



'Model Workshop'

A tool for resident-driven shaping of design criteria for public space to influence early stages of large-scale densification projects

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Content

Summary • 3

Introduction • 4
Background • 4
State-of-the-art • 6

Materials and Methods • 10
The research project • 10
Methodology • 10
The case study areas • 11
Description of 'Model Workshop' • 13
The Model Workshops and the participants • 16

Results • 18
The Model Workshops in Hjällbo • 18
Resident-driven shaping of design criteria for Hjällbo • 22
The Model Workshops in Biskopsgården • 25
Resident-driven shaping of design criteria for Biskopsgården • 32

Discussion • 34
Municipality vs. residents • 34
The municipality's programme vs. the residents' design criteria in Hjällbo • 34
The municipality's programme vs. the residents' design criteria in Biskopsgården • 36
The difference between Hjällbo and Biskopsgården • 37
Collaborative learning • 39
Participatory evaluation meetings • 39
Participatory learning workshop • 41

Conclusions • 42

Reference

Introduction

Organized resident participation in the early stages of planning for urban transformation and densification is increasing, but is still far from being regular practice. The present book discusses a tool for such participation developed and tested in a pilot study in a Swedish context. It is not the intent that residents use the tool to actually design public space, but instead to shape *design criteria* for public space through a design process. These resident-driven design criteria can then be incorporated by city planners into the city's programmes and planning documents as a prerequisite for developers.

Background

Inclusion of residents in urban planning processes has been promoted because the complexity of cities cannot be managed through linear, top-down planning [1, p. 206]. Individual actors or organizations have difficulties responding adequately to serious urban challenges for which interdependent, contested and conflicting issues have to be reconciled [2]. Participation is key to bringing in the breadth of knowledge and capacity needed to face the challenges of socioeconomic inequities, social cohesion, climate change and environmental degradation [3]. Increased resident dialogue and participation are also linked to urban resilience [4], as interaction between a multiplicity of stakeholders – supported by appropriate

institutions, procedures and capacities at the community level – leads to adaptive and efficient cities [5, 6].

When large-scale urban densification projects are planned, there is a need to communicate, establish dialogue and interact with residents and other local stakeholders (e.g., local businesses, schools). In line with Hassan et al. [7, p. 206], “to provide information and participation at early stage is essential requirements for building trust, thus it’s possible to make offers and to act instead of react”. Accordingly, the theory/notion of “frontloading” indicates that “extensive early consultation will enable a consensus to emerge amongst all the various stakeholders” [8, p. 622]. In contrast, the formal statutory stakeholder influence in Swedish planning processes takes place very late in the process and therefore typically does not produce knowledge that is used [9]. An additional factor is that many cities in Sweden are ridden with strong socioeconomic segregation, such that certain housing areas are highly stigmatized and in different ways excluded from being part of the rest of the city. As a result, such areas suffer from a general lack of access to public authorities and functions, and there is a mutual lack of trust between residents and public officials [10]. Insights among public officials regarding how to engage and interact with strongly disenfranchised communities are often lacking, which also perpetuates similar patterns within architectural practice [11].

This situation runs the risk of leading to densification proposals that not only solve but a few of all the problems that exist locally in disenfranchised communities, but that also create new problems, e.g., in the form of increased insecurity, segregation and displacement of people with limited financial resources. Against this background, the present study aimed to investigate resident participation in densification projects by developing a tool that allows residents to influence urban transformation in the early stages of the planning of large-scale densification projects. By doing so, the study deals both with the question of ‘when’ participatory processes are started and with ‘how’ these early engagements can be conducted so that they go beyond the ‘tick-box approach’, which only reproduces once again the limits and tensions of participatory processes [8, p. 630]. The tool involved collaborative development of physical representations of parts of a project area in the format of a Model Workshop, seeking to reveal residents’ criteria for the design of neighbourhood densification. The book seeks to answer two questions:

- How do the Model Workshop function with regard to eliciting residents’ design criteria?
- Which components of the Model Workshop are vital for this tool to work well?



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State-of-the-art

The ‘participatory turn’ [12] in planning has historical roots. For example, Davidoff [13] is known for introducing the concept of advocacy planning in the 1960s, which, in turn, is based on one hundred years of neighbourhood planning in the US [14]. Furthermore, citizen participation as a model for developing democracy has existed in Europe at least since the 1940s [15].

After a period of disinterest in participation during the 1980s and 90s, a renewed interest in participation developed into a movement in Europe during the late 1990s [16], now sometimes referred to as the ‘communicative turn’ [17]. One reason for this was the rapid global social and environmental changes taking place, where such complex and wicked problems require a new theory and practice of collaborative rationality [18]. Another view is related to the reconsideration of roles, because planning cannot be seen as value neutral. Invisible planning practices and agendas need to be unfolded and reconstructed [19] based on analyses of class, race, gender, ethnic or ideological biases [20]. From such a perspective, residents are considered ‘place makers’ who come up with ideas and issues planners would usually never think about, as they are not knowledgeable enough about the place and its people [21]. Residents are thus considered key actors in

governance processes aimed at developing the city [22, 23]. A third perspective is related to justice and resilience [24]. When governments fail to handle urbanization processes in the light of climate change and shifting global financial circumstances, community-rooted management may be considered an answer [25]. Multicultural cities require approaches other than just running them as businesses; they need to be planned based on equity and human needs, not simply treating citizens as consumers [26]. A fourth view is linked to a growing societal need to deal with large-scale and complex projects as well as to how resident participation can play a role in creating such processes, where social innovation and interaction between small projects are considered vital to achieving a larger vision [27]. Activist researcher Atlee agrees, discussing how the concepts of *collected intelligence* and *collective intelligence* can



PHOTO: STENBERG KAIN

facilitate residents' local knowledge and experience, the goal being to solve complex social problems that authorities and politicians struggle with [28].

In Europe, the role of civil society has been extensively discussed as regards facing national legitimacy crises and for improving democracy in the European Union. However, rather contradictory logics are presented, and there is no consensus on why civil society should play a prominent role. It is for this reason development does not take place [29]. The strongest resident participation movement right now may be the development of 'smart cities', which relies on digital tools that enable residents to influence urban development and positive change in cities [30]. These ideas, however, are not unopposed, and there are doubts about the belief that technology alone can facilitate resident participation in an efficient and effective manner [31]. Particularly important is to focus on the willingness of concerned institutions to change systemically to meet the needs of residents [32, 33], as well as on how urban co-design is planned and analysed as a long-term process with intertwined paths of collaboration and a wide range of stakeholders [34].

The participatory turn has also been criticized in its broader sense. One perspective stresses that it is still a developing social construction, and more a matter of rhetoric than of substance [35]. It has also been argued that it is a top-down construction, transformed into a norm in which all actors (even researchers) play their expected roles, without even knowing the outcomes [36], i.e., whether it really leads to efficiency and empowerment

[37, 38]. Some argue it does not, and that the power of the state does not inevitably weaken when citizens are empowered [39]. It may rather be a question of reorganization of the governing power in the face of neoliberal urbanism [40]. Or as one researcher puts it: "participation has become the default of politicians withdrawing from responsibility" [41, p. 1], where participation is used rhetorically to legitimize cuts in the welfare system and to exercise control over socio-political change to attract investors and transform places into the realms of middle-class consumers [42]. Even the direct democracy method of 'participatory budgets', often referred to as a way of genuinely transferring power to the public, has not been proven to increase municipal investments in health and education, although this is what people in interviews often refer to as the most important areas to prioritize [43].

Resident participation has also been questioned in the domains of neighbourhood development and housing. It has been stressed that the success of low-cost housing projects in vulnerable areas far from always depends on community participation, and also that following the will of communities sometimes legitimizes decisions that have negative effects on the entire city [44]. Too much focus on the local level and lack of connecting to the wider context may actually risk pro-poor initiatives and increase social injustice [45]. Therefore, if the participatory turn is going to develop democracy, power analyses should be a crucial part of the work [46]. Still others have maintained that it is the residents themselves who are the most expert in identifying the needs of their own communities [47]. However, dialogue processes need to be designed in a way that gives priority to inclusion of those with

the least power, or they will not participate [48]. Many researchers have stressed that social exclusion may, in fact, increase with resident participation if this is not consciously prevented [see, e.g., 49, 50, 51], and that “public participation needs to be designed-in to local partnerships, not assumed-in” [52, p. 76]. Additionally, precaution is needed to avoid unintentional transfer of power to certain political interest groups or to companies with economic interests [53, 54].

In contrast, design research has more hopes regarding resident participation [55, 56, 57], even if co-design in disenfranchised communities may be exposed to many challenges, such as limited resources, lack of institutional support, power asymmetries, and lack of diversity and representation [58]. Although urban co-creation may involve a variety of tools, timelines and urban spaces, as well as a variety of purposes, such processes are often freely organized, and residents are given significant power over the shape and evolution of the process itself [59]. Some believe that co-creation may also function as a peace-making mechanism that can challenge existing system boundaries without threatening them [60].

