply interpretations made in one study to other contexts, or the relevance to other projects (Thagaard, 2009). Yin (2003) points out that whether a single case study can be generalized is a common concern. He further argues that case studies are not possible to generalize statistically for a population, but analytically. Hence, the analysis based on a theoretical framework can be relevant to other contexts. Further, as I am conducting an instrumental case study, the results could serve as a general explanation about the phenomenon of securing social mix in physical planning (Ringdal, 2013; Creswell, 2013). I would argue that the analytical framework approaching available, or lack of available means in physical planning could apply to other cases as the structure of the Norwegian planning system exists regardless of how the municipality of Ski relates to it.

2.7 Limitations

As mentioned, I wanted to interview a representative from the developer, who could shed some light on the rationale behind their planning proposals and their role in the whole planning process including communication with the municipality. Unfortunately, they did not reply to any of my efforts to get an interview in person. However, I got some information through an email exchange where they simply confirmed some suspicions I had regarding their role. I therefore got some valuable remarks, though an interview would be preferable.

CHAPTER 3 THEORY

In this chapter I will briefly define social mix. Social mix is here used as a stated desirable outcome, to be able to say how the different theoretical approaches can affect a specific objective. Hence it is not used as a theoretical base, but still needs to be defined. Then I will establish what planning ideals or theoretical approaches that is most influential in current Norwegian planning. This will make me able to elaborate how the different approaches can affect the ability to secure social mix in housing, and make an analytical framework. This framework will in chapter five be applied to my case to discuss how this plays out in a Norwegian context through the municipality of Ski.

3.1 Social mix

The starting point for the problem formulation of this thesis is the municipality's own desire for a social profile on housing development, and the thesis is investigating how the municipality can pursue this in physical planning. "A Social profile" is however a broad term that needs to be defined. It is therefore necessary to look at how the municipality themselves relates to social considerations in housing. In this section I will only review the general terms about housing policy in the municipal master plan, as the more specific objectives will be elaborated in the empirical part.

There are several expressions that can support the desire for a social profile. Among others, it is stated that living environments should be socially inclusive. Further, the importance of variation when it comes to housing is mentioned, so that as many as possible can find suitable housing. New housing projects on undeveloped land should contribute to the desired variation, both within the municipality as a whole, and individual residential areas (Ski kommune, 2011). These formulations can be said to imply a desire for socially mixed residential areas, and that new development should contribute to this. It is further supported by several of the respondents when asked about the rationale behind the desire for varied housing as they mention to counteract segregation and contribute to mix social groups through facilitating for different income levels. As Nordahl (2018) argues; few Norwegian municipalities wants areas with low prices where the less affluent is clustered, and vice versa for the most affluent. On this basis, I will further use the term social mix.

When used as a measure for social inclusion, social mix “often aims to break down or prevent concentrations of disadvantaged residents from forming through balancing ‘social mix’, or creating communities with a blend of residents across a range of income levels and housing tenures” (Arthurson, 2010, 51). This expression corresponds to both the statements from my respondents, and Nordahl (2018). Further use of the term social mix will therefore refer to the facilitation for a blend of socio-economic groups in the same residential areas.

Arthurson, Levin & Ziersch (2015) argues that social mix can be viewed as a kind of double-edged sword. It is as a measure to promote social inclusion, but at the same time, some critics perceive it as a state-led form of gentrification. This is supported by Susan Fainstein (2010), who points out that increased social diversity includes the risk of low-income residents losing the feeling of ownership to their residential area. Further, there are no reassurance that it contributes to good relationships between neighbors, and could for example lower trust within communities. As follows, many scholars have questioned if policies implementing social mix is favorable (Arthurson, Levin & Ziersch, 2015; Galster, 2007; Fainstein, 2010). The case investigated in this thesis comprises construction on undeveloped land. Hence it will not directly change the demographics of an existing residential area. Further, the thesis will mainly discuss issues regarding the relationship between overarching objectives and physical planning, not the quality of the objective themselves. I will therefore not go further in to the critique of social mix as a concept.

In the next section, I will explain the theoretical backdrop for the most influential ideals in Norwegian planning, which will make me able to say how the ideals could have influence the possibility to pursue a desire for social mix.

3.2 Theoretical approaches to planning

There are several theoretical approaches more or less influential in current Norwegian planning. To form an analytical framework applicable to this thesis, I will delimit the theoretical basis to the ones most evident. Also, as the thesis focus on the planning system, and the changing roles of different actors, it is a conscious decision to base the theoretical framework on theories approaching this. Some highly influential ideas of more substantial character like the sustainability discourse will therefore not be discussed unless it is relevant

to the framework of the other theories (Hofstad, 2018; Aarsæther & Buanes, 2016). Hence, it will be a simplification of a complex planning system that in reality is affected by more factors than a single master thesis will be able to grasp.

Current Norwegian planning consist of different orientations that plays out simultaneously, and several scholars describe Norwegian planning as hierarchical, market-based and to emphasize participation at the same time (Falleth & Saglie, 2012; Saglie et al., 2015; Hofstad, 2018). I will use these orientations as a starting point to establish the relevance of the different theoretical approaches, then explain each theory.

According to Falleth & Saglie (2012), the hierarchical orientation represents a traditional, top down approach to public management where the planner takes the role as an expert who makes decisions supported by a legal system. This orientation is the cornerstone of the Norwegian planning system that is regulated by the Planning and Building Act. The municipality is the dominant planning actor, designing plans based on professional considerations. As follows the hierarchical features are based on the ideal of planning as a regulated, hierarchical expert activity, which characterizes the theoretical approach of *instrumental rationality* (Saglie et al., 2015; Falleth & Saglie, 2012; Stugu, 2006). Despite of harsh criticism through the 1970s, it is still a remaining influence (Falleth & Saglie, 2012).

The market-based orientation emphasize competition between different actors in a market. Hence, it is framed by the desire for profit and responds to supply and demand. Effectivity is therefore essential. This entails the opening up for private actors to participate in the planning process, and play a more significant role in shaping the build environment as developers. The role of the municipality therefore changes from being the sovereign local planning actor, to providing frameworks for private initiatives (Saglie et al., 2015). Based on Tore Sagers (2011) description of *neo-liberalism* as a resistance to Keynesian welfare state economics where efficiency, economic freedom and entrepreneurialism is valued over government intervention, the market- based orientation seem to be influenced by such ideals.

Through the emphasis on participation, planning becomes an arena for cooperation, participation and dialogue. As such, it addresses the need to secure collective and social considerations through facilitating the opportunity for everyone to be heard (Saglie et al., 2015). This implies a theoretical basis of *communicative rationality*

as a tool to achieve a more democratic society (Taylor, 1998). By establishing the theoretical approaches behind the different orientations, I am now able to define the theories and describe how they have influenced planning in general.

3.2.1 Instrumental rationality

In the late 1960s, an approach to planning described by Nigel Taylor as a theory of “planning as a rational process of decision-making” was appearing. The so called “blueprint” tradition of post-war planning was criticized for being design-based, emphasizing the ends. Having a too fixed image of the future, it did not consider changes that might occur in the process (Taylor, 1998; Faludi, 1973). Increased focus on the process was therefore requested. This resulted in a change from planning being largely a physical and aesthetic activity, to using scientific analysis on social and economic mechanisms as basis for decisions. The means of planning was now in focus, not the ends (Taylor, 1998).

The rational approach builds on the idea of instrumental rationality. Scientific data is relied on to make rational decisions. The planner is therefore viewed as a neutral actor analyzing the data (Dalton, 1986; Taylor, 1998). Framed by an optimistic belief in planning as a tool to shape the future, the ambition is to identify the best measures to reach a predetermined and clear goal and monitor the effect (Amdam & Veggeland, 2012; Dalton, 1986). The stepwise process is plainly illustrated by Taylor (1998, p. 68):

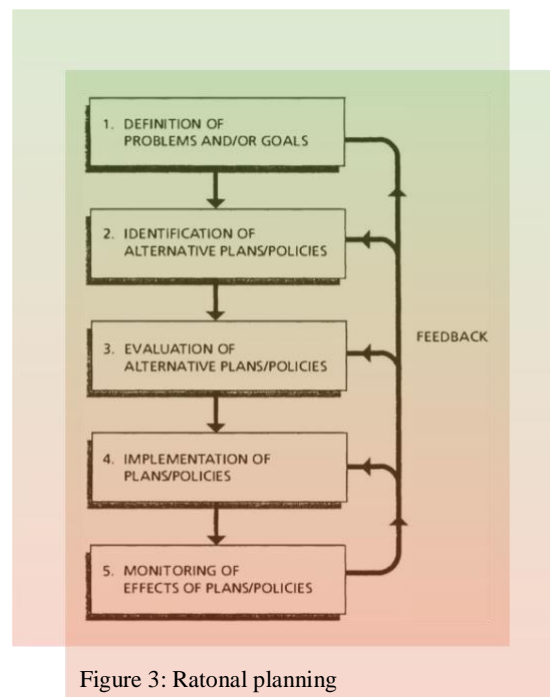


Figure 3: Rational planning

Through this linear process, the planner has the power to determine what problems should be prioritized and what means to use (Amdam, 2012). In that sense it is a top-down, expert driven approach. As Taylor puts it; “the town planner was someone who possessed some special skill- some expertise- which the average person in the street did not possess” (Taylor, 1998, p.161). This model seems to have been influential to planning systems regulated by law where a public planning actor design, and adopts the plans (Saglie et al., 2015; Aarsæther & Buanes, 2016).

