TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN SWEDISH URBAN PLANNING

Abdul Khakee

ARBETSRAPPORT FRÅN CERUM
WORKING PAPER FROM CERUM
1989:05
TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN SWEDISH URBAN PLANNING

Abdul Khakee

ARBETSRAPPORT FRÅN CERUM
WORKING PAPER FROM CERUM
1989:05

Working papers from CERUM are interim reports presenting work in progress and papers that have been submitted for publication elsewhere. These reports have received only limited review and are primarily used for in-house circulation.

ISSN 0282-7727
FOREWORD

Studying the role and functioning of the building sector and the built environment in economic systems and the society at large has remained one of CERUM's core research areas. The nature of built infrastructure with its fixed location and importance for spatial interaction makes this research a central theme in spatial analyses.

The current paper by Khakee is the outcome of a long-term research programme on urban and municipal planning. The paper provides an overview of regional and urban planning in Sweden, its organization, and the evolution of the planning system during the period 1947 - 1987. It aims at a characterization of urban planning in a mixed economy. The author observes a particular dysfunction related to the problem of integrating the architectural/engineering tradition with that of social scientists. The lack of an adequate theory is recognized as another problem in the Swedish case.

Umeå, February 1989

Börje Johansson
Director of CERUM
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANNING FOR URBAN EXPANSION</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANNING UNDER ECONOMIC RETARDATION</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANNING UNDER UNCERTAINTY</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SYNTHESIS</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Swedish urban planning has undergone many decisive changes during the years following the enactment of the 1947 Planning and Building Act. In the four decades that have followed, urban planning has been extended from land-use planning to comprehensive planning of a large number of social and economic activities. The relationship between the central and local government has changed - from its emphasis on centralization toward greater decentralization. Planning methods have become less determinative and more exploratory.

It is difficult to trace this evolution of urban planning in well-defined phases. Sweden's 284 municipalities today present a very wide spectrum of planning practices. Planning has developed at different pace in different urban communities. Prior to the 1974 local government boundary reform, small communities like Eksjö hardly had any urban planning [See Karlström, 1977] whereas metropolitan communities like Stockholm were engaged in sophisticated planning based on large-scale computer models [Lundqvist, 1975].

In order to give a framework to our discussion, we shall nevertheless divide the postwar urban planning in Sweden in three periods:

(1) In the first period - between the end of the Second World War and the early 1970's - planning was geared to the production of housing, physical and social infrastructure. It coincided with the period of rapid economic growth. Land use issues dominated planning while economic considerations played a secondary role.

(2) The rate of urbanization slowed down considerably from the early 1970's and was followed by economic retardation as a result of the Oil Crisis and stagnation in industrial development. Planning during the decade that followed came to be characterised as crises management.

(3) Since the beginning of 1980's we see varying trends in urban planning. The main emphasis is on exploratory approaches like strategic choice, negotiative planning and step-by-step model. Environmental issues and local mobilization policies have received increasing attention. All these trends can be broadly characterised as planning under uncertainty.
Planning for urban expansion

Planning under economic retardation

Planning under uncertainty


Figure 1. Main Phases of Swedish Urban Planning

This is an oversimplified picture of the evolution of Swedish urban planning. The development in different periods overlaps (see figure 1). Our bases of the subdivision of the development are the general socioeconomic preconditions affecting urban planning. For example, during the 1970's when urban planning became increasingly determined by budgetary considerations, important changes were taking place in plan coordination and land use following the municipal merger reform creating on average one new municipality out of four old ones and the presentation of the first National Physical Plan.

In an another attempt to trace the evolution of Swedish urban planning, Holm [1985] divides the development in three periods: 1945-1960, 1960-1970 and 1970-1980. He explains this partly on the basis of the changes in the housing policy and housing market and partly on the intervening ambitions of community planning in Sweden. Holm contends that prior to 1970, planning had a greater impact on correcting market failures and abolishing or drastically reducing the impact of market forces in certain areas by means of administrative regulations and income distribution measures.

In this context, he makes an important observation that urban planning in Sweden suffered a serious blow of confidence from which it has not yet recovered. This contention has been supported by other authors. [See, for example Carlestam, 1979]. However, a new sense of purpose seems to pervade Swedish urban planning as witnessed by various attempts at strategic planning undertaken by various urban communities since the beginning of 1980's. [See, for example, Khakee, 1988 and Solbe, 1988].