The flipside, however, is that the transfer or translation of the outcomes of more artistic processes into systematic implementation and management of what has been designed is typically left to civil servants, and there is a need for a

better understanding of how residents’ perspectives can be strengthened throughout the whole design or planning process [61, 62]. As Dore concluded, there is reason to question a municipality’s good intentions regarding resident participation, when “at the end of the twelve-month programme, local wishes and worries were hardly reflected in the final master plan. Instead, residents questioned the very foundations of the redevelopment and the anti-democratic aspects shaping its process” [40, p. 28]. Miessen even argues that conflict should become the slogan for participation, calling for “a format of conflictual participation—no longer a process by which others are invited ‘in,’ but a means of acting without mandate, as uninvited irritant: a forced entry into fields of knowledge that arguably benefit from exterior thinking. Sometimes, democracy has to be avoided at all costs” [41, p. 1].

Co-design may have the potential to be either peaceful or agonistic, or both. Either way, in a situation where local authorities tend to engage in co-creation and co-design more frequently while such activities are largely absent from policy frameworks, there is a critical need to specify how such processes can be carried out ethically and with genuine inclusion of residents in decision-making [63]. If this does not occur, co-design will remain a challenging issue for both municipalities and local communities, with a significant risk of simply ending up in ‘democracy washing’.

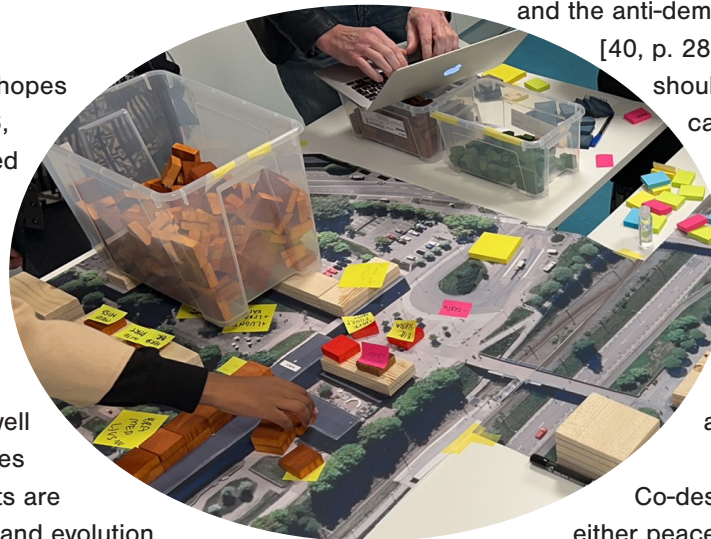


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One potential of co-creation and co-design lies in prompting societal change through ‘intermediate designs’ [64], which may consist of objects, tools or procedures that help participants develop meaningful design input, but without the ambition of representing a final design or planning product. Such design input should contribute significantly to advancing the entire design or planning process in line with residents’ design choices [64]. Design criteria – serving both to guide design and planning activities and to judge their final outcomes [65] – are one type of meaningful resident input that can be developed through intermediate designs, where such criteria convey residents’ preferences to the final product designers or planners. Unfortunately, there is a lack of research on objects, tools or procedures for developing resident-driven design criteria for urban design and planning. As Gaete Cruz and colleagues conclude, “more process-oriented studies are needed to understand how [actors] contribute to and influence design outcomes. Further research should question how co-design improves urban design by integrating diverging knowledge, values, and aims as well as by analysing specific co-design tools and methods concerning the aims pursued and the achievements accomplished. The influence of the involved actors on context-specificity, defining design criteria, and providing solutions are yet to be understood” [66, p. 249]. Such a process focus is particularly relevant in the Swedish context, considering how residents’ participation in urban design and planning tends to be reduced to an acceptable minimum (from a legal point of view) and, in this way, becomes tokenistic [67] rather than having any influence on the outcome.



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Materials and Methods

The research project

The present book has been produced within the framework of a 3-year research project called *Citizen participation in densification projects*. The research team consisted partly of academics with architectural, planning and geography expertise, and partly of practitioners from the Swedish Union of Tenants, with members in the local communities where the pilot studies were conducted.

The research project developed a working model for how residents can influence urban development in the early stages when large-scale densification projects are being planned. Neighbourhoods from the 1960s and 70s were chosen as a case study because these areas are potential densification objects. The project has been carried out in three work packages: WP1 developed and applied a tool that allows residents to describe qualities and problems in their area, suggesting places in need of densification and what kind of new housing or public functions these places need; the tool also enables aggregation and visualization of the places residents prioritize for densification. WP2 (the present book) formed and applied a tool for resident-driven shaping of design criteria for public space, i.e., places the residents in WP1 considered to be most important to transform from a local perspective. WP3 created a strategy both to communicate the proposals to decisions owners and to conduct

a dialogue about these proposals. The common practical results of the project is partly the model for co-design presented in this book, showing how collaborations between academia, civil society and municipalities – preferably through Civil Society Public Partnerships (CSPP) – can develop democratic systems for citizen participation. The project also results in two texts from AP1 and AP3.

Methodology

Taking a general transdisciplinary approach, the project applied mixed methods to knowledge production, merging practice and research. The co-design tool was based on established design methods and participatory process design [21]. A research-through-design approach was applied [68], facilitating reflexive conversation [69] and using iterative loops between experimentation, reflection and modification. Using a case study research approach [70, 71], the co-design method was critically investigated, e.g., in relation to empowerment, power and justice [47]. The project consisted of both academics and practitioners, and the Union of Tenants had the role of integrating the research work into their operations in real processes, where the municipality implemented densification programmes without formal collaboration with the Union. The Union subsequently chose to submit “consultation responses” to the municipality about the densification plans, including research material and results.

The co-design tool investigated here was, thus, designed in a collaboration between the academics and the Union, the goal being to meet the challenges that arose when the municipality implemented its densification plans. In addition to the documentation in the form of texts and images from the four workshops, the project learned from two types of 'learning workshops' [72] where academics and practitioners developed knowledge together. The first type involved two full-day recorded participatory evaluation meetings with all project participants during the process, where the participants, step by step, evaluated the tools we had implemented and learned from the experience. The second type involved one half-day recorded participatory workshop at the end of the project with all project participants, and additionally two invited civil servants from the city planning office who were responsible for the densification programmes in the two districts, and three civil servants from the municipal social services with responsibility for conveying opinions on social aspects of the planning proposals to the city planning office. The participatory workshop was broad in scope, comprising local mobilization and the use of digital platforms, as well as discussing how the participants perceived the use of MapX and Model Workshops from their individual perspectives.

The research follows the research ethics protocol of our universities, in terms of guaranteeing consent, confidentiality and privacy, as well as minimizing risks and possible harm as a consequence of the research. The MapX survey was performed with oral consent of the participants when interviewed in the stairwells. The interviewer then filled in the responses from the respondent on an iPad. Participants in Model Workshops were

asked to give their written consent before the workshop started. Participants in learning meetings were asked to give their oral recorded consent at the beginning of the meeting. All participants could choose to stay anonymous and moreover choose whether they want to appear in a photo. Those seen in photos have given their written consent.

The case study areas

The two case study areas in Gothenburg, Sweden, where the co-design tool was implemented, are Hjällbo and Biskopsgården (Fig. 1). The areas were built in the 1950s, 60s and 70s and are characterized by mixed development, with both high-rise buildings, terraced houses and villas. What distinguishes the physical environment is that it is sparse and has a great deal of space for greenery between the buildings (Fig. 2-3). Residents make good use of the outdoor environment during the warm part of the year; they are also involved in clubs and associations as well as a wide range of cultural activities. These neighbourhoods are largely inhabited by people who have immigrated to Sweden; these residents have lower levels of education and lower salaries than the average (Fig. 4), and the areas are characterized by pronounced stigmas that both the mass media and academics often relay. A larger percentage of pupils than the average fail to pass the core subjects in primary school, and both areas are on the national police department's list of particularly vulnerable neighbourhoods [73]. A large proportion of the homes are rental properties owned by public and private housing companies, but there is also a small proportion of privately owned villas and terraced houses. Both areas are designated by

politicians to be densified with a large amount of housing [74, 75], and planning documents for densification were prepared during the project period [76, 77].

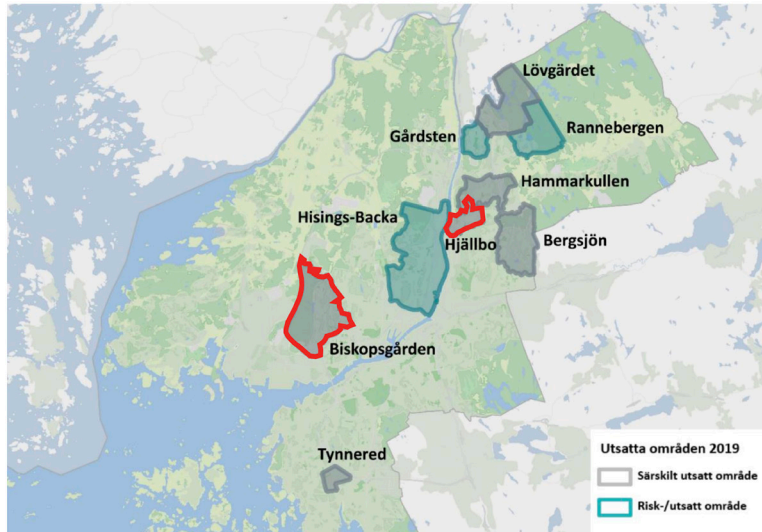


Fig. 1. Particularly vulnerable areas in Gothenburg, where Biskopsgården and Hjällbo are marked in red [78, p. 7, red marking by the authors].