During the 1970s and 1980s, instrumental rationality was criticized (Forester, 1989; Taylor, 1998; Friedmann, 2003). The attempt to sculpt the future through rational planning was accused of ignoring the complexity and unpredictability of the different levels of society. In many cases regarding urban development it is not possible to assemble all the knowledge needed to choose the optimal solutions, nor state as clear goals as desired (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011). Patsy Healey claims instrumental rationality to ignore the cultural diversity of our environment, and the complexity of economic and social relations (Healey, 1992; Healey, 2006; Taylor, 1998). In addition to Healey, many others argue that the shortcomings of scientific knowledge and a planning process involving a diversity of actors demands a communicative approach (Amdam, 2012).

3.2.3 Communicative rationality

In the early 1990s, the idea of planning as a communicative process experienced a breakthrough and emerged as a new theoretical direction. The scholars dominating was motivated by contributing to a democratic and participatory planning process where not only powerful actors should have a saying (Taylor, 1998). Hence planning should not only be an “instrument of control” (Friedmann, 2003). As described by Amdam & Veggeland; “One rejects the instrumental planning and replaces it with processes involving both experts and stakeholders, layman's knowledge is considered equal to expertise, and argumentative communication becomes more prominent” (Amdam & Veggeland, 2011, p. 171).

The communicative direction clearly represents a contrast to the rational planner as the expert who sets the agenda, but Judith Innes (1998) still points to communicative rationality as a supplement to instrumental rationality. Communicative planning should hence contribute to improve the discussion about the meaning of information produced by planners, so that different actors can agree on decisions made for a shared future (Innes, 1998; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000).

The approach is based on Habermas communicative rationality (Taylor, 1998; Healey, 2006; Gunder, 2010). His theory of communicative action provides four conditions for “the ideal speech situation” (Taylor, 1998; Amdam, 2012). Using Amdams interpretation, they can briefly be described like this: First, the actors should be interested in achieving a joint solution. Second, the actors should be free and equally competent. Third, the actors have to

change opinion if met with better arguments. Fourth and last, the actors should act truthfully (Amdam, 2012). In relation to planning, this could be used to implement participatory concerns to achieve a more democratic process (Taylor, 1998).

In this manner, John Forester is an important voice. In his book “*Planning in the Face of power*”, he argues that planners are not merely designers of planning documents, but also dictates participation by virtue of deciding who to contact and what information to emphasize when presenting different solutions. Hence, planner’s ability to talk and make arguments is important. For example, when handling conflicts between private profit and public well-being in capitalistic societies, the planner should be able to effectively negotiate with powerful private developers, but at the same time secure the interest of less resourceful and marginalized groups (Forester, 1989). Different to the neutral role of the rational planner, this implicates that the planner should be aware of inequalities of power.

Despite the intentions of the communicative approach to make a more democratic process, it has been criticized on several points (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000, Purcell 2009; Gunder, 2010). One of the most evident is the claim that communicative planning facilitates and contributes to maintain the neo-liberal ideology (Purcell, 2009; Gunder 2010).

First, it is argued that there is no such thing as an ideal speech situation. Language will always be influenced by power, which is claimed to be ignored by the communicative approach. Despite of trying to facilitate for everyone to participate within the conditions of the ideal speech, different social groups have varied capacity when it comes to argumentation. Everyone is simply not able to articulate their needs in a way that will be acknowledged (Purcell, 2009).

Second, it is claimed that property owners are being prioritized over other groups when contacting affected parties in new development. Hence, they are systematically included in the communicative process, which entails an indirect exclusion of other groups who is also affected to some degree (Purcell, 2009). This might entail that private developers have an advantage both when it comes to being invited to the table, and while there, holds the resources to put forward their arguments in a way that “weaker” parties could not compete with.

Overall, it seems that communicative planning struggles with the fact that “weak” interest might be poorly represented as some have more resources to get acknowledged within the frame of the Habermasian ideal speech. As follows, it might seem that the securing of less resourceful groups as emphasized by Forester (1989) is not necessarily taking place. Despite of these power-issues, communicative planning gives the impression of being inclusive and democratic. This contributes to legitimize decisions made, and maintain political stability within a neo liberal hegemony (Gunder, 2010; Purcell, 2009). Purcell (2009) therefore argues that the communicative approach to planning is a less effective when it comes to challenge inequalities claimed to accompany neo-liberalism.

3.2.2 Neo-liberalism

During the 1980s, the criticism of public management as inefficient began to take root (Falleth & Saglie, 2012). It was part of the neo-liberal spirit of time, based on the “belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from state interference and the actions of social collectivities, represent the optimal mechanism for socioeconomic development” (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009, p. 50). Neo-liberalism is according to Harvey (2005) a theory of political-economic practices. As follows, it differs from the other approaches in this chapter by not being adapted to planning in particular. It has however been largely influential on planning policies. Sager (2011) even claims that the approach entails an attack on the whole concept of planning as a regulatory force (Sager, 2011). Hence, it challenges the planning-positive attitude of the rational approach.

A starting point for the increasing neo-liberal influence was the economic downturn of the 1970s and 1980s. This contributed to the political support of initiatives promoting growth (Hall, 2014). As Kim & Short puts it; “the state became concerned with wealth creation rather than wealth redistribution” (Kim & Short, 2008, p. 42). In relation to planning, this meant a change in several western countries from trying to regulate and control urban growth to mainly encourage it (Hall, 2014; Healey 2007). Towards the 1990s this became evident through new types of relationships between private and public actors. The shifting roles of different actors in the planning process is particularly interesting to this thesis. I will further be focusing on two aspects of this.

First, the role of the public sector as provider of services has decreased (Sager, 2011; Harvey, 2005). In the neo-liberal approach, public authorities should only provide the most essential

institutions, for example a currency and a legal system to secure private property rights. As follows, the public sector plays an important role, but only to provide the necessary framework for a functioning market (Harvey, 2005, pp. 2, 64). This might entail privatization of several services that was earlier provided by the state or other public institutions. As the financial burden is transferred to private actors, it implies a cutback in public budgets (Sager, 2011; Harvey, 2005).

Second, another neo-liberal influence is cooperation between public and private actors. This includes for example parties working together to; achieve a common goal, or implement a joint program. Hence, some partnerships entail cooperation between local authorities and local capital owners to state objectives for urban development. This practice represents a degree of privatization, as a share of the work with accompanied responsibilities and risks is outsourced to private actors. Implementing an element of competition could make the process more effective. Further, the access to private capital creates opportunities to realize large projects that exceed the public budget (Sager, 2011). Evidently, the shifting roles are dominated by the recession of public authorities.

The attempt to make planning more effective and growth-oriented has gained critique from a range of different scholars, David Harvey being one of the most influential. He claims that the privatization neoliberalism has brought along, places the “right to the city” in the hands of political and economic elite. They are now in position to shape the city according to their desires, and quality of urban life has become a commodity for those the most affluent (Harvey, 2012). He argues that the right to the city is a collective right, and depends on a greater democratic control over the production and use of the surplus through urbanization. Changing this unequal distribution of power depends on a collective power. In this manner, Harvey calls for more revolutionary measures than for example the advocates for communicative planning. The critique stresses the need for more than democratic adaptations within a frame of a neoliberal system. To him, a different system for allocation of surplus is the solution (Harvey, 2012).

More specific to the changing roles in planning, Sager (2011) mentions that neo-liberal policies are implemented at the expenses of redistribution and fairness. Services provided by private actors is often accompanied by an emphasis on gaining profit. It is therefore adapted

for the need of the most affluent. Further, private-public partnerships can be criticized for favoring strong, private actors in a process presented as democratic, as mentioned in the critique of communicative planning.

3.2 Planning approaches and social mix in housing

Now that I have accounted for the different theoretical perspectives relevant to this thesis, it is necessary to connect them to the concept of social mix defined as blending socio-economic groups within the scale of a residential area. I will therefore use scholars mentioning the theories in a context of housing. This will make me able to later discuss the ability to pursue social mix-objectives in the light of the theories.

Instrumental rationality

In relation to housing, Banfield (1959) argue that public organizations must consider a wide range of outcomes connected to social considerations that private developers do not. Seemingly because the public organization have a greater social responsibility (Banfield, 1959). It is therefore reason to believe that objects aiming for socially mixed residential areas would be formulated and pursued if it is determined as desirable through scientific analyzes. The top-down element of the rational approach further implies that the public planner actor could implement chosen measures without negotiating with other involved actors. As follows, it might seem that the rational approach provides good conditions to pursue a potential desire for social mix.