We shall in the following sections analyse important events and policy changes which have had major impact on the evolution of urban planning. Each of the three phases will be discussed from three perspectives: (1) legislative, political and socioeconomic preconditions, (2) methodological aspects, and (3) organizational issues. We limit our discussion to the three major components of urban
planning: land use, housing and financial planning including the overall planning of various urban activities. A brief presentation of the local government organization precedes this analysis.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION**

The major components of the local government in Sweden are as follows. The highest decision making body is the municipal council whose members are elected in direct elections every third year. The council in turn elects an executive committee which is responsible for day to day management of the urban government and long term planning. In many municipalities, there is a small plan-preparatory committee, usually made up of full-time municipal commissioners, which examines all plan proposals before they are submitted to the executive committee.

In many municipalities, there is a special planning office or a special section in the central office which is responsible for the preparation of all overall plans. In others, such responsibilities are delegated to specific departments. Interdepartmental planning is handled in ad hoc groups which either have a semipermanent status or set up when required.

![Organisation Chart for Municipal Government](image)

Figure 2. Organisation Chart for Municipal Government.
There are also a number of specialised committees or boards responsible for current activities within specific spheres of responsibility. These committees have departments or offices at their disposal (see figure 2). The Local Government Act requires the appointment of mandatory committees for certain types of responsibilities, for example, building, environment and health protection, social welfare, etc. The Act also allows the appointment of optional committees for which there exists necessity.

The central government together with the county and municipal authorities have the total responsibility for planning. It is the central government and the Parliament who regulate the division of responsibility within the framework of this three-tiered system of government (see figure 3).

![Figure 3. The Division of Responsibilities between State, County Administration and Municipal Authorities [Source: Gustafsson, 1983]](image-url)
The Local Government Act of 1862 (amended recently in 1977) prescribes the power of the municipal government which includes the right to levy taxes and to decide how land is to be used and developed. The central government's power for intervention in local affairs is quite extensive. Through a system of national loan, tax and building code policies, it exercises decisive control over the type, extent and location of development. The expansion of the public sector in the postwar period has occurred mainly at the local level and includes the transfer of a large number of public activities from the central to the local government. At present the state sector's share is about 12% of GNP whereas the local sector's share is about 24%. However, the bulk of local government expansion has occurred within sectors covered by special legislation or has been accompanied by an extensive use of state-subsidized activities and overall superintendence over the provision of urban public amenities. Several studies show that the proportion of municipal activities regulated in this way constitute between 70 and 80% of the total volume of local expenditures. [See, for example, Ysander and Murray, 1983].

Municipalities prepare various types of plans. Some like the land use plans are compulsory whereas others like financial plans, which often include plans for various municipal sectors, are not obligatory but are prepared partly because the municipalities find them necessary and partly because central government agencies require information for national or regional planning. Municipalities are also required to prepare specific sectoral plans. Some, like the child care plan, have to be prepared quinquennially, others like the energy supply plan, are prepared following major changes in the national policy [for a complete list of sectoral plans, see SOU 1982].

PLANNING FOR URBAN EXPANSION

The foundation of a national urban policy dates back to the pro-planning atmosphere in the immediate postwar years. There was a general expectation of a postwar depression in the same fashion as after the First World War. The main idea behind the postwar economic planning was active public control in different sectors of the Swedish economy. However, the rapid economic growth that characterised the Swedish economy during the 1950s and 60s meant a strong reorientation toward market economic ideology.

Postwar rapid urbanization

The remarkable economic growth during this period was made possible by a rapid urbanization process and structural transformation in the industry. Table 1 below shows the growth of urban population 1985 as well as the population
in the three metropolitan areas (Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö) between 1940 and 1980.