2022	Hjällbo	Biskopsgården	Gothenburg
Inhabitants	7,353	19,699	596,841
Born abroad	60.4%	60.9%	29.1%
Born abroad or in Sweden with two parents born abroad	91.0%	81.0%	39.1%
Largest immigration countries	Somalia & Iraq	Somalia & Turkey	Iran & Iraq
Inhabitants with higher education	14.3%	19.8%	38.6%
Mean income	206,000 SEK	236,133 SEK	347,200 SEK
Gainfully employed	60.8%	66.3%	79.0%
Number of housing units	2,527	7,988	302,551
Units owned by public housing company	2,302 (91.1%)	3,548 (44.5%)	77,070 (25.5%)

Fig. 4. Some neighbourhood statistics. Source: City of Gothenburg [79].



Fig. 2. Hjällbo was built 1966-1970. Picture: Kartor.



Fig. 3. Biskopsgården was built 1955-1966. Picture: Kartor.

Description of 'Model Workshop'

'Model Workshop' is a tool for resident-driven shaping of design criteria for public space that the project participants have developed together. Model Workshop takes as its starting point the results from another tool the project used to initiate work in the neighbourhoods: a map-based survey tool called MapX [80]. The results of the MapX studies are described in more detail in the Union of Tenants' referral responses to the municipality [81, 82] and will only be briefly described here.

MapX studies aim to let residents describe qualities and problems in their area, suggest places in need of densification and indicate what kind of new housing or public functions these places need, as well as aggregating and visualizing which places residents prioritize for densification or any other intervention. To collect the opinions of many residents, the Union organized stairwell interviews, where youths from the area were consulted to knock on doors and ask a large number of questions, immediately entering the responses on iPads. The extensive results were published on the internet and visualized in 'heat maps' showing the most important places identified by the residents – places to be considered in the event of an urban transformation investment in the area. The 11 youths in Hjällbo interviewed 542 residents, and the 15 youths in Biskopsgården interviewed 722 residents. Fig. 5 and 6 show two examples of the visualized aerial photos that were produced.

Based on these MapX results, the project then selected a few places to focus design conversations on, choosing places that

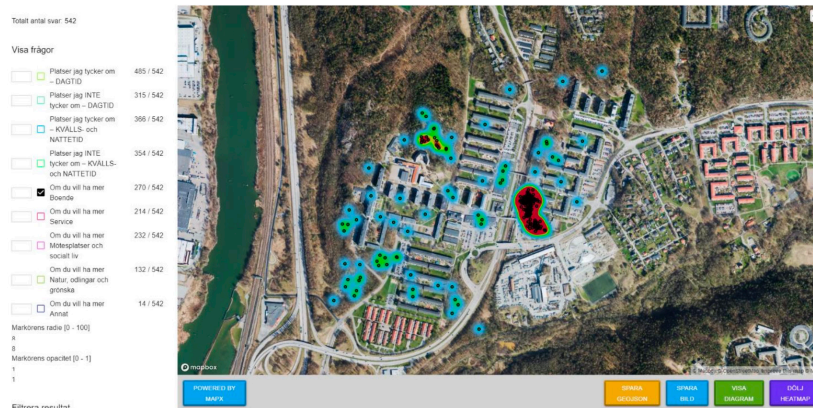


Fig. 5. The interviewed residents' (Hjällbo) collected views on where more housing is needed. Picture: Hyresgästföreningen [81].



Fig. 6. The interviewed residents' (Biskopsgården) collected views on which places they don't like in the evenings. Picture: Hyresgästföreningen [82].

were pointed out most frequently, often as both good and bad places, but for different reasons. The choice fell on one square and a nearby location in Hjällbo and three different squares in Biskopsgården. We wanted to use these places to obtain additional and in-depth knowledge and opinions from residents, about what they think is important to consider in the event of densification of the area. To avoid getting caught up in details and risk being dismissed by the municipality as partial, we did not only want to ask the residents to design places, but also to ask them *why* they wanted to design a place in a certain way. With this as our goal, we created a workshop using wooden blocks on aerial photos at a scale of 1:200 and a process for running the workshop:

1. The qualities and challenges of the place

We asked what people like about the place. What (a) positive features the place has that need to be preserved and (b) what challenges the place has that any new construction or redevelopment would need to help ameliorate. We noted the qualities on blue Post-its, placing them at the location referenced. In the same way, we noted the challenges on red Post-its.

2. Functions that need to be added

We asked which functions people thought the place needed more of, divided into Housing, Services, Meeting places, Other things. We also asked what forms of tenure (tenancy, owner-occupancy, etc.) they wanted for the function of housing, and what type of service (e.g., preschool) and meeting place (e.g., outdoors or indoors, for coffee or parties) they would like to see.

3. Create using wooden blocks

We were interested in the residents' aesthetic preferences, i.e., what they wanted the area to look like: size, shape and expression of the buildings added and other transformations of the physical environment. Here we asked residents to place wooden blocks of different colours, marked with functions, and to choose the spread and height. We put Post-its from Step 2 on them to specify. A building can accommodate different functions. Residents can remove existing buildings if they want or build new proposed features onto them. In the first version of the model, existing buildings were included; we had made them at scale in unpainted wood prior to the workshop. We then skipped this procedure because it was costly, but one could have several unpainted small blocks for building onto existing houses if necessary.

The physical result was documented by automatically photographing the process from above with time-lapse every 15 seconds, which produces a fast-forward movie showing the design process. But to capture the whole picture of residents' design criteria for public space, we also needed to document what people said. As the areas are vulnerable and residents' trust in the majority society is relatively low, we could not record the workshops. We therefore engaged a skilled and fast documenter who wrote directly on a laptop. His task was to (a) listen for and note the qualities and challenges that the residents described and which places they referred to when they talked; (b) look at how the process worked, i.e. what the dialogue was like, who was involved, how many people and of what ages, gender, ethnicity, etc., were active and which people were more passive, etc. He noted no names.

In addition to pure text production, the documenter – who has many years of experience working as a university teacher in these areas – immediately afterwards produced a reflection on what the residents had said and how he thought the method had worked in this context. This collected documentation in text was then analysed and colour-coded with respect to: (1) qualities and challenges, (2) functions and (3) aesthetic preferences. The text analysis together with analysis of all photos of the built environment and all the Post-its constituted the basis for our compilation of the respective workshops.

As mentioned earlier, the research project was carried out during a period when the City of Gothenburg was making proposals for densification programmes for Hjällbo and Biskopsgården. By law, residents must be given an opportunity to submit opinions on planning programmes, and it was this channel the Union chose to influence. The Union used the material collected by the research project, of which they thus are members, and formed its referral response based on that. The reports and the compilation of Model Workshops are available online in Swedish ([link](#)) [81, 82].

We did not only want to ask the residents to design places, but also to ask them *why* they wanted to design a place in a certain way.

MATERIAL NEEDED TO RUN MODEL WORKSHOP:

Aerial photo of the place to design:

A printed aerial photo scale 1:200 in colour with very good resolution, placed on a table a group of people can gather around.

The wooden blocks:

The blocks for houses have flat roofs and are 9 x 9 meters and 3 meters high (one floor). At a scale of 1:200, they are 4.5 x 4.5 x 1.5 cm. They have different colors:

- housing: ocher, quantity: 200
- service: yellow, quantity: 100
- meeting places: red, quantity: 100
- other: dark brown, quantity: 50

The blocks for trees and bushes (green) are 2 x 2 meters and 5 meters high. At a scale of 1:200, they are 1 x 1 x 2.5 cm, quantity: 50

The blocks for grass (green) are 9 x 9 meters and as thin as possible. At a scale of 1:200, they are 4.5 x 4.5 x 0.2 cm, quantity: 50

The blocks for water (blue) are 9 x 9 meters and as thin as possible. At a scale of 1:200, they are 4.5 x 4.5 x 0.2 cm, quantity: 50

The blocks for asphalt or other hard surface (grey) are 9 x 9 meters and as thin as possible. At a scale of 1:200, they are 4.5 x 4.5 x 0.2 cm, quantity: 50

Other material:

High stand with mobile phone holder:

To photograph the model 1:200 from above with time-lapse every 15 seconds, which becomes like a fast-forward movie showing the design process. The mobile phone is placed so that no faces are shown. The Osnap app we used does not record sound which is important for integrity.

Aerial photo of the entire district:

Placed on a table next to the model. This is because people often want to talk about the entire neighbourhood, even if we design a small part. We therefore moves between the tables with the different scales and can put postits on the large aerial photo as well. However, we had no blocks to build with on that scale. The actual design process is thus only done on a scale of 1:200.

Postits and pens:

We have post-its in three colors and pens to use to write functions and note any extra information what the blocks represent.

Printouts:

Forms for consent to fill in by everyone before the start and information about the research project to be distributed.