On the other hand, Banfield criticize rational planning practice by claiming it is rather based on spontaneous decisions to handle current crisis, than rational analysis followed by clear goals and measures for the future. When investigating the Chicago Housing Authority, it was discovered that stated objectives were vague, and that it was unclear what the outcome they were actually aiming for (Banfield, 1959). He offers some general observations that could serve as explanations to this. First, it is difficult to set goals for an unpredictable future. Plans aiming to do this might simply be laying in the drawer as they quickly become irrelevant to the current reality (Banfield, 1959; Sager, 2011). Second, thorough investigations and alternative plans are required to be able to formulate objectives shaping the future. This is often both expensive and time consuming. As follows, the opportunistic decision making

might seem like a better alternative for immediate response to a problem (Banfield, 1959). If rational planning practice is conducted in as described by Banfield, vague objectives might be a challenge to pursue social mix if it is unclear how to do it, or if that is even the goal.

Communicative rationality

An important part of communicative planning is participation motivated by the belief that all affected groups should be represented (Hall, 2014; Taylor, 1998). It is therefore among other things, an attempt to give citizens the opportunity to influence in the planning process (Nyseth & Ringholm, 2018). As follows, it can be argued that participation programs makes it possible for actors wanting to facilitate for different socio-economic groups in housing to be represented, and possibly affect the outcome. There are however some challenges.

First, it is a question of who gets invited to participate. It could be delimited to a narrow selection of directly affected actors (Nyseth & Ringholm, 2018). This applies to the critique from Purcell (2009) when he points out that this often ends up being the relatively resourceful property owners. If this is the case, people representing interests like facilitation for different income groups will not be included. Further, it is pointed out that when participatory measures are made available to all with no specific groups explicitly invited, few will recognize themselves as affected parties (Nyseth & Ringholm, 2018). As follows, communicative planning as a contribution to pursue a desire for social mix depends on someone actually willing to represent this interest. As this could be viewed a common good few might feel the call to represent this.

Second, less resourceful groups that would gain most from the facilitation of social mix in central areas could also lack the resources necessary to put forward a strong argumentation. Correlating with Purcell's (2009) critique on communication as influenced by power, this might make interests like housing for varied income groups to be overrun by arguments from more resourceful actors. In that case, participation measures can act as a form of direct democracy but lacks the transfer of actual power to citizens (Nyseth & Ringholm, 2018). If people choose to participate representing the desire for social mix, it might still be challenging to actually influence the outcome due to this power issue.

Neo-liberalism

Neo-liberal influence by privatizing the housing market can be seen as a reaction to ineffective public actors that is not able to meet the demand (Falleth & Hanssen, 2012, p. 194). Hence, the market is viewed as a better provider which entails a decreasing role of the public sector supplying housing on publicly owned land (Sager, 2011, pp. 174-176). This could lower public expenses as less public funding needs to be allocated for housing. Further, the claimed effectivity of the market could contribute to meet demands faster. In this case, a neo-liberal approach might possibly restrain the increasing prices. This would however not affect uneven distribution of price-levels within a municipality (Nordahl, 2018).

In addition, it is argued that the competition improves attention to the demand of the customer. As the preferred customer of a private developer would be the one most willing to pay, social mix would not be preferential to the developer unless it is a demand making a residential area more attractive (Sager, 2011). This implies a social mix of the “right” kind, which could be connected to Richard Florida’s creative class representing a mix of people, but all resourceful (Florida, 2005; Fainstein, 2010). As follows, the social mix potentially preferred by private developers are not necessarily facilitating for different income levels.

Further, the extended use of cooperation between public and private actors might entail private actors gaining more influence in the planning process. Neo-liberal ideals could for example influence acting as an argument to changes to the law, facilitating the presence of private actors in different levels of the planning process (Saglie et al., 2015). As follows, this might apply to the regulation of housing development, and private actors will have the opportunity to push the regulation towards their desired outcome. Sager (2011) points out that the measurement for success in a neo-liberal view is the willingness to pay. The desired outcome for private developers might therefore emphasize the demand of the most affluent. The liberalization of the housing market entails that the public actor is dependent on private actors to realize housing development projects. When cooperating with private developers in the regulation process, it could therefore be difficult to secure housing for different social groups as the public actor need to facilitate land attractive to private investment at the same time.

3.3 Summary

Summarized, the different planning approaches can influence implementation of measures for social mix in many ways. Here, I have tried to detect the most apparent impacts. There are unsurprisingly both positive and negative notions made about all the approaches, which makes them an interesting foundation for further discussion.

Simply explained, the instrumental rationality represents possibly favorable conditions to implement measures for social mix if this is a desired objective. The hierarchical characteristics implies that public authorities can set the agenda when it comes to objectives and measures, and could therefore skip negotiations with other actors. The critical point is however that the rational planning is not really practiced. The amount of scientifically conducted data needed in the rational model could make the process expensive and slow. Furthermore, it requires long term goals that is difficult to define as the future is highly unpredictable. As follows vague objectives might be formulated, which in turn could make it difficult to implement them in physical planning.

The communicative approach could facilitate the opportunity to influence the outcome of planning through participation. This could be an effective instrument to include representatives for social considerations. In practice, it is however argued that stronger parties are prioritized when actively selecting participants. Also, less resourceful groups could have difficulties making their argument compared to strong actors like private developers. Further, to use participation as a tool to pursue social mix depends on citizens or others willing to argue.

The neo-liberal approach with the accompanied liberalization of the housing market could make housing development more effective and more sensitive to the demand of the customer. As follows, it could entail facilitation for social mix if that is demanded. The challenges however that the demand of the well off would be prioritized. The potential social mix would therefore most likely be a kind that is preferred by customers most willing to pay, not the kind motivated by social concerns. There are of course examples of commercial actors taking social responsibility, but they are still dependent on making a profit. The neo-liberal role of the public planning providing frames for private development implies an opportunity to secure objectives of social mix in the regulation land use. The influence of private actors in

the planning process might however pose a challenge, as the necessity of being attractive to investments might overrun “weaker” considerations.

CHAPTER 4 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter I divided in three parts. The first one is simply a presentation of the case, and an explanation of the different measures available to the municipality when it comes to secure social mix. The second part is mainly based on data from the document analysis, going through the relevant plans for my case in chronological order. This will make me able to identify if there are any inconsistencies between stated objectives aiming for social mix, and measures implemented in the physical plans. As follows, the second part answers to RQ2: *To what extent are overarching objectives of social diversity pursued in physical planning in Ski?*

Further, the third part will be based on data from the interviews, presenting how the respondents reflect on potential challenges pursuing overarching objectives. This will contribute to form a basis for further discussion in chapter five.

4.1 Context

In this section, I will briefly present the physical planning at the municipal level emphasizing the plans relevant to my case, and measures available to pursue social mix. Further I will introduce the case of Magasinparken.

A limitation worth mentioning is that the land in my case is privately owned. In situations where the municipality owns the land and sell it to a developer, they basically have unlimited opportunities to set terms for the development. By for example determine the maximum price of constructed dwellings, it could be used to secure social mix (Nordahl, 2018). As the land in my case have been privately owned since 2006, I will however emphasize measures available under these circumstances. The possible measure to control development through municipal ownership will therefore not be mentioned further in the empirical analysis.

4.1.1 Physical planning on the municipal level

By physical plans, I mean the ones legally binding for land use. On the municipal level, the land use plans covering Magasinparken consist of the municipal master plan, an area zoning plan and a detailed zoning plan.

The municipal master plan is supposed to secure national, regional and municipal interests. Hence, by being bound follow up on regional and national guidelines, municipal planning is connected to the overarching levels (Plan - og bygningsloven, 2008, §11-1). An example applicable to Ski is the regional plan for transport and land use for Oslo and Akershus (Oslo kommune og Akershus fylkeskommune, 2015). The social element should consider long term challenges, objectives and strategies. Further, the land use element function as a connection between societal development and land use. It should therefore follow up on the objectives and strategies formulated in the social element, providing legally binding requirements (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §§11-2 – 11-6).

The area zoning plan is an opportunity to clarify land use on a more detailed level than the municipal master plan. The requirements in this planning type are also legally binding. It should be prepared by the municipality themselves, but if they have the authority to outsource the design of a proposal to other actors (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §12-2).

The detailed zoning plan should follow up in requirements from the municipal master plan and the area zoning plan. This planning type could be proposed by private actors, organizations or other authorities (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §12-3).

Through the plan listed above, the municipality have a set of measures available to pursue the wish for social mix in the case of new built development like Magasinparken. First, they can determine permitted heights and utilization, composition of housing types, and the size of the dwellings in square meters. These are all approaching physical attributes, but it is claimed that it has an effect on the composition of socio-economic groups (Nordahl, 2018).

Further, the municipality have a preemptive right, giving them the opportunity to buy a percentage of the dwellings in housing projects (Nordahl, 2018). The transmission of housing from private to public ownership puts the municipality in a stronger position when it comes to decide how the dwellings should be distributed, and could therefore contribute to secure social mix. They could also make an assignment agreement, giving them the possibility to refer people with special needs to privately owned housing. In this manner, the construction could be supported by loans from Husbanken, the state-level institution following up on social housing policy. Both the preemptive right and the assignment agreement could contribute to social mix by integrating dwellings for people with special needs in areas offering few of

these. This could for example be done through negotiating a development agreement between the municipality and the private developer (Nordahl, 2018; Kommunal- og moderniseringdepartementet, 2014).