Table 1. TOTAL POPULATION OF SWEDEN AND PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION 1940-1985.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population (Mill)</th>
<th>Urban Pop. According to the Lowest Pop. size for urban Locality (%)</th>
<th>Urban Pop. According to International Lowest Limit for Towns (%)</th>
<th>Metropolitan Population % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1 shows that the urban population has increased from 56% in 1940 to 81% by the end of the 1960’s using the lower population limit for urban locality (200 inhabitants) whereas the corresponding change using the higher population size for urban locality (2 500 inhabitants) is 47% in 1940 to 70% at the end of the 60’s. The rate of urbanization since the beginig of 1970s has been slow. However, the difference in urbanization rates according to the two definitions shows further loss of population in smaller urban localities and redistribution of population in favour of larger urban localities from the begining of the 70s to the beginning of the 1980s. A relatively grater part of the population came to be located in the three metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. The population in these three regions increased from 16% in 1940 to 30% at the end of 1960’s. During the 1970’s the metropolitan regions experienced stagnation in the population growth. However, since the begining of 1980’s their poulalion has increased. These changes in the regional distribution of the population have had serious social and economic implications. As we shall see later on in this paper, regional policy to redress the imbalances came to have a considerable impact on urban planning.
The 1947 Planning and Building Act

Local physical planning system which has evolved in Sweden is based on the 1947 Planning and Building Act and subsequent amendments to this legislation. Two important features of the Act were that it stipulated that municipalities present a survey of current and future land use in a master plan and it required municipalities to prepare detailed development plans, thus effectively eliminating private land use decisions within the plan area.

Two planning philosophies were expressed in this Act. The use of a comprehensive plan was expected to enable municipalites to control urban development in time and space and thereby protect social and physical environment. The detailed development plan was expected to serve as a legal instrument prescribing binding regulations for land use and layout in urban areas. The Act also separated ownership and development rights and the municipalities were not obligated to compensate private owners if the development plans prohibited exploitation of a particular area [Floderus, 1986].

Municipalities’ legal and economic ability to acquire land for development were successively increased. In 1949 the local authorities were accorded the right to expropriate land. Since 1950’s the municipalities were able to purchase all land necessary by means of generous loans from the central government. Later legislations required private developers to construct their buildings on land purchased or leased from the municipalites in order to qualify for public loans. Still later in connection with the environmental legislations, the municipalities received the power of preemptive purchase and their control over land extended to areas not yet covered by detailed plans, usually in environmentally sensitive rural districts.

Local physical planning did not develop as the legislators had envisaged. There are very few examples of urban communities which were developed according to their master plans. In these cases the success depended on the fact that the plans were coordinated with municipal housing programmes. In the majority of the municipalities, however, master plans were of limited significance. Municipalities were afraid to get the master plans ratified because of their unwillingness to tie themselves to the implied economic obligations. In 1965 an interview survey among the municipalites in connection with the State Commission on Housing showed that many municipalites were afraid of a more ambitious planning. The main reason was that private investment could not with any certainty be prognosticated and even less so steered by public planning [Lönnroth, 1974].
A national housing policy

The Planning and Building Act came into force at about the same time as the promulgation of a national housing policy. It proposed standards for housing (residential space per person) in order to overcome overcrowding. It specified the level of production and proposed stimulation of housing consumption by means of loans and grants that reduced the costs so that they should not exceed 20% of an industrial worker's wage. Municipalities were made responsible for the provision of housing. Whereas most of the housing (nearly 90%) was built by private companies, a substantial stock of multifamily dwellings came under the management of non-profit municipal housing companies which were established for this purpose.

From 1957, large municipalities were required to draw up five-year production programmes which were then submitted for approval by the central government and put together into a national housing programme. The latter included yearly provision of financial resources to municipalities for building of a specified number of dwellings according to a national quota system.

The implementation of the national housing policy resulted in the improvement of housing standards, increased municipal control of the housing market and rationally planned communities. But it did not help to solve a widespread shortage of housing in many growing urban communities. Under these circumstances, the central government decided to build one million housing units between 1965 and 1975. The "Million Programme" (as it was popularly called) was accomplished before the stipulated period.

Its implementation was made possible by dense urban development (high rise buildings and high densities) and planning of housing and housing areas was adapted to the industrialised methods of construction. Social environment was given secondary attention and there was a considerable time lag in the provision of local services. This development had considerable impact on town planning.

Growing regional and environmental problems

One of the most important feature of the postwar economic policy was an active labour market policy which hastened structural rationalization of the economy but at the same time led to high unemployment and subsequent out-migration from the rural areas, specially from northern Sweden. By mid-1960s regional imbalance had become such a serious problem that the central government introduced a regional policy programme. An important element in this policy was industrial support policy in order to provide investment subsidies and other forms of financial assistance primarily directed to the peripheral regions. Another feature of this
programme was regional development planning which meant that the county administration boards were made responsible for preparing regional plans which in the early years mainly consisted of regional data over population, employment and investment.