The Model Workshops and the participants

In this pilot study, four Model Workshops were carried out, two in Hjällbo and two in Biskopsgården. In the first one in Hjällbo, we tested the tool at an open house event where residents came and went during the late afternoon. We had chosen the main square and its surroundings to focus on in the Model Workshop. Four of the youths who had worked on the MapX study participated to learn Model Workshop, together with four workshop leaders from the research project and a documenter. The process design for the tool had not been finished at that time, which meant that we improvised a great deal and did not follow the three steps strictly. What was clearly noticeable, however, was that the model, with its simple painted blocks, attracted people to gather around the aerial photograph and take action; it worked like a magnet. During the 2-hour period, approximately 20 persons of mixed gender gathered around the table. They were mainly middle age or old and had an immigrant background, the majority were women with roots in Africa. Some visitors were also social workers from the neighbourhood, and others were, e.g., curious architects visiting the open house event.

The second Model Workshop in Hjällbo took place one month later. There were two leaders and a documenter. The workshop lasted around two hours and focused, once again, on the main square and its surroundings. It was a more structured workshop and involved only a few persons. The participants were four of the most active youths living in Hjällbo who had interviewed

residents for the MapX study. When holding the workshop, the youths were asked to say what they themselves thought, but they were also free to include what the 542 residents in the interviews had expressed. Running the workshops in this way worked well. The youths often highlighted what they had learned in their interviews and found it natural to represent others in the area. It therefore became standard for us to hold workshops with the youths who had carried out the MapX studies.

The two Model Workshops in Biskopsgården were held on the same day. We had chosen three squares to focus on. The first workshop was with 13 invited persons from the association network and the local Union of Tenants. The group consisted of both men and women, half of them appeared to have a Swedish background and half a foreign one, from three or four countries. The second workshop was with 13 youths of both sexes who had been involved in knocking on doors for the MapX interviews. Everyone seemed to have a foreign background, from one or two countries, several had been born in Sweden. Moreover, they were asked to say what they themselves thought, but also encouraged to include what the 722 residents in the MapX interviews had expressed. In Biskopsgården, there were four leaders and one documenter and, because the workshops attracted many participants, we had the opportunity to test how the method worked with many participants and to learn from that.



PHOTO: STENBERG KAIN

Results

We will first present what the residents discussed and arrived at in the respective Model Workshops, and then describe how these results can be translated into design criteria for the respective places. By 'design criteria', we mean requirements for the design that should be met in order for residents to support something being built on or added to a place. We will not present all the material, but have selected specific things the residents came up with to exemplify what the tool can be used for.

The Model Workshops in Hjällbo

In Model Workshop 1 in Hjällbo (Fig. 7), residents had begun to receive information indicating that the municipality was planning densification by adding 1,200 homes in Hjällbo, which then had 2,500 homes. The overall impression from the 20 residents who gathered around the table at the event, which was hosted by the Union of Tenants, was a very positive attitude towards the municipality finally taking an interest in the area. Several were against more housing being built, but several welcomed more homes, as many lived in overcrowded apartments. Still, they had doubts about how the municipality seemed to want to realize this densification: "Why do they want to build so narrow and high here? Don't they understand that this is how you build in the city centre. Here we want light and some distance between the buildings. Not building so that it's dark on the bottom floors



Fig. 7. Photo from Model Workshop 1 in Hjällbo 220303 when we tested the tool at an open house event. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

and in the yards and so that you sit and look into each other's apartments" (Resident, Model Workshop 1, 220303). They also questioned for whom the densification was being planned, whether it was for people living in Hjällbo, or whether the municipality wanted to use densification to trigger gentrification, in this way forcing existing residents to move.

In Model Workshop 2 in Hjällbo, the youths' reflections on the whole of Hjällbo (Fig. 8.) were discussed at length in parallel with discussions about development of the design proposals for the square. The knowledge came largely from the 542 stairwell interviews, but also from their own experience of having lived in Hjällbo a long time. What emerged and was reinforced here was a topic also raised by residents at the first workshop. The youths strongly expressed that existing homes owned by

the public housing company, in several cases with extremely delayed maintenance, must be maintained before the municipality builds new ones, otherwise the lack of trust residents have in the municipality will increase radically. Further, they said that if new houses were built, this development must benefit Hjällbo residents. Thus, the municipality must build units the residents can afford and they must not gentrify Hjällbo. They stressed that the greatest demand is for rental properties. Additionally, it is important to build in a way that does not destroy existing qualities of places or well-used facilities, for example a football pitch and parking areas, which need to remain near housing for safety reasons.

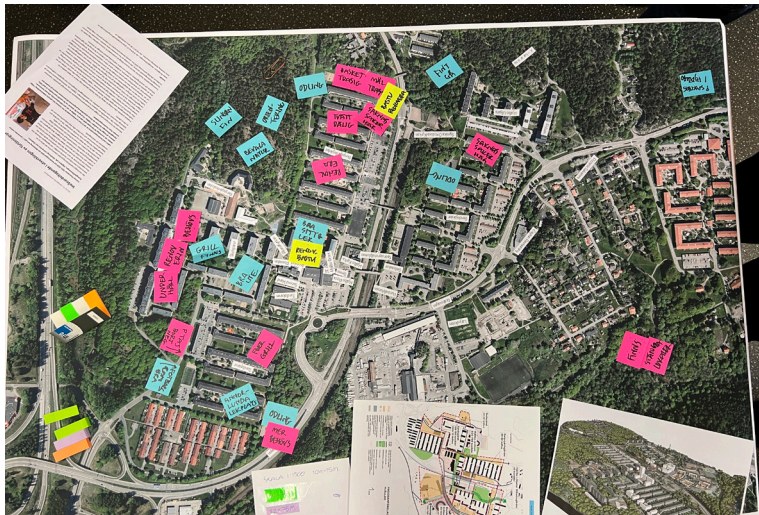


Fig. 8. Photo from Model Workshop 2 in Hjällbo 220409. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = challenges. Yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

The picture (Fig. 9) shows the youths' proposal for a newly built or remodelled centre building on the square. They proposed a modern building with additional functions such as a restaurant, café, bakery, gym and swimming pool and emphasized meeting places both indoors and on the square. It is important to note that there are outdoor passages between the square and the parking lot to open up the feeling of the existing building and make both the square and the parking much more accessible. This allows for a freer movement pattern, which in turn makes the square work better for residents. It should also be noted that the proposed buildings only have one or two floors so as not to shade the square.



Fig. 9. Photo from Model Workshop 2 in Hjällbo 220409. Red blocks = meeting places. Yellow blocks = service. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.



Fig. 10. Photo from Model Workshop 2 in Hjällbo 220409. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

New residential buildings are designed in a way that is related to the existing Hjällbo.

This picture (Fig. 10) shows the youths' proposal for newly built housing on the site on the other side of the bridge near the square, where a school is located today. There is a plan to demolish the school. The inset image at the top left shows an alternative design for one building – an L-shaped building that protects the yard from traffic noise. It should be noted that the new residential buildings are designed in a way that is related to the existing Hjällbo, which the youths like; that is, the plan is for panel buildings with yards in between. The direction of the buildings is the same as that of adjacent homes, the intent being to maintain the airy feeling and invite cross-border meetings for play and barbecues in the yards. The buildings have three floors, and building height was discussed

extensively in the design process. This is because the young people heard many reflections from residents regarding the fact that tall buildings in this location would destroy the qualities of the yards in Bondegärdet by shading them, thus making the apartments dark and keeping the afternoon sun from reaching the yards. In this proposal, the form of tenure is tenancy because this is what the residents of Hjällbo want. The building for the library remains in this design proposal, because a library provides an important function and also serves as a meeting place. They discussed whether the building could be demolished if the function remained. The youths also added more meeting places for young people and elderly next to the library as well as services on a small scale.

Resident-driven shaping of design criteria for Hjällbo

Applying the Model Workshop to a limited place like a square, and on a scale where you can see and talk about details, resulted in residents providing a great deal of information regarding what qualities and challenges there are, and what functions, now missing, that would make the neighbourhood work well if they were added. They spontaneously shared their many opinions about this. This information had indeed already been well conveyed through the MapX study, but it was important to repeat it at the workshop: first, because new information was revealed regarding, e.g., why they experienced insecurity problems, and second, because we wanted the design proposals to be related to this information. According to the two Model Workshops, the qualities of the square that need to be protected in the event of future densification are:

- + The square is populated by many people during the day.
- + People feel safe on the square during the day.
- + The square is sunny, which is why people like to sit there and talk.
- + The new premises that serve as the residents' meeting place make the square safe.
- + There are shops and other services.
- + There is plenty of car parking.

The challenges the site has that any new construction or redevelopment needs to help address are:

- The shape of the physical environment works poorly for the movement patterns of the residents, does not favour business, and creates insecurities in the evenings.
- People feel unsafe on the square during the evening and at night, as youths who are suspected of being criminals take over certain spaces there at that time.
- Many services are missing; the residents count the number of desired services.
- Some of the available services are of poor quality or are too expensive for the residents.
- There are few indoor meeting places; several groups of residents lack space.
- The square lacks water; it is a quality for both children and adults.
- The square lacks greenery.
- Conversation-friendly arrangements of benches are missing on the square.

The physical environment works poorly for the movement patterns of the residents.