A development agreement can cover a wide range of themes. The municipality can determine that an agreement is required to get building permission. As it is formed through a process of negotiation, the municipality most likely has to sacrifice something if they want to secure social mix (Aarsæther et al., 2018).

4.1.2 Magasinparken

The municipality of Ski is a part of the Akershus County. It is the most populous municipality of the Follo district with its 30 818 inhabitants (Ski kommune, 2018). The municipal center is located 25 kilometers south of Oslo (Google, 2018). Approximately one kilometer from the train station, the development of a new residential area named Magasinparken is under construction. It is built on undeveloped land sold by the municipality in 2006, ending up in the ownership of the property developer Solon Eiendom in 2011 (Kvitte, 2011). The future development of this almost 30 000m² area will contain approximately 500 dwellings, a kindergarten, parks, restaurants and other attractions (Solon Eiendom, Undated-a). It is therefore reasonable to claim that the development as a whole could be defined as a residential area.



Figure 4: Sketch by Reiulf Ramstad Arkitekter (Solon Eiendom, undated-a).

The total area of the future Magasinparken consist of several building fields. The first one to be completed is field BBI. As this is the only field with a completed and adopted detailed zoning plan, I will mainly focus on this in my further investigations. There are however existing planning proposals for the other building fields, which will be mentioned when relevant to the overall impression of the future residential area.



Figure 5: Illustration of the building fields. Basis by Code Arkitektur. Edited. (Code Arkitektur, Undated).

4.3 Objectives and measures facilitating social mix in housing

This section will explore the objectives from the social element of the municipal master plan that can be tied to a desire for social diversity in housing, and how they are pursued through measures in the physical plans relevant for the development of Magasinparken. To do this I will mainly use data from the document analysis of different plans, as they contain the objectives and measures adopted on paper. The formulations on paper are however sometimes vague. To be able to understand the content of the objectives and measures, it was therefore necessary to use data from the interviews as a complimentary source.

I will first go through objectives in the social element of the municipal master plan. Then detect how they are pursued in first the land use element of the municipal master plan, the area zoning plan, and finally the detailed zoning plan. This will make me able to reveal potential gaps between objectives and measures, and hence answer research question two: *“To what extent are overarching objectives facilitating social diversity pursued in physical planning?”*.

The social element of the municipal master plan

Chapter four in the social element of the municipal master plan is about societal development. It is divided into different themes, each with a set of specific objectives and strategies. As established in chapter one, the municipality of Ski has a desire for socially mixed residential areas. As follows, this should be able to detect in the objectives regarding housing policy (Ski kommune, 2011). I was able to identify two objectives indicating this, that possibly could be pursued in physical planning. First; *“a wide range of varied housing types, housing sizes and housing prices”*, is an objective, that among other things could be motivated by a desire for a social mix (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 30). Second, the objective; *“housing for inhabitants with special needs is incorporated into the general building stock”* implies that special housing should be integrated in regular housing development (Ski kommune 2011, p. 31). There is however no further explanation of the objectives in the plan. I have therefore tried to clarify the content by asking the informants their interpretation, and identified strategies explicitly following up on the objectives.

Regarding the *first objective* *“a wide range of varied housing types, housing sizes and housing prices”*, the politician understands it as a desire to make a municipality for everyone, both rich and poor. There should be communities that is facilitated for a mix of people, not only the *“rich and white”*. According to him, this kind of mix has a positive and stabilizing effect on the living environment. When it comes to scale, the politician states that there should be room for everyone within the area covered by an area zoning plan. The physical planner has a similar interpretation. He understands the objective as a desire to facilitate for a mixed population to avoid segregation. The societal planner describes a wish for sustainable development, which in line with the social dimension calls for the most diverse society possible. The municipal chief executive does however seem to have a different understanding.

She mentions attractiveness, and therefore the importance to facilitate for residents preferred by the municipality of all ages. Hence, she delimits the objective to comprise different age spans. Besides the municipal chief executive, all the respondents seem to have some kind of social mix in mind.

Further, the strategy “the municipality shall act as a promoter when it comes to facilitation of diverse housing in private detailed zoning plans” answers to the first objective and indicates the possibility to pursue this in physical planning (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 31). As follows, I asked the informants what the formulation “promoter” might entail. The societal planner mentions the use of requirements regarding unit size to achieve variation in new housing projects. The politician also mentions this, along with a general notion that the private initiated plans should take their share of the responsibility and answer to the challenges of the municipality. The municipal chief executive mentions to act proactive in the communication with private developers. There are evidently some differing opinions on the rationale behind the first objective. Three of four respondents are however mentioning social mix or diversity connected to income. In addition, there is a strategy to encourage varied housing in detailed zoning plans. I will therefore treat the first objective as a desire to facilitate for social mix in physical planning.

Regarding the *second objective* “housing for inhabitants with special needs is incorporated into the general building stock” (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 31), the societal planner states the importance of including people with special needs in regular communities to avoid clustering in vacant areas. She mentions both housing for people with physical and mental disabilities, and points to several benefits of integrating such housing in regular apartment buildings. The politician states that some inhabitants need special housing in separate institution, while municipal housing for those who need help to access the housing market can be favorable to spread out in regular communities and residential buildings to avoid “ghettofication”. As follows, he seems to understand the objective as a promotion to include housing for people with special needs in regular communities for some groups. This is also evident through the stated strategy “housing for people with special needs shall be considered in private detailed zoning plans”, (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 31).

The physical planner points out that there is a blurred line between housing and institution. If housing is regulated for a specific purpose, like housing for drug addicts it is by definition an

institution. Then there are people who live in regular apartments with special support functions, like some elderly. He points out that the municipality usually regulates institution in separate planning processes, and do not have a tradition of requiring facilitation for people with special needs in regular housing projects. As follows, it appears that the objective as interpreted by the politician and societal planner, and the practice described by the physical planner might lack coherence. Further, they do not seem to hold a common definition of what “special needs” contains. To investigate the pursuing of the second objective, I will therefore include integration of housing for people with special needs of any kind.

Summarized it is reason to claim that the first objective, among other things, indicates a desire to facilitate for socially mixed residential areas. The strategy to promote privately initiated plans to take this into account supports that this is possible to pursue in physical planning. Further, the second objective indicates a desire to facilitate some kinds of housing for people with special needs in regular housing projects, or at least in regular residential areas. As stated, this should be accounted for in privately initiated zoning plans, which makes it a matter of physical planning. In the next section, I will explore how the land use element of the municipal master plan pursues the two identified objectives.

The land use element of the municipal master plan

It is specified that the land use element of the municipal master should follow up on objectives and strategies from the social element (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 57). To investigate the measures adopted at this level, it is necessary to look at the planning provisions. I have identified four articles particularly relevant as they can contribute, or contributes to pursue the two objectives. Further in this section, I will elaborate how the articles relates to the two objectives.

I will begin with the *first objective* aiming for varied housing types, sizes, prices. In §2 in the planning provisions, it is stated that an area zoning plan for Nordre Finstad should be completed before detailed zoning plans can be proposed (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 72). The purpose of an area zoning plan is to provide more detailed clarifications about the land use within a subarea (Børrud, 2018). As follows, this provides the opportunity to implement more specific requirements than in the land use element (Hanssen, 2018). An area zoning plan

could therefore contribute to secure the needs of the municipality when it comes to housing before the detailed zoning plan is commenced. The area zoning plan required in §2 therefore ensures the opportunity to pursue the first objective later in the planning process.

§3 accounts for the access to the use of development agreements pursuant to §§ 11-9 and 17-2 in the Planning and Building Act. It is specified that such agreements can determine the number of units and unit sizes in housing projects (Ski kommune, 2011, pp. 72-73). §3 is however no insurance that a development agreement will be negotiated, but a determination of the opportunity. Like §2, it simply represents an available measure to pursue the first objective later in the planning process when it comes to physical attributes.

§18 in the planning provisions states guidelines specific to the future area zoning plan covering Nordre Finstad, now called Ski Vest. Here, it is determined that the area should be densely build with heights from three to four storeys, or possibly more (Ski kommune, 2011, p. 89). The high utilization indicates a relatively dense typology, and therefore the likelihood of apartment buildings or something similar. This direction might therefore entail homogenous housing types.

The *second objective* regarding integration of housing for special needs, there is no sign of specific requirements in the land use element. However, it is a stated strategy in the social element to pursue this in the zoning plans, which makes it possible to follow up in further regulations. This could for example be done by negotiating a development agreement as presented in §3. It is in that case possible for the municipality to use their pre-emption right to buy a certain number of units in housing projects (Nordahl, 2018; Barlindhaug, Holm & Nordahl, 2014). These potential units can be utilized as housing for people with special needs. As follows, it is possible to pursue the second objective in further regulations.

Summarized, §§2, 3, and 18 makes it possible to pursue both objectives with more specific measures in further regulations. The mentioned available measures are however limited to pursue varied housing types and housing size, and special housing. When it comes to price, there are no measures mentioned as available for further regulations. It is therefore reason to claim that there is a small gap between the social element and the land use element. Many of the potential gaps will not be evident until later in the planning process. As follows, it will be

interesting to investigate how the objectives are pursued in the more specific area zoning plan in the following section.