For the purpose of distribution of location grants and loans, a General Aid Area (roughly north-central, mid-northern and northern Sweden) and within this an Inner Aid Area were demarcated. Already by the beginning of 1970's, there was a major shift in the regional support policy - away from the provision of assistance primarily directed to the peripheral areas to a system of aid based on primary and secondary growth poles throughout the country. For this purpose, a far-reaching revision of municipal boundaries was carried out between 1967 and 1974. The revision was based on the estimation that a population of at least 8 000 was required for the efficient management of the public services like education, social welfare and technical amenities. The reform reduced the number of municipalities from over a thousand to the current figure of 284 i.e. on average one new municipality was created out of four old ones. This development has had a major impact on urban planning in the 1970s as we shall see in the next section of the paper.

Environmental protection was not a serious urban policy issue until the mid 1960s even though it formed one of the objectives of the 1947 Planning and Building Act. Expanded leisure time demanded additional recreational space. The dramatic increase in the private car-ownership during the 60s and the increase in population mobility indicated that the urban area was growing at a much faster rate than the population. Proliferation of summer homes along the ecologically sensitive coastal areas and encroachment on agricultural land were two other issues of environmental concern. The 1969 Environmental Protection Act aimed at strengthening the municipal powers to curtail the growing environmental problems but it was not until after the promulgation of a National Physical Plan in 1972 that any significant impact on urban planning could be noted.

These then are very briefly the main premises for urban planning during the years of rapid economic growth - from the end of the Second World War till the beginning of 1970s. Societal pluralism and the Swedish proclivity to avoid conflicts created a planning philosophy which was interventionistic so far as to redress market failures and the inequity in the society. Together with the strong attachment to market economy it meant that planning in nearly all fields remained no more than indicative.
Design tradition in planning

In terms of planning methodology, the introduction of the long-term master plan became a new and a difficult task for many municipalities. During the early period, municipalities lacked clear ideas about how to prepare a structural plan for an entire town or a city. Under these circumstances, the design tradition concerned with blue prints over land use was prevalent in many municipalities. But even in municipalities possessing administrative and technical skills, a method suited to the planning style of architects and engineers became commonly used. This method involved the preparation of a survey before a plan without paying much attention to the steps which lead from knowledge to action.

This method was gradually modified largely owing to some leading architects like Åhren, Lindström and Forbat who emphasised the role of choices involved in moving from knowledge (survey) to action (urban plan). Specially Forbat developed coefficients to translate demand for space for various activities into building volume [Folkesdotter, 1987].

There was a considerable lapse of time before the massive growth of American social sciences and the establishment of the rational planning school in Chicago in early 1950s had any impact on Swedish urban planning. The latter was very much influenced by British planning where the survey-plan model was so well institutionalized [Holm, 1971].

Coordination of social science and architectural traditions

Several factors came to influence the coordination of social science and architectural traditions in planning. It became increasingly realised that master planning was comprehensive in the sense that it covered all activities which municipalities were responsible for. Moreover, detailed development plans could be used as a means of controlling the location of private and public services and therefore required political goals to determine the content and design of plans. With the growth of the welfare state, local communities were made responsible for the production and distribution of an increasing number of social services. This type of planning required extensive use of predictions and forecasts with regards to changes in population, employment and other socioeconomic variables.

The procedure for preparing master plans came to be influenced by many disciplines including sociology, economics, traffic technology besides architectural design and engineering. It often involved two to three phases. In an inventory phase, the plan area was surveyed on the basis of geological, topographical, hydrological and other natural resource factors. The results of these surveys were maps
showing the suitability of land for various construction purposes. Other inventories included survey among potential builders e.g. industrial enterprises, housing companies and public agencies responsible for transportation, schools, social welfare facilities, etc. At the same time forecasts concerning the demographic development, employment changes were obtained from national surveys and plans. With the aid of this data, the need for building were then calculated and apportioned according to different uses. The transformation of the various activities into building volumes and land requirements were made with the help of assumed coefficients, many of which were based on thumb rules derived from long experience.