In addition to dealing with these local qualities and challenges – which are quite easily dealt with in a densification project, provided the municipality wants to deal with them – the Model Workshops highlighted more overarching issues that residents believed a densification plan needs to address. Thus, they did not accept the municipality's divided approach to planning, where the municipality only takes limited responsibility in the planning documents and leaves it to market forces to deal with questions of housing costs and the form of tenure. According to results from the two Model Workshops in Hjällbo, a densification programme needs to address the following issues:

- There is widespread delayed maintenance of the municipality's rental housing, and the municipality must renovate these buildings first, without increasing rents, if residents are to have confidence in the municipality constructing new buildings in their area.
- The average income in Hjällbo is low; thus, the municipality needs to build new housing so that it also benefits those with low income.
- Apartments are overcrowded; the municipality needs to plan for residents to have more living space.
- If youths get jobs, it increases security; available jobs affect younger children, making them less likely to become criminals. The municipality needs to plan for densification in a way that gives youths jobs in the construction companies that will build (social procurement).
- Municipal politicians' stated goal concerning the densification programme is to attract the middle class to the area, which they believe will solve the area's challenges.

According to the residents, this analysis of the situation is problematic. It won't work. Any new middle-class residents who may come will not change the serious difficulties society has with crime and exclusion. Investments aimed at the middle class only mean that those who already live in Hjällbo will be excluded from the renewal and not benefit from it.

If we look at what Model Workshop brought forward for the place on the other side of the bridge, listening to the residents is even more interesting. On the site where the school will be demolished, the municipality proposes very large-scale construction, just as on the square. Such a building would shade places that residents, according to Model Workshops, would like to keep sunny for outdoor activities. Such buildings, as proposed, would also have an architectural style that is completely new to Hjällbo, which residents identified as problematic. In fact, in municipal policy documents for the city [83, p. 12], this is a scale the municipality actually discourages for this type of area.

The place on the other side of the bridge is actually one of the most popular places for densification if you listen to the residents, but their design criteria result in an appearance completely different from what the municipality proposes. The residents in the two Model Workshops said:

- Preserve the local feeling of the place in any new construction.
- Keep parts of the school, as it has an architectural style worth preserving and promotes good memories of their childhood.

- Ensure that the library is retained in the area and given a prominent position as a meeting place as well as longer opening hours.
- Add housing with elevators, as such buildings are scarce; they are needed for the elderly and disabled who want to stay in Hjällbo.
- Another youth centre is needed in Hjällbo, and this location is well suited for it.
- More places are needed for sports, such as outdoor football and basketball, as well as seating with tables.
- Do not build so that existing buildings and the yards between them are shaded, as residents often use them for outdoor activities.
- Build using an architectural style similar to the one we have in Hjällbo, i.e., buildings with green yards between them, where residents can meet.

Preserve the local feeling of the place in any new construction.



PHOTO: STENBERG KAIN

The Model Workshops in Biskopsgården

In Biskopsgården, the municipality was planning densification by adding 3,800–4,350 homes in the area, which has 8,000 homes [77], roughly the same percentage increase as in Hjällbo. According to the programme, about 1,100 were planned as single-family houses. In our research, we chose to focus on the three squares because the MapX survey indicated they were important places for residents.

In the Model Workshops in Biskopsgården (Fig. 11), the residents were extremely engaged, both groups talked a lot, had many opinions about what they thought of the squares and what they wanted to keep or change. In both groups, it was clear that they did not agree on everything, and they often had discussions about differences of opinion. The impression both groups gave was that they would appreciate it if more were built in Biskopsgården: housing, services, meeting places, greenery, water, playgrounds and sports fields. No one spontaneously questioned the municipality's densification agenda, just how to do it.

One woman in the association group thought the 'garden city ideal' the municipality wanted to implement with their plan was a "a veiled attempt to make Biskopsgården seem like a middle-class neighbourhood". She pointed out that private green spaces around housing, which were presented as a target model in the plan, are foreign to Biskopsgården, which has many public green



Fig. 11. Photo from Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the association group. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

spaces residents appreciate. Some women also criticized the municipality's demarcation for the planning programme. The plan does not include the villas in eastern Biskopsgården. The women wondered or rather claimed: "Is it done that way so that the statistics show a lack of private ownership? A political agenda, then?" Both groups pointed out the need for housing that people in Biskopsgården can afford. Residents need cheap rentals and large homes because many are overcrowded, and they also want to be able to rent row houses, not just to buy them, for those who want to live in that type of home. There is admittedly a demand for homes with ownership rights, they said, but these need to be inexpensive, because the salaries in the area are much lower



Fig. 12. Photo from Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the association group discussing traffic and other overall issues. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

than average. They questioned politicians' agenda proposing a great deal of ownership housing, because market actors do not build cheaply enough.

Another general issue, important to the association group (Fig. 12), was to keep the roads for car traffic within the area. Equally important was public transport and connectivity to the southwestern and the coastal neighbourhoods that offer outdoor life – both more affluent areas. "Why do they cut us off from them?" (Resident in Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924). Traffic issues in relation to the city centre as well as the need for local solutions to find strategic ways of protecting children, youths and women from crime were discussed enthusiastically.

We first look at the results from modelling Friskvåderstorget (Fig. 13). "This square is not a square" claimed the association group, it lacks the basic spatial qualities of a square. Their design process resulted in a cultural centre in the middle of the square, designed with an open ground floor so that it connects the square rather than standing in the way, as the grocery store does today. The store is appreciated as a function, but its appearance is not. The group designed for placing the grocery store, as well as an expanded range of services, on the ground floor of the tall residential building located along the square. The square must be completely car-free to be a nice meeting place for people, they said. They placed the parking lots – which surely are needed for residents, visitors and goods transport – underground. They also proposed to recreate an amphitheatre that existed in the square previously and to use it to create a public indoor escalator

through the residential building, thus connecting the square to the tram stop on the other side, though on a lower level. The existing outdoor footpath to the tram stop is anything but accessible in winter, when it is slippery.

The youths (Fig. 14) also complained that the area lacked the feeling of a square, and they wanted the parking to be moved or placed underground. Their proposal included a new building instead of the car park, with a combination of services, meeting places, leisure park and housing, as well as a small cafe with a grass roof. Furthermore, they wanted to furnish the square with things the residents needed if they were to spend time there: more greenery, more plants, water features and a splash pad for kids as well as maintenance of the neglected playground. They also suggested improved services on the ground floor of the tall residential building, in the form of a pharmacy, larger health centre, police station, larger library and more shops. The youth group also proposed a mosque on the square, because many residents miss the one that was forced to close. In addition, they pointed out that better lighting is needed on the square. An interesting discussion arose between two youths. One of them wanted to tear down the tall residential building because it is so ugly and worn, claiming that it reflected poorly on the area. However, another youth opposed this, because if a new building were constructed, the people living there would not be able to stay there, near the square. There was thus an awareness, even among young people, that if a new housing development were to materialize, market forces would not build for their needs. The youths also wanted to connect the square to the adjacent, very popular green area which has a small lake.



Fig. 13. Result from Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the association group designing Friskvåderstorget. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = problems/challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.



Fig. 14. Result from Model Workshop 2 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the youth group designing Friskvåderstorget. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = problems/challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

The association group was also critical of the appearance of Länsmanstorget (Fig. 16). Maintenance has generally been neglected, and surfaces and spaces have not been looked after – the city does not care about it and the parking lots have been allowed to spread out. The descent from the tram stop feels unsafe, and there is a bad smell from garbage disposal at several places by the square. As one woman put it: “Why is a square always for business? Why not move the business and make the square a meeting place? More art, places for being”.

There is, thus, consensus in the criticism, but their design proposals differ. The association group proposed a rather substantial addition of housing around the square. However, opinions about building on these small green areas were divided; some wanted to build there, while others absolutely wanted to preserve nature elements. They wanted to integrate the existing recreation centre, with a stage and nice premises, into a system that could loan premises to residents. They wanted to demolish (at least partially) the grocery store building in the centre, in favour of a nice square area with art, visible stormwater in the form of a stream, drinking fountain and more greenery. They moved the large parking lot at Länsmanstorget underground, adding a new building for services such as a grocery store on top.

The association group thought that Vårväderstorget (Fig. 17) – the main square with district administration and other services – has clear qualities. This square had architectural value, owing to its pleasing size and shape. Moreover, the buildings



Fig. 16. Result from Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the association group designing Länsmanstorget. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = problems/challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

around it were considered adequate. However, the beauty had been obscured by many different additions, not least those improving accessibility, and the square had lost its charm. It was in great need of refurbishment and extensive change, concerning both ground cover and facades.

The association group suggested starting from the important location near the tram stop and placing central functions there, such as the library, which should be moved from its hidden location. They designed a great deal of housing on top of the services located



Fig. 17. Result from Model Workshop 1 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the association group designing Vårvåderstorget. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = problems/challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain

in the square buildings, which needed to be expanded. Cultural centres, sales of alcohol, cafés, bars, taverns, art, information systems, bicycle parking, market stalls, local bus stops and combined meeting places for civil society and civil servants were mentioned here. They also suggested that the building northeast of the square with district administration, a medical centre and pharmacy be supplemented with more functions. The parking lot to the west of the square (which is perceived as a negative place) could be developed with housing and integrated parking. The greenery in the residential area south of the square was greatly appreciated: It is park-like and has an orchard.



Fig. 18. Result from Model Workshop 2 in Biskopsgården 220924 with the youth group designing Vårvåderstorget. Brown blocks = housing. Yellow blocks = service. Red blocks = meeting places. Blue notes = qualities. Pink notes = problems/challenges. Neon yellow patches = added functions. Photo: Stenberg Kain.