Area zoning plan: Ski Vest

The area zoning plan for Ski Vest consists of a description of the plan, a planning map, and the planning provisions. It is evident through the protocol from the second political consideration that the plan is designed by a group of actors including the future developer of Magasinparken, Solon Eiendom (Ski kommune, 2015b). It is therefore a plan prepared as a cooperation between public and private actors. Of the 26 articles in the provisions, I have detected five that can be relevant to pursue the objectives.



Figure 6: Ski Vest (Ski kommune, 2015a)

The *first objective* regarding varied housing type, size and price is pursued through several articles. §3 lists a set of requirements to the content of the detailed zoning plans with the legal basis of §12-7 no. 11 in the Planning and Building Act (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §12-7). The detailed zonings within Ski vest should account for the following features; utilization for each building field, building heights, percentage of different unit sizes, and the physical design of the buildings (Ski kommune, 2016). This secures that an indication of housing type, and specific unit sizes will be stipulated in the detailed zoning plan, and could therefore pursue parts of the first objective in further regulations.

In §5 it is stated that the provisions from the municipal master plan regarding development agreements is continued (Ski kommune, 2016). As in the land use element, this continues to be an available tool to pursue the first objective in further regulations when it comes to housing type and size.

§6, determines the common provisions for the category of land use called “bebyggelse og anlegg”. This article could potentially address utilization, building height and housing size.

Further it can be used to determine specific housing types through the use of terms like detached housing, low-rise building or high-rise building (Pedersen et.al, 2015). As follows, §6 could contribute to varied housing types and size within Ski Vest as a whole. The only matter determined is however that buildings must have varied heights within the maximum limits specified in §7 (Ski kommune, 2016). It is through §7 which address the category of land use called “housing”, evident that the decision of specific building heights and unit sizes for BB1 is postponed to the detailed zoning plan (Ski kommune, 2016). However, the utilization of the building field BB1 should not exceed $BRA = 17.000m^2$ which amounts to a percentage utilization of 121,16, which as the land use element implies dense typology and possibly few variations when it comes to type.

The *second objective* regarding implementation of special housing could be addressed in the area zoning plan by accounting for availability and design aiming at facilitation for special needs. It is however not possible to determine who should live there (Pedersen et.al, 2015). §6 however, states that the consideration of housing for special needs shall be accounted for in the detailed zoning plan (Ski kommune 2016). Hence, this is only a requirement to consider the need, not actually implement it. This decision is therefore postponed to the detailed zoning plan.

Summarized, there are no specific measurements securing the two objectives in the planning provisions of the area zoning plan. However, §§3, 5, 6 and 7 all points to measures that can be utilized in the detailed zoning plan. This makes an opportunity to implement measures in further, more detailed regulations. It is therefore no reason to argue that this represents a significant gap. However, the opportunity to set more specific requirements at this planning level are not utilized. Detailed zoning plans are often prepared and proposed by private developers (Børrud, 2018). By postponing the majority of the decisions to the detailed zoning plan rather than determine them at this stage, the municipality might have put themselves in a weaker position when it comes to achieve socially mixed residential areas. It is therefore reason to claim that there is a small gap between the objectives and the measures used in the area zoning plan.

Detailed zoning plan: Building field BBI and B/T1

The detailed zoning plan covers the building fields BB1 and B/T1 from the area zoning plan. The planning proposal is made by Solon Eiendom (Solon Eiendom, 2017). Hence it is a private initiated detailed zoning plan. The original proposal from 23.03.2017 was first considered by the planning and building commission and later the municipal council, which entailed some revisions (Ski kommune, 2017a;



Figure 7: Building field BB1 & B/T1 (Solon Eiendom, 2017).

Ski kommune 2017b). In the adopted plan, B/T1 are regulated for kindergarten and called BBH. BB1 is regulated for housing, and will along with building fields BB2 and BB3 become the residential area of Magasinparken (Ski kommune, 2017d; Solon Eiendom, 2018a). So far, BB1 is the only field with an adopted detailed zoning plan and will therefore be the focus of this section, I will however mention the planning proposal for BB1 and BB3 where it is relevant to get an impression of the residential area as a whole. I will further describe how the adopted detailed zoning plan pursues the objectives.

Regarding the *first objective* aiming for varied housing types, sizes and price there are three relevant articles in the planning provisions. §4 accounts for building agreements. It is evident that this measure is not utilized to facilitate any kind of social mix (Ski kommune, 2017d). As follows, it will not contribute to pursue this objective.

§5 determines common provisions for the category of land use called “buildings and installations”. Among other things it could be used to set requirements for aesthetics and design, and therefore affect housing type and size. The only physical characteristics specified are however that large monotonous surfaces are to be avoided, and that balconies should contribute to varied facades (Ski kommune, 2017d). §5 therefore contributes to some variation, but not when it comes to housing types and size. Consequently, this article does

little to pursue the first objective. Requirements regarding housing could however be determined in the provisions specific to the building field for dwellings in §7.

§7 accounts for provisions specific to BB1 and determines utilization, height and composition of apartments. Like in the area zoning plan, the maximum utilization is 121,16 % (Ski kommune, 2017d). If the utilization proposed for BB2 and BB3 are applied, the total area of Magasinparken will have a possible total utilization of 155,45%, which according to the regional land use and transport plan for Oslo and Akershus is relatively dense (Ski kommune 2017e; Ski kommune, 2018; Solon Eiendom, 2018a; Oslo kommune & Akershus fylkeskommune, 2015). Without specific requirements regarding housing types, it is reason to claim that the possibility for high utilization most likely entails the construction of apartments. This is evident through the revised planning proposal, which shows a composition of seven apartment buildings from three to eight stories (Solon Eiendom, 2017). Despite the varied heights, it is therefore reason to argue that the housing types are not particularly varied.

When it comes to size, a diverse composition of apartments is required, and units under 35m² BRA are prohibited. Further the proportion of apartments between 35 m² BRA and 50m² BRA shall not exceed 35% and at least 30% shall be over 80m² BRA (Ski kommune, 2017d). The apartments that are put up for sale varies from one to three bedrooms (Solon Eiendom, Undated-b; Solon Eiendom, 2018b). Hence, these requirements can be said to contribute to varies size within the apartment segment.

The *second objective* aiming for integration of housing for people with special needs is not followed up by any article. It is however considered in the planning proposal. It was here concluded that there is no need for this project to offer this, as there are other building fields in the area zoning plan determined for this purpose (Solon Eiendom, 2017). The same goes for the planning proposal for BB2 and BB3 (Solon Eiendom, 2018a). Further, it is evident through §4 that a building agreement is not utilized to buy apartments through the first refusal right. The development of Magasinparken will therefore not contribute integrate special housing in regular residential projects. The detailed zoning plan could therefore not be said to pursue the second objective.

Summarized, it is evident through §4 that building agreement have not been used to secure any of the two objectives. Further both §§5 and 7 requires variation in physical design, but

only when it comes to facades and heights. Housing types are not specified even though this is a measure available for zoning plans (Pedersen et.al, 2015). In combination with high utilization, the housing types will most likely be apartments, meaning that the part of the first objective aiming for varied housing types are not pursued. Further, there are no building agreement or provisions securing housing for special needs. As follows, the second objective are not pursued either.

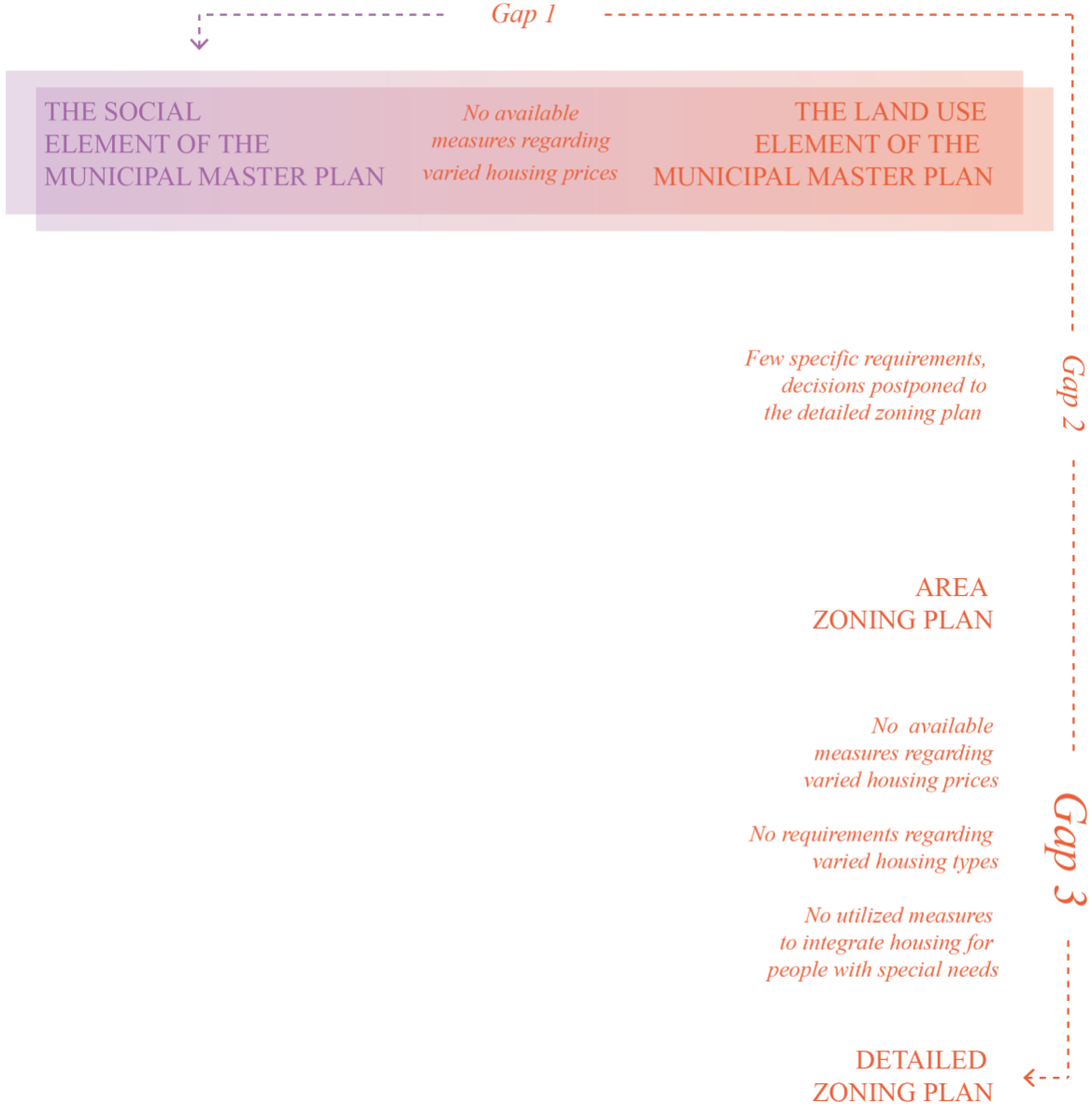
One dimension of the objectives is however pursued, namely varied housing sizes. The requirements regarding composition of apartments secures housing that could be suitable for a wide range of people. Through the planning process, this is apparently the only dimension of the objectives implemented in the applied detailed zoning plan. It is therefore reason to argue that there is a big gap between the objectives in the social element of the municipal master plan and means applied in the physical planning. The desire for socially diverse residential areas will therefore most likely be challenging to achieve in the case of Magasinparken. It is therefore interesting to look at how the respondent reflects on this in the next section.

4.4 Implementation challenges

I have now established that there are gaps between objectives at the overarching level and measures implemented in the physical plans. To be able to discuss alternatives on how to pursue the objectives, it is necessary to first identify why the gaps are present. I will therefore begin by using empirical data from the interviews to explain what the respondents describes as challenging when implementing measures to secure social mix in housing. As illustrated, the gaps will be examined by dividing them in three stages.

Gap one is between the social and the land use element of the municipal master plan, and hence within the same, overarching planning level. Gap two is between the municipal master plan and the area zoning plan. This gap represents the first connection between the master plan and the more zoning plans covering a smaller area. Gap three is between all above mentioned plans and the detailed zoning plan. This represents the last stage of the planning process, and therefore the last chance to implement means necessary to achieve the

overarching goals. As the possible utilization of most measures will not be evident until the detailed zoning plan is adopted, the gaps become bigger throughout the process.



Gap 1

Gap 1 is between the social element and the land use element of the municipal master plan. Here it is evident that the part of the first objective referring to price is not pursued as it is not mentioned at all. By asking the respondents how the municipality can contribute to varied prices, they pointed to this as challenging.

The physical planner describes type, size and location as a tool to develop housing at different price ranges. The problem is however that the price per square meter will still be at the same level, or even higher for smaller apartments. Hence, he claims that they have few options when it comes to affect the price. The politician suggests that the only measure to affect the price is to permit more housing development so that the demand will decrease. Further, the societal planner argue that it is possible to lower the requirements regarding standard, but further states that this is no good solution. It seems that the objective referring to price are difficult to pursue in physical planning due to lack of available, legally binding means. All the respondents point to limited possibilities for the municipality to influence housing prices. As the municipal chief executive puts it; “I am thinking that the market rules”. As follows, it became evident through the interviews that the challenge when it comes to varied prices seems connected to the lack of available means, which will be discussed in chapter five.

Gap 2

Gap 2 is between the municipal master plan and the area zoning plan. The planning provisions in the area zoning plan points to measures available in the detailed zoning plan. As follows, it facilitates the possibility to pursue most of the objectives in further regulations. There are however no legally binding requirements in the area zoning plan pursuing the objectives, which could have secured varied housing before the privately initiated detailed zoning plan was put together. As follows, this constitutes a small gap. It is therefore interesting to look at how the respondents reflect on the choice to implement few specific requirements.

Both the politician and the societal planner implies that the developer of Magasinparken, Solon Eiendom played a significant role in this planning process, which was also confirmed by a representative from Solon. While having regular meeting with the municipality, they stood for the design of all reports, the planning proposal, planning provisions, and the planning map. They also financed the whole process along with another property owner (Representative from Solon Eiendom, personal communication, 05.03.2019). As follows, Solon clearly played the leading role in the preparation of this plan.

The developer of Magasinparken, Solon Eiendom could have something to gain making the plan as flexible as possible, which they also state as the intention (Representative from Solon Eiendom, personal communication, 05.03.2019). In relation to this, the politician contributes with some valuable reflections on the municipality’s relation to private developers in general.

He argues that it can be difficult to demand adjustments from developers, due to several reasons that through my interpretation can be divided in three points connected to different actors.

First, on the developer side, there is financial power. The fact that they prioritize to fund a project might be used as an argument to put pressure on their preferred solutions. Second, on the municipality's side, the politician states that they want to be positive to initiatives, a "yes-municipality". Consequently, it seems that they might need to facilitate for private investment, and could therefore be willing to entrust more decisions to the developer. Third, on the citizen participation side, he points out that the developers are professionals when it comes to communication, while the citizens interested in affordable housing are far less organized, not as skilled in communication, and does not know who to talk to within the municipality to make an impact. This could make the desire of the developer and other strong actors appear more convincing. By looking at the statements from the consultation process, it becomes evident that the Norwegian Association for Disabled (Norsk forbund for funksjonshemmede) request integration of housing for people with special needs in Ski vest. The comment from the municipal chief executive implies that this could be done in all areas determined for housing (Ski kommune, 2013b). The interesting part is whether this is followed up in the detailed zoning plan or not.

Data from the interview might imply that the influential role of the private developer that holds both financial and communicational power could be an explanation for the lack of specific measures in the plan. This will however be discussed further in chapter five.

Gap 3

Gap 3 is between the above-mentioned plans and the detailed zoning plan. Here, it becomes evident what potential means actually have been implemented at the most detailed planning level. The planning provisions determines specifications regarding housing size that will secure varied apartments. As follows, this dimension of the first objective can be defined as secured. There are however no means implemented that will secure varied housing when it comes to type or price, nor the integration of housing for people with special needs. Hence, it is reason to argue that there is a significant gap between the overarching objectives and the detailed zoning plan. The respondents contribute to elucidate some of the reasons why.

First, as in the zoning area plan, housing types are not specified in the detailed zoning plan either. The potential explanation regarding the emphasis on dense development also applies to this planning level. The result is a residential area that currently consists of apartment buildings only (Solon Eiendom, Undated; Solon Eiendom, 2018).

Second, the second objective is not pursued in the detailed zoning plan. Housing for special needs is considered in the planning proposal, and it is here argued that the need is covered within other areas in Ski vest. Magasinparken will therefore most likely not be utilized to integrate special housing in regular housing projects. One reason is that the municipality have not utilized the possibility to buy a percentage of the housing through their pre-emptive right, for example through negotiating a development agreement (Barlindhaug, Holm & Nordahl, 2014).

In relation to this, the respondents offer two possible explanations. The municipal chief executive states that they have little experience when it comes to the use of development agreements, but that they should utilize this measure to a greater extent. The societal planner has a similar view as she points out the need for more knowledge about where it is favorable to use. Further, the politician states that they have not developed a clear understanding of what possible development agreements might determine. The limited use of development agreements is similar to the pattern detected for other Norwegian municipalities as it is quite unusual to use this measure to secure social considerations in housing (Barlindhaug, Holm & Nordahl, 2014). Hence, one explanation of the unutilized measure might be lack of knowledge or experience.

On the other hand, the physical planner implies that it is too expensive for the municipality to buy apartments in Ski vest. The societal planner points out that housing close to the town center is expensive in general, and that the use of pre-emptive rights is connected to the municipal economy. Further, the municipal chief executive expresses the wish for more financial resources when asked whether they possess adequate means to pursue their housing policy. Limited economic resources might therefore also be a motive to not use the pre-emptive right in Ski vest. This is supported by Nordahl (2018). §17 in the Planning and Building Act determines that the municipality have to compensate the developer at market price when using the pre-emptive right (Plan- og bygningloven, 2008, §17). As follows, the

municipality have an incentive to buy housing within less expensive areas as they get “more housing for the money” (Nordahl, 2018, p. 249).

I have now examined the part of the objectives that has not been pursued. One part of the first objective regarding varied housing sizes are however pursued, which makes it interesting to examine how the respondents think the varied housing sizes might influence the demographics of Magasinparken.