The youth group described Vårväderstorget (Fig. 18) as a square that they pass on their way somewhere or when they need service; there is no place at all for young people to be, so it does not function as a meeting place for them. Several appreciated the green area south of the square very much as well as the playground below the square (as a function, but not its quality). The youth group also proposed an addition of housing, but on a small scale. They emphasized the importance of adding qualities to the square that make you want to go there, stay there and be there, as they felt it was too sparsely population at present. They proposed a gym, café, kiosk, street food, leisure park, activity rooms, mosque, refurbished preschool, nicer playground, police station, water and greenery in the square; they proposed a drinking fountain, small soccer field with artificial grass west of the square, better lighting in the green park area south of the square and parking garages instead of large parking lots to make room for things that residents need. They also proposed a cultural centre as a bridge to the building with district administration, medical centre and pharmacy, which is a little far off now.

They emphasized the importance of adding qualities to the square that make you want to go there, stay there and be there.



Resident-driven shaping of design criteria for Biskopsgården

Here we will summarize what came out of the workshops in the form of design criteria. According to the Model Workshops, the qualities of Friskvåderstorget that need to be protected in the event of future densification are:

- + There is car parking for residents, visitors and goods transport.
- + There are many residences on the square, which means that there are a lot of people passing through.
- + The grocery store and some smaller shops as well as services and a small library.
- + Proximity to the popular green area has the potential to be developed.

The challenges/problems Friskvåderstorget has that any new construction or redevelopment needs to help address are:

- The square lacks the basic spatial qualities of a square.
- One reason is the lack of basic services such as a pharmacy, larger health centre, police station, larger library, culture activities and more shops.
- Another reason is that the car parks take up too much space and that concern for transport has taken priority over people's meeting places.
- Also, the grocery store was built and designed without consideration of the site's qualities as a square, which, in

addition to poor space for people to meet, creates unsafe places in the evenings and at night.

- Given its large scale, the long 8-story residential building contributes to making the square unfriendly.
- Not only due to its size, but also because the maintenance is extremely poor, implying that the building gives Friskvåderstorget a bad image.
- Even maintenance of the tiny playground is extremely neglected; it serves all the children living near the square as well as visitors.
- There are no meeting places on the square, neither for young people nor for adults, meaning that people only pass by and do not stop.
- The walkway between the square and the tram stop is substandard and is not functional in winter for the elderly and people with disabilities.
- The square lacks greenery and water.
- Better lighting is needed on the square and over parking spaces.

The qualities of Länsmanstorget that need to be protected:

- + There is car parking for residents, visitors and goods transport.
- + The small green areas with nature elements are beautiful and important.
- + Also here, proximity to the popular green area is a potential.

The challenges/problems of Länsmanstorget that need to be addressed:

- Maintenance is generally neglected.
- It is not usable as a meeting place outdoors or indoors, neither for culture nor for other activities.
- There is a great lack of services and businesses.
- The existing architecture makes the young women feel exposed.
- The lighting is insufficient.
- The square lacks greenery and water.
- Car parking has been allowed to expand too much.
- Contact with the green recreation area in the west is poor.
- There is a lack of public transport along the green recreation area.

The qualities of Vårväderstorget that need to be protected:

- + Vårväderstorget is basically a square with appreciated architecture.
- + The fact that district administration and central functions are located here means there are many visits.
- + The function of the park-like greenery, with an orchard south of the square, is greatly appreciated.
- + There is car parking for residents, visitors and goods transport.

The challenges/problems of Vårväderstorget that need to be addressed:

- The square has lost its charm.
- Also here, car parking has been allowed to expand.
- The organization of functions is not adequate.
- There are few outdoor and indoor meeting places.
- Here as well, there is a lack of services and businesses.

In Biskopsgården, too, the Model Workshops shed light on overarching qualities and problems/challenges for the whole neighbourhood. According to the two Model Workshops, a densification programme needs to address the following issues:

- Average income is low and new housing needs to benefit residents already living in Biskopsgården.
- Like Hjällbo residents, residents here criticized the municipality for trying to attract a middle-class population to Biskopsgården.
- There is great dissatisfaction about the widespread delayed maintenance of rental housing.
- They questioned the idea of a garden city in Biskopsgården and stressed that the vision needs to be adapted to the neighbourhood's architecture.
- They also doubted whether the municipality's ideas for traffic solutions would serve the residents well.

Discussion

Municipality vs. residents

The municipality's programme vs. the residents' design criteria in Hjäällbo

Hjäällbo residents' reflections should be seen in light of the picture below (Fig. 19), which depicts the municipality's own visualization of what they want to achieve in Hjäällbo, the white buildings showing the densification plans. The tallest buildings are on the square and on the other side of the bridge. There are also high-rise buildings on the soccer field and in the residential parking lots that residents referred to. The programme does not touch on the problem of delayed maintenance of municipally owned rental housing in Hjäällbo, or on the ongoing process in which the municipality is trying to convert rental housing into owned apartments, which several residents are protesting as there is a lack of rental housing in the area and in the country as a whole. The programme also does not mention the form of tenure for the new buildings, as this is normally not handled in the programme phase, but is left to market forces to deal with at a later stage.

The resident-driven design criteria for Hjäällbo imply that it would be very difficult to add 1,200 new homes to Hjäällbo's 2,500 apartments, at least when following the programme which is densifying the two locations the Model Workshop focused on (Fig. 20).



Fig. 19. Cover image of the municipality's first version of the programme for densification in Hjäällbo. Picture: Stadsbyggnadskontoret [76].

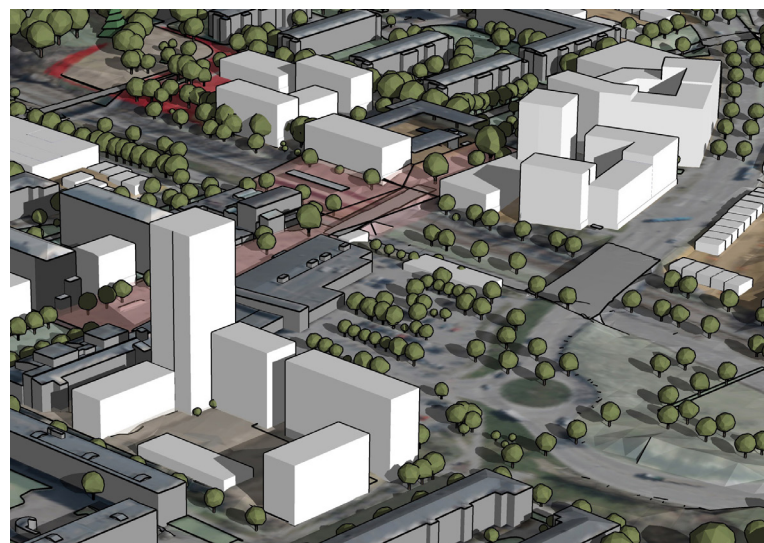


Fig. 20. Cover image of the municipality's first version of the programme for densification in Hjäällbo, zooming in on the square and the nearby place on the other side of the road. Picture: Stadsbyggnadskontoret [76].

The programme was decided on by the building committee in December 2022. In addition to building heights and concentration in the centre of Hjällbo, what significantly differentiates the municipality's view from the residents' is the large proportion of single-family houses in the municipality's programme: 460-540 out of 1,200 homes, thus around 40% of the additional housing is planned to be single-family houses (Fig. 21). That is many more than the residents in the MapX study said they wanted (Fig. 22). Actually, the municipality's first version of the programme had many row houses, which was the housing form the residents prioritized second after buildings with yards. Thus, after the programme was out for consultation with the residents and other actors, the municipality has removed some of what the residents wanted rather than listening to them.

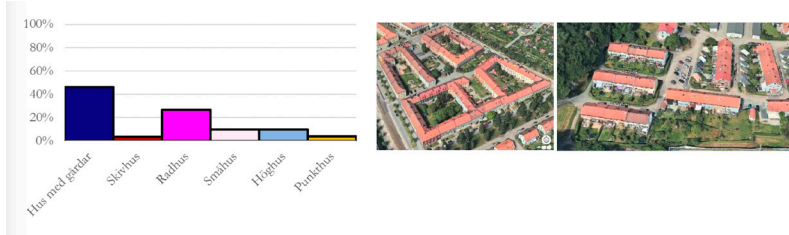


Fig. 22. Graph showing which housing form the residents wanted to add in the event of densification in the area. In order from the left: Buildings with yards; lamella housing; rowhouses; single-family houses, high-rise buildings; tower house. The pictures show the two most desired: Buildings with yards (45% wanted) and rowhouses (28% wanted). Pictures: Hyresgästföreningen [81, p. 17].