Several of the respondents implies that a rationale behind a requirement for apartments over 80m² BRA is set to attract families with children. This could contribute to diversity when it comes to age, which the municipal chief executive pointed out as most important. Referring to the price issue in gap 1, it is pointed out by the physical planner that price per square meter will possibly still be high. In this manner, the physical planner, the societal planner and the municipal chief executive underpins that the price level in areas close to the station might pose a challenge when it comes to achieve social mix.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will combine the theory, the empirical data, and some literature on the Norwegian planning system to discuss what might cause the gaps. It is established that the respondents perceive the objectives challenging to pursue at several points. It is therefore interesting to investigate if the different theoretical approaches might contribute to explain the gaps, and how to possibly shrink them. By discussing this, I will answer the last research question; *Why are there gaps between objectives approaching social mix and measures implemented in physical plans, and how could they be reduced?*

5.1 Possible explanations to the gaps

The first gap between the social element and the land use element of the municipal master plan is defined as quite small. There are few specific measures pursuing the objectives implemented at this stage, but they are mentioned as available for further regulations. This is in accordance with the purpose of the master plan, providing an overarching framework (Falleth & Saglie, 2012). There is however no mention of measures to pursue varied housing prices. Hence there is an inconsistency between the desire for varied housing prices, and measures mentioned. In the interviews, the respondents stress the lack of available measures to pursue the objective.

Nordahl (2018) mentions two possibilities to when it comes to affect price level through housing development in the current Norwegian planning system. The first one is effective facilitation for new development. This can contribute to decrease demand, and therefore curb increasing housing prices. It could affect the price level in the municipality, but it will not affect the distribution of prices (Nordahl, 2018). The most, and the least expensive dwellings would therefore be located the same place as before, only with a generally lower price level. It would therefore most likely not contribute to a social mix within Magasinparken. The second stems from a view that effective facilitation is not sufficient, and that housing facilitated especially for the less affluent is needed. Norwegian housing policy currently emphasizes the first one. Further, it is not possible for the municipality to dictate the sales price. Hence, housing development in Norway is largely market based. In accordance with the respondents, the possibilities to secure socially mixed residential areas in new development through

physical planning are therefore limited (Nordahl, 2018). As follows, it is reason to argue that it is difficult to pursue this desire. An interesting question is therefore why.

As mentioned by Sager (2011), neo-liberal ideas have contributed to the liberalization of the housing market in many countries. This is also the case in Norway. Up until the 1980s, the municipality had an active role in housing development. Among other things, they bought land, made it ready for development and sold it to housing cooperatives for the break-even price. The housing cooperatives would then construct housing, aiming for a sober price level. This would however change during the 1980s, with a declining role of the public sector as provider of land ready for construction (Falleth & Saglie, 2012). The privatization of the housing market has led to the majority of housing being developed on land owned and prepared by private developers, and therefore often aiming for profit. As follows, it can be argued that neo-liberal influence on the Norwegian system have constrained the possibility of the municipality to affect housing prices.

In *the second gap* between the municipal master plan and the area zoning plan, it is evident that few specific measures are implemented which postponed many decisions to the detailed zoning plan. The area zoning plan is first and foremost an instrument for the municipality itself, but the Planning and Building Act states an opportunity to outsource preparation to private actors within frames set by the municipality (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008, §12-2). Part of the rationale behind this planning type was to offer predictable frames for private developers and stimulate the construction of housing, but also to provide an instrument for the municipality to control land use and secure common interests due to extensive influence of private actors (Børrud, 2018). This implies a possible conflict of interest between the securing of social mix and the stimulation of private investment. As measures securing social mix are not implemented in the plan for Ski Vest, it seems to emphasize the latter.

An explanation might be the fact that Solon Eiendom prepared most of the area zoning plan. Hence, they have had a significant influence already at this stage of the planning process. This opportunity to be a part of the planning process on an early stage could be connected to neo-liberal influence. Determining this possibility in the law is part of a shift away from the rational belief in experts as the sovereign planning actor and could possibly contribute to a more effective process. On the other hand, the influential role of private actors might pose some challenges as mentioned by the politician. The municipality is dependent on private

developers to construct housing due to the liberalization of the housing market. It could therefore be difficult to say no to developers having the financial power when they want to be a “yes-municipality”. It could also be a challenge for representatives arguing for social measures as they often have less resources compared to the developer. Connected to the area zoning plan, the Norwegian Association for Disabled people are representing the need for special housing. As this is a well-established organization they are not the least resourceful, and could possibly affect the outcome. The request to implement special housing is however not followed up in the detailed zoning plan, which will be discussed in connection to the third gap.

On this basis, it could be argued that the combination of private influence in the planning process, and a municipality depending on private investments might explain the gap, resulting in a flexible plan coherent to Solon Eiendoms’ intention.

The third gap between the other planning levels and the detailed zoning plan is the largest one. Due to this plan being the last changes to implement measures for social mix, some gaps do not become evident until this regulation is adopted. As in the area zoning plan, it was also in the detailed zoning plan quite few utilized measures. This could be explained by the same mechanisms as mentioned in relation to the Ski Vest plan. A difference is however that the detailed zoning plan is a planning type facilitated for private actors to prepare and propose, unlike the area zoning plan that originally are meant as a tool for the municipality.

The most important part of the third gap is that measures to integrate housing for special needs are not utilized. One reason for this is that the municipality have not used their opportunity to negotiate a development agreement. On the basis of statements from the interviews, this might be explained by two factors. First, the lack of knowledge on how and where it should be used. As Aarsæther et al. (2018) mentions, a development agreement involves a negotiation. As follows, it presupposes that the municipality have to know exactly what they want to negotiate in advance. To know exactly where it is necessary to use the preemptive right or get an assignment agreement to contribute to social mix would require a comprehensive base of knowledge. In accordance to Banfield’s (1959) critique of the rational approach, this could be time consuming and expensive. The societal planner implies that they need more knowledge on where special housing should be located to be able to use development agreements in this manner. The lack of sufficient knowledge could therefore be

an explanation of why it could be difficult to use a development agreement in an originally hierarchical planning system where the decision of the municipality should be based on professional recommendation.

Further, it is pointed out that the dwellings in Ski vest would be expensive for the municipality to buy. As mentioned in connection to the first gap, the decreased role of the municipality in housing provision entails few possibilities of affecting the price level. Having limited financial resources, they would like other municipalities have an incentive to buy housing in less expensive areas. This could in turn be a reason for the municipality to not to use their preemptive right in Magasinparken, and could be connected to the neo-liberal influence contributing to privatization of the housing market.

In a system depending on market-based housing provision, participation programs could contribute to signal the need for special housing to the municipality, and therefore put pressure on the importance of implementing this. It is mentioned in the participation process of the area zoning plan, but not on the detailed planning level. As follows, the special housing concern is not addressed by any actor specifically representing this. Conceivably, this might be related to the challenge of people with this interest having less resources to know when to give feedback, and how to communicate their need. This is pointed out as a problem by the politician through the interviews which is coherent to the critique of power relations in communicative planning. Connected to this issue, it is not surprising that citizen participation rarely contributes to change the outcome as pointed out by Nyseth & Ringholm (2018, p. 265).

On the positive side, one of the goals that could affect social mix are implemented. Different housing sizes are secured by requiring apartments from 35m² to 80m². Here, the municipality actively use a measure aimed at facilitating for different types of households. However, an interesting point to discuss is whether it actually contributes to social mix or not. As the price per square meter is still high, several of the respondents point to this as a challenge to achieve social mix in central areas.

It is problematized by Nordahl (2018) that the trust in measures targeting physical characteristics to affect social mix makes it difficult to pursue housing policies aiming to integrate low income-housing in regular residential areas. It could however facilitate for a mix

of ages and family types. As the municipal chief executive emphasize this, and want to facilitate for people “attractive” to the municipality, it is conceivable that the varied housing sizes only facilitates for the “right” kind of mix. This could be connected to the municipality’s changed role to being a facilitator of growth as described by Hall (2014). A statement from the politician saying that “everything” is about the desire for growth might be interpreted as a point in that direction. It is therefore reason to argue that the different housing sizes does little to achieve social mix when it comes to income.

Summarized, the lack of measures to affect price, an extensive influence from private developers in the planning process, a municipality dependent on private investments and the challenges connected to development agreement agreements could all be part of the explanation of the gaps. The consequence of these gaps amounts to a situation where the municipality have difficulties securing a socially mixed residential area in my case. Magasinparken will therefore be a residential area offering approximately 500 future apartments, where none of them seems to be facilitated for special needs of any kind (Solon Eiendom, Undated-a).

Further, reviewing the pricelist for the apartments emailed by the real estate agent, it is evident that the current apartments of Magasinparken have a price level considerably higher than the average in Ski and Oppegård (V. Skredlund, personal communication, 29.10.2018; Krogsveen, 2019). As the suggested detailed zoning plan for the building fields BB2 and BB3 are almost identical to the one covering BB1, it is reason to believe that the price range for all future apartments in Magasinparken will be approximately the same level. The apartment available today starts at 3 100 000 NOK for the smallest ones, while the largest apartment all comes with a price tag of 7 000 000 to 12 500 000 NOK (V. Skredlund, personal communication, 29.10.2018). Hence, this is far from what a low-income Norwegian family can afford. Despite the requirements from different housing sizes, it is therefore reason to argue that Magasinparken when completed is at risk of becoming a relatively homogenous residential area. If this potential outcome is repeated in other future housing projects in central areas of Ski, it might contribute to a development where only the most affluent can afford to live close to the train station, and therefore the undesired clustering of income groups described by Nordahl (2018). I will therefore briefly discuss two different suggestions on how to improve the ability to pursue objectives on social mix in the following section.

5.2 Reducing the gaps

To possibly improve the municipality's ability to pursue the desire for socially mixed residential areas, there are several actions that could be done. I will delimit this section to discuss possible improvements within today's planning system as a process regulated by the Planning and Building Act. Further, despite many different alternatives when it comes to improve pursuing of social mix, I have chosen to focus on two measures. The first one is based on the finding that the municipality did not utilize all measures available in the planning process related to Magasinparken. The second one is based on the finding that the lack of measures to affect housing prices makes it difficult for the municipality to achieve social mix.

5.2.1 Utilization of available measures

Nordahl (2018) explains the existing measures available to the municipality that could affect the socio-economic composition in new housing development. As mentioned above, the measures approaching physical characteristics might fall short when it comes to affect price. When suggesting improvements to pursue the objectives, will therefore emphasize a measure clearly able to contribute to social mix, namely development agreements.

To be able to secure socially mixed residential areas, the municipality of Ski should consider to expand the use of development agreements to buy housing in areas at risk of being homogenous. This is however dependent on two factors evident in the discussion of the third gap. First, they have to acquire more knowledge on how to use it. Through the interviews, it became clear that this is already been addressed, as they are working on a strategy on how to implement this measure in future projects. Second, in addition to knowing how to use it, they also have to be financially able, and willing to prioritize to buy housing in relatively expensive areas if it shall contribute to secure social mix. This could possibly be more of a challenge as economic priorities are affected by the political landscape. Also, the fact that a development agreement is based on negotiations, the municipality could have to trade securing of social mix with other concerns like accepting a higher degree of utilization (Whitehead, 2007). However, by establishing additional means, the municipality could gain a stronger position pursuing their objectives.

5.2.2 Additional measures

I have already established that the municipality's ability to affect housing prices are limited, and that this poses a challenge to achieve social mix. To counter this, it is possible to implement additional measures in the Planning and Building Act, providing municipalities the possibility to influence price level. An important aspect regarding social mix is not only the ability to secure affordable housing, but also to integrate them in regular housing projects. In this manner, a measure in physical planning is available in several European countries that does not exist in current Norwegian planning (Nordahl, 2018; Whitehead, 2007). This involves the opportunity to require that a share of the dwellings in new housing projects should be affordable. As an example, England defines affordable as under market price. The measure could be managed in different ways, for example through private or municipal non-profit organizations.

It has gained some critique, claiming that it entails too much responsibility on the developer, making projects unprofitable (Nordahl, 2018). Coherent to the to the critique of the hierarchical planning approach this could act as a break on the market, slowing down housing development which would in turn increase the prices by not responding to demand. In other countries it is however evident that this did not happen (Nordahl, 2018). Though dependent on many factors varying from country to country, it is possible that this additional measure could be a valuable contribution for the municipality's ability to pursue objectives aiming for social mix. Whether it is a suitable measure in the context of Norwegian physical planning could however be suggested as a theme for further research.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Many municipalities consider socio-economic segregation where different income groups cluster in certain residential areas. Among others, the municipality of Ski. This was the starting point of my thesis, wanting to investigate how they could pursue their wish for social mix in housing through the research question: *How can the municipality of Ski pursue the wish for socially mixed residential areas through physical planning?*

First, to be able to discuss what forces might affect the ability of the municipality to pursue their objectives, I have explained what theoretical approaches is most influential in current Norwegian planning through RQ1: *What are the most influential theoretical approaches to contemporary Norwegian planning, and how can they affect the pursuit of social mix through physical planning?* The theoretical framework is therefore based on Norwegian planning being a combination of hierarchical, market-based, and participational.

Further, it was necessary to analyze what objectives the municipality has when it comes to social mix in housing, and more important, how they use measures to pursue them in physical planning through RQ2: *To what extent are overarching objectives of social diversity pursued in physical planning in Ski?* By using data from the document analysis and the interviews, I found that measures pursuing varied housing types, prices and integration of housing for people with special needs were not implemented. It is therefore reason to claim that there are several gaps between the objectives and measures used in the physical plans. The gaps became larger further out in the planning process, and it finally became evident in the detailed zoning plan that the only measure implemented possibly affecting social mix was different housing sizes.

By investigating RQ3: *Why are there gaps between objectives approaching social mix and measures implemented in physical plans, and how could they be reduced?* I wanted to combine the empirical data and the theoretical framework to find possible explanations of the gaps. The respondents could shed some light on challenges that could affect the use of different measures. Combined with the theoretical framework, it is evident that the different theoretical approaches to planning all might affect the ability to achieve socially mixed residential areas. In this manner, I found that through an increasingly market-oriented planning, private developers have gained extensive influence in the planning process, and are

currently the main provider of housing. Municipalities therefore depend on private housing development and might therefore take the role as a facilitator for private investment rather than securing social consideration. Participation could however contribute to secure “weaker” interests. When facing arguments formed by developers drilled in communication, these interests might however struggle to compete.

To be able to secure socially mixed residential areas might therefore require some changes. Within the frames of the current planning system, extended the use of development agreements to achieve social mix is therefore suggested. It is evident that Ski are already working on a strategy addressing this. On a higher level, it could be useful to implement the opportunity to determine a share of the dwellings in new built housing to be offered under market price. However, some scholars like Harvey argue that this is not sufficient. In this manner, measures to counteract undesired effects of a market-based housing provision would only be a minor enhancement to a system that produce inequalities. As follows, they call for more radical measures to change the allocation of resources.

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APPENDIX:

INTERVJUGUIDE

Spørsmålene omhandler ulike plannivåer og vil starte med den overordnede kommuneplanen, for så å ta for seg reguleringsplaner.

I konkurransegrunnlaget for prosjektet «Fortetting og transformasjon i sentrumsnære bebygde områder. Hvordan få til gode prosesser?» er det formulert et ønske om sosialt mangfold i transformasjonsområder. Hva innebærer dette for deg?
I kommuneplanens samfunnsdel, hvorfor er det ønskelig med variasjon i boligtype, størrelse og pris?
Det er ønskelig med flere små og mellomstore boliger sentrumsnært, hva defineres som små og mellomstore?
Under «mål» på s. 30 er en av målsetningene variasjon i pris. Hva kan kommunene gjøre for å oppnå dette?
Under «mål» på s. 30 er en av målsetningene at boliger for de med særskilte behov inngår i øvrig bebyggelse. Er det viktig å sikre at dette inngår også i ny bebyggelse?
Under «strategier» s. 31 er en strategi at kommunene skal være pådriver for at private reguleringsplaner gir et variert boligtilbud. Hva innebærer det å «være pådriver»?
Under «strategier» s. 31, hva menes med «særskilt behov»? Er dette det samme som «spesialboliger» i områdereguleringens bestemmelser?
Utbyggingsavtale kan benyttes til å avtale tilvisningsrett eller bruke fortrinnsrett. Er det vanlig i Ski kommune å benytte utbyggingsavtale i nye boligprosjekter til dette? Hvis nei, hvorfor?
I kommuneplanens arealdel, hvilke hensyn ligger bak at det skal være 3-4 etasjer med mulighet for flere på Nordre Finstad?
I områdereguleringens planbeskrivelse står det at Ski Vest skal ha et mangfold av boformer, hva innebærer dette og hva er hensynet bak?
I områdereguleringens planbeskrivelse nevnes det at innpassing av ulike boligstørrelser skal legges til rette for «blandet befolkningssammensetning». Hva innebærer «blandet»?
I detaljreguleringen er det fastsatt krav til leilighetsstørrelser (Maks 35% mellom 35 og 50, minst 30% over 80). Hvilke hensyn ligger bak akkurat disse størrelsene? Er krav til 30% over 80 fastsatt for å tiltrekke seg barnefamilier?
Er det lett å konkludere med at det ikke trengs innpassing av spesialboliger når det kun skal redegjøres for at det er gjort en vurdering av behov for dette?
Hvordan tenker du prisnivået på nye stasjonsnære boligprosjekter vil påvirke ønsket om blandet befolkningssammensetning?

Er det aktuelt å bruke fortrinnsrett eller tilvisningsavtale i nye, relativt dyre boligprosjekter for å oppnå sosialt mangfold? Hvis nei, hvorfor?
Opplever du at kommunen har tilstrekkelige virkemidler for å nå sine boligpolitiske målsetninger?
Hvordan opplever du samarbeidet mellom de som jobber med samfunnsplanlegging, og de som jobber med arealplanlegging?
Hvordan opplever du at mål og strategier i samfunnsdelen blir etterfulgt i arealplanleggingen?
Er det ulike oppfatninger mellom fagpersoner og politikere om hvilke krav som burde stilles til utbyggere?



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