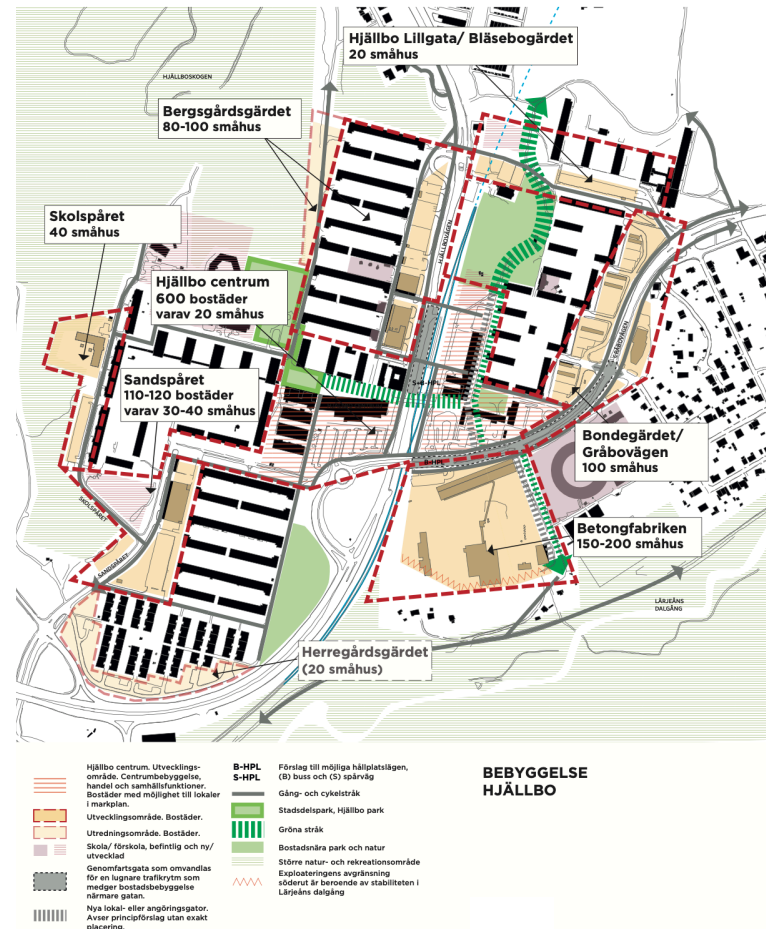


Fig. 21. The municipality's final version of the programme for densification in Hjällbo, showing the number of housing units to be added in different parts. Picture: Stadsbyggnadskontoret [76, p. 18].

The municipality's programme vs. the residents' design criteria in Biskopsgården

In Biskopsgården, the officials had not made a cover for their programme brochure (Fig. 23) like they had in Hjällbo, where the cover included a picture of eye-catching, large-scale additional buildings. Actually, even though the two neighbourhoods are in the same city, the programme in Biskopsgården had taken a completely different approach. The aim was described as creating a cohesive and robust urban area, the garden city ideal was prominent, additions were spread out and the scale of building considerably smaller. There was also a different tone in the text, in that contact with the residents was sought.

The fact that the municipality's planning programme for Biskopsgården demonstrated interest in dialogue with the residents probably meant that those we met in Model Workshops had a greater inclination to transfer their knowledge and opinions through the Union of Tenants to civil servants in the municipality, even though several of the residents in Biskopsgården, as well as in Hjällbo, were very critical of how the municipality's densification plan was designed. Biskopsgården residents' response was also received by the civil servants in a positive manner when the Union of Tenants submitted their referral response, and the municipality attached the response in its entirety so that the decision-making politicians would receive it. That was not the case in Hjällbo, where the Union of Tenants' local work and referral response was seen rather as a disturbing



Fig. 23. Cover image of the municipality's version of the programme for densification in Biskopsgården. Picture: Stadsbyggnadskontoret Göteborg [77].

element; the Union's 39-page document was summarized extremely briefly on only one page [84, pp. 37-38], and the entire document was not attached to be read by politicians.

The programme for Biskopsgården was decided on by the building committee in October 2023. If we compare the programme version from June 2022 with the one from August 2023, it is noticeable that the Union's referral response influenced the text. In the meantime, the municipality's political governance changed to a coalition between the left party, social democrats and environmentalists. This also affected the outcome.

The difference between Hjällbo and Biskopsgården

Something that sets the two densification programmes apart is that, while in Hjällbo they have chosen to densify to a great extent in residential parking spaces, in Biskopsgården they have chosen to densify along car routes. This is described as a densification principle for the entire neighbourhood of Biskopsgården, and the plan is to solve the parking issue by adding new car parks (Fig. 24). Building next to a car route is expected to reduce the speed of cars, because it will turn these routes into city streets. Densification of residential buildings along a route also solves a feeling-of-insecurity problem that has been raised by residents in many previous surveys, namely that the tram stops are located along this esolate stretch. Densifying along car routes implies that residents' parking spaces on the ground are not removed in Biskopsgården's densification plan, something that was heavily criticized in Hjällbo. In Biskopsgården, however, there are also densification proposals for places other than along the routes – places that residents have in some cases vehemently questioned, as they are used for recreation. On the other hand, the municipality wants to develop the large green area in the west into a 'city park', which seems to be in good accordance with what the residents in Model Workshop highlighted. With such a proposal comes financial resources. As a city park, it will accommodate many activities, be distinctive and attract people from all over Gothenburg.

The difference between the two neighbourhood densification programmes, and the officials who are responsible for them,

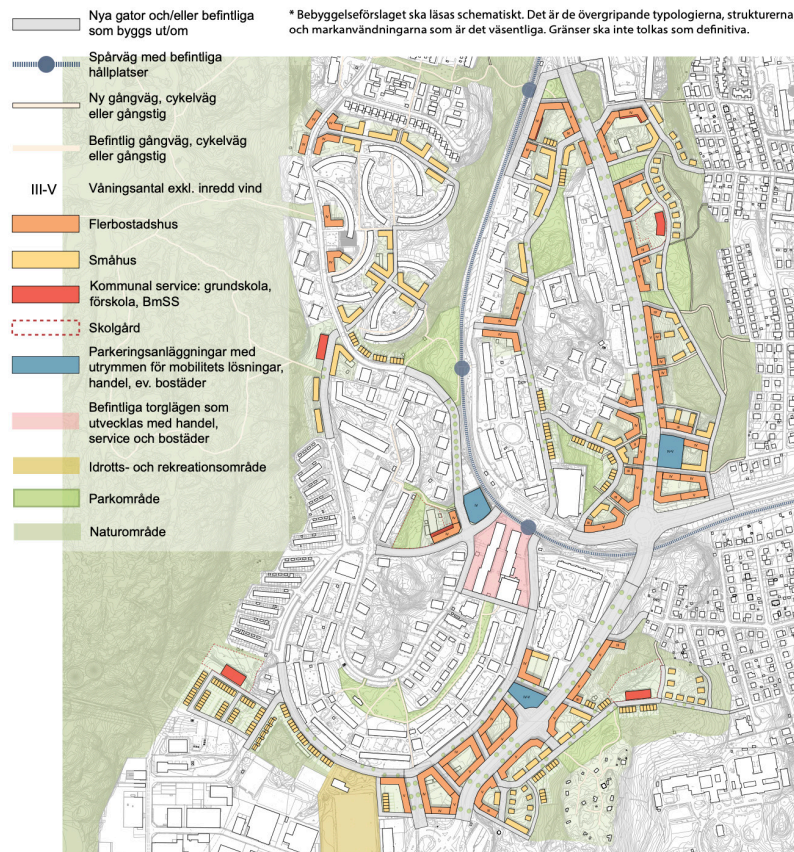


Fig. 24. Densification principle for Biskopsgården, the coloured houses are proposed new buildings and the blue new parking garages. Picture: Stadsbyggnadskontoret Göteborg [77, p. 38].

is that in Biskopsgården there seems to be openness to an ongoing dialogue with residents, while in Hjällbo politicians and officials have made decisions over the residents' heads and do not welcome conversations beyond what is required of the consultation process by law. The MapX surveys and Model Workshops have brought this difference into the light to some extent, although it is not possible to say whether it will affect how the programmes will subsequently be implemented and how consultations on the detailed plans for the squares and other places will be carried out in the future. In an upcoming text from WP3, the research project will take a deep dive into how the city planning office acted during the process and the reasons for actions. Thus, the present book provides only a brief summary of the situation.

In Biskopsgården there seems to be openness to an ongoing dialogue with residents, while in Hjällbo politicians and officials have made decisions over the residents' heads.



Collaborative learning

Participatory evaluation meetings

The two full-day ‘participatory evaluation meetings’ [72] with all project participants generated a great deal of knowledge of significance for the present book. First, it should be pointed out that, for the practitioners, our work consisted of a holistic approach, i.e., a package that included the Model Workshop among other methods. For the Model Workshop to work well, it was important that it was preceded by the MapX survey, with its particular method of engaging local youths to collect data from local residents. The practitioners believed this MapX exercise was an important preparation, as it combines community engagement and data collection. It empowers the Union’s organization, visualizes the dialogue with residents and, at the same time, collects data from many residents. Normally, residents do not know how the city planning office works. The MapX method helped residents understand urban planning and enabled them to get involved. Through MapX, urban planning was presented on a level the residents could understand. According to the Union practitioners, visualization of the results was highly educational, both for the residents and for the Union as an organization.

Second, both the quantitative and qualitative free-text responses in MapX guided where and how the Model Workshops were carried out. The quantitative data were impressive in their sheer quantity and their ability to produce visually striking images. The

qualitative material provided answers for why residents liked or disliked different places, where the same places were often seen as having both advantages and disadvantages. While it was difficult to register and represent this type of more complex knowledge and opinions clearly in MapX, the Model Workshops made this possible. Moreover, the workshop format enabled us both to understand what the residents truly meant and, using that as our foundation, to begin to develop appropriate design criteria for these places. Being able to select locations for deeper analysis based on the MapX outcome provided us with a great deal of information from the residents about what they thought was important for planning on that particular site. But the Model Workshop also provided knowledge about what the residents found important in general if densification of their neighbourhood were to take place. This constituted locally relevant knowledge that the city planning office normally does not ask for, as it is outside their intended plan constraints, for example, if housing refurbishment is carried out in a way that gentrifies the neighbourhood.

Third, how then did the Model Workshop tool itself work out? It was seen as a powerful tool, but it was also somewhat surprising that such a simple setup attracted residents to the extent it did. The participants talked a lot and were engaged, and it was interesting to see that holding building

blocks in their hands could open up conversations between participants. Here, having the detailed and sharp aerial photo on the table was also important.

The image on the table is incredibly powerful as a starting point for a conversation. You get closer to each other, because it's not as confrontational as sitting in an ordinary meeting position. We can stand close to each other because we're looking at something common in front of us. /.../ Even though the language was not there, you still stood with a block, because you understood what it meant. And then you got help to translate. So Model Workshop lowers the threshold for conversation in a tangible way. I really love that aspect. (Practitioner, Union of Tenants, Participatory evaluation meeting 221025).

The evaluation also showed how important it was to have an aerial photo of the *whole* neighbourhood as well. Otherwise, the physical connections get lost when participants start describing more overarching challenges, which they frequently do because that is how their life is. Shifting focus between the whole neighbourhood and a particular place, i.e., by moving between two tables with aerial photos, may also dissolve the group dynamics a bit, as every time they move they take new positions. When the situation changes, so do the power relations, which improves the knowledge production process.

Fourth, providing clear information at the outset about what the blocks corresponded to in relation to function and size was fundamental to making the workshops work. Just as important

was having a suitable group size (four to seven residents) and having a skilled documenter who could capture everything being said. Furthermore, the Model Workshops became very fruitful when they were carried out with the youths who had been engaged in knocking on doors for the MapX survey. They presented their design preferences to us, and this was knowledge, information and opinions that no outsider could have provided. Additionally, they not only represented themselves, but also the 500-700 residents they had interviewed, allowing them to bring qualitative information into the process. The fact that the youths lived in the area themselves meant that the interviewees felt more trust in them and therefore responded relatively openly.

Fifth, the evaluation meetings also highlighted the important issue of ownership of the design process. Those who led the Model Workshops were aware of power relations and trained themselves to step back and hand power over to the residents, i.e., to those who, unfortunately, have the least power in society. Conducting cross-sectoral workshops and integrating residents with property owners and civil servants may seem attractive, but the evaluation meetings warned against such a development. It appears to be very hard to convince property owner representatives and civil servants to stand back and hand over more power than usual to residents. Moreover, civil society organizations, like the Union of Tenants, have neither enough experience nor the mandate to intervene and restore the power balance when 'suppression techniques' [85] are used by such actors.

In sum, the participatory evaluation meetings concluded that the design criteria that began developing in MapX were deepened

in Model Workshop. The design criteria produced in the Model Workshops were both comprehensive and rich in content and, especially in the Hjällbo case, also differed greatly from the ideals the city planning office describes in its planning documents. The Model Workshops succeeded in making visible such contradictory views regarding transformation of the physical environment. The evaluation meetings also generated ideas about further method development, for example how to feed Model Workshop results back to all residents through open meetings and, thus, gather the views of even more residents. Another idea was to carry out workshops with different homogeneous groups to explore whether there are opposing perspectives among residents. A third idea was to complete Step 1-2 of the workshop much faster and spend more time on Step 3, i.e., the step during which the design criteria are made clear.

Participatory learning workshop

The half-day 'participatory learning workshop' [72] at the end of the project, including both project participants and municipal civil servants, gave us further information concerning how municipal representatives viewed the Union's attempts to facilitate early influence of residents on the planning proposals in Hjällbo and Biskopsgården. As mentioned earlier, the civil servants in the two districts had very different views, and this impression was confirmed during the workshops. While the official responsible for Biskopsgården gave a positive response ("I was very pleased and happy that we got help from you there"), the official responsible for Hjällbo was more concerned about the municipal process being disrupted by the Union's engagement ("if two

processes like this take place at the same time and if you as a resident may not always be able to understand exactly who the sender is").

The three officials from social services were very positive regarding how civil society (i.e., the Swedish Union of Tenants) could work in this way with resident consultation on a proposed planning programme in parallel with the municipality's activities. This was seen as helping the social services to reach the city planning office with perspectives they felt would otherwise be given low priority. They also felt the focus on design criteria was helpful in understanding the differences between the residents' and the municipality's respective views. These officials found that the approach of using MapX in combination with Model Workshops provided a significantly higher quality outcome compared to existing municipal digital tools for collecting citizen opinions. Here, both the social services officials and the participating academics agreed that those municipal tools come dangerously close to 'therapy', in line with Arnstein's [67] ladder of participation. The social services officials also stressed that one major advantage of the developed approach was that the Union took responsibility for the results being included in the planning process, by submitting them as formal feedback during the planning process (Participatory learning workshop 230530).

The design criteria produced in the Model Workshops were both comprehensive and rich in content.

Conclusions

As shown in the section State-of-the-art, resident participation in planning certainly has proponents, but criticism also exists. Our experience is that resident participation cannot be considered purely good or bad compared to the current top-down systems. Testing and developing tools for resident participation in the planning of urban change is a matter of developing planning so that it better meets the needs of all residents. What our case studies highlight is the possibility to provide planners with information about residents' knowledge and opinions concerning their area, based on the experience of living there on a daily basis, and to do so in a format that enables residents to influence the early stages of urban transformation planning.

We thus agree with Sendra [63], who claims that co-design has the potential to be either peaceful or agonistic or both. To avoid 'democracy washing', Sendra stresses that participatory processes need to be carefully designed to not jeopardize democracy. He has developed guidelines in the form of a charter for co-design [63, pp. 14-16]:

1. Co-design needs to involve collective thinking
2. Design how partnerships are created
3. Investigate and learn from existing social infrastructures
4. Address power imbalances
5. Provide skills to involve communities in decision-making
6. Inclusive events and language

7. Collective benefits
8. Transparency and clarity
9. Timing and resources
10. A process that starts before any decisions is made and goes beyond generating proposals

After our case studies, we can only agree that all these points are important. Regarding the first point, however, we would like to shift the focus from just *collective thinking* to emphasizing *collective intelligence*. This draws on Atlee's [28, p. xi] two concepts *collected intelligence* (the "sum of all our individual smarts") and *collective intelligence* where the latter may be developed through collaborative or communicative processes oriented towards consensus [86, 87] or evolve from disagreement, contestation, diversity and independence [88].

Both during the implementation of our work and in the subsequent evaluations, it became clear that it was the combination of MapX surveys and Model Workshops that made the process so productive, as the former provided *collected intelligence* and the latter supported the formation of *collective intelligence*. Note, however, that both formats were equally important. Model Workshops developed *collective intelligence* through collaborative prioritizing and the creation of joint design proposals. But to get there, it was central that the workshop participants brought not only their own knowledge, but also the knowledge they gained

from the 500-700 stairwell interviews they had conducted during the MapX phase. Furthermore, it was the collaborative ranking and joint proposal-making that created the seemingly most important component, which was not the design outcome in itself, but rather how these designs of building blocks on top of aerial maps functioned as ‘intermediate designs’ [64], resulting in numerous *design criteria*. These criteria were uncovered when all the workshop documentation had been analysed, i.e., the series of images every 15 seconds showing how the block building developed; the participants’ discussions during the design process captured in writing by the documenter; the workshop leaders’ recollections of the sessions and written reflections; and finally, the workshop leaders’ collaborative evaluations.

Such design criteria are well suited to being conveyed to urban planners, who in turn can recast them as specifications for future developers’ designs of urban space. If managed in this way, residents’ design criteria can directly influence planning strategies [64] and have the potential to lead to systemic change in the way residents’ preferences are included in the shaping of their daily urban environments [66]. In this way, the combination of MapX and Model Workshops could play a role in “[keeping] together what is already present in the territories in terms of resources or opportunities of a spatial and social nature and new trajectories of a contemporary city” [56, p. 79].

To sum up, the Model Workshop, when based on MapX surveys, is a tool that seems to work well for resident-driven shaping of design criteria for public space. It is important, however, to apply these two tools following the basic procedures described in the present book, where any adjustments should be ‘democracy-proofed’ [89, p. 1349] so as not to jeopardize the residents’ opportunities to gain the power the tools are intended to transfer to them from urban professionals.

To sum up, the Model Workshop, when based on MapX surveys, is a tool that seems to work well for resident-driven shaping of design criteria for public space.



STÄNKER
TIDIGT

UNG-
DOMAR

KARLHAN
B&A

KLÄD-
BUTIK

BUTIKER
OSYNLIGA

KRA
B&C

BANK-
MAT-
VITE

SE
FILM
STORTV

FANTOM
BOKSTA

KÄSKEJ
FÄRNS
B&A

ARTISTEN
SE

LINJEN
SÄMMAS

PAVLIST
K&P

BAGERI

ICA
B&A

CAFÉ

RESTA-
VRANG

SENCE

G7M

SMHALL

H122

H121

H120

GRONT
B&A

H119

PHOTO: STENBERG KAIN

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