In the planning phase, the demand of land was matched against available resources. On the basis of desirable locational indicators, land sites were demarcated for industry, housing, roads and other purposes. Master plans came thereby to emphasise projection of demographic and other relevant variables, and location issues. Besides the coefficients to translate activity volume into spatial needs, accessibility to commercial and public services, social contentment, travel time were gradually included among the parameters for developing the plans [Lönnroth, 1974].

Ad hoc approach to planning

The planning procedure described above can be characterised as ad hoc. There was no well defined procedural model developed for the purpose. At best it indicated what criteria should steer location of activities and formation of development projects. In many municipalities, master plans were of limited significance. In municipalities where they were coordinated with the housing production programmes, they became instruments for obtaining state housing loans and for implementing projects initiated by building enterprises and other actors who had the economic power to steer the development [Floderus, 1986].

An important drawback in this type of planning was the lack of a workable procedure to relate master plans and detailed development (or site development) plan. The latter was required to be very detailed and was subject to a large number of statutory regulations. It became therefore quite common that municipalities made use a general layout or area development plan which enabled them to link detailed planning with socioeconomic development in a particular area. This type of intermediary plan had, however, no statutory status and was not binding in any way. Figure 4 outlines the main features of physical planning as practiced in a majority of the municipalities.
Financial planning

Financial questions became increasingly important with the ongoing expansion of local government. Until the mid 1960s, financial planning in many municipalities was limited to the yearly budget which outlined the municipal expenditure and income. The municipal budget was constructed on the basis of each municipal sector's requirements, level of priority and problems of supply. On the basis of assessment of the need for resources in the various sectors and the provisions of central government subsidies, the municipalities decided on the rate for local income tax.

Budget planning came gradually to be complemented by long-term financial planning generally covering a period of five years. It was based on forecasts concerning population development, changes in the tax base, investment plans and plans concerning running costs and the manner in which estimated expenditure was to be financed.

Financial planning was based on a demand-oriented approach. It meant that the demands for different services by the municipal citizens determined the annual and long-term budgets (see figure 5).

Figure 4. Principal Features of Municipal Physical Planning

Figure 5. Demand Approach in Financial Planning
Housing production programme

As mentioned earlier, large municipalities were required to draw up five year housing production programmes already in the 50s. Following the municipal merger reform in 1974, this requirement was extended to all municipalities.

The housing programme was based on two sets of calculations: one presenting the future demand for houses and the other presenting the possible production of houses in the following five years. The former set of calculations was based on demographic projections resulting in the estimation of the need for residentail space for different categories of households. The supply of homes was calculated on the basis of land available for building, building enterprises' production possibilities and municipal authorities' resources to manage building and provide auxiliary services. The major focus in these programmes was on the volume of housing and its possible location.

Besides the housing programme, municipal governments were required to prepare sectorial plans for school education, care of elderly, energy supply, etc. These plans were drawn up on the basis of national regulations and anticipated demands for services. In many municipalities, these plans were integrated with financial planning. The sectorial bias in municipal planning owes much to similar bias at the national level. National boards or agencies for education, social welfare, road transport, etc prepare long-term plans within their domains, requiring in turn similar planning at the county and local level.

Rationalism in urban planning

The early postwar urban planning dominated by the architectural tradition had little to do with rational arguments concerning policies. Gradually planning became a matter of systematic arguments rather than of intuitive design. Urban planning in Sweden, and for that matter in any other country, has never accorded with the textbook definition of rational planning in the sense that it involved consideration of all the available alternatives, identification and evaluation of all the consequences of each planning alternative, and selection of the best possible alternative in terms of selected goals and objectives. It became rational in the sense that political goals came to play an important role concerning the content and design of plans; greater emphasis was put on the drawing of proper conclusions from information collected and the role of choices involved in moving from knowledge to action was better recognised.

An interesting byproduct of the growth of rational planning ideas was the development and application of large-scale computer models in urban planning. In Sweden, only metropolitan Stockholm made some attempts toward planning with
this type of models. In other large and middle-sized municipalities, attention was directed toward forecasting methods for population, employment and other relevant variables, and on location issues.

The use of large-scale computer models in urban planning proved to be transient. By the time the computer models came under increasing criticism in the early 1970s, the rational planning ideas had been under strong criticism for some time [Lee, 1974]. The early hypothesis about the limitations of the human mind to formulate and solve complex problems (bounded rationality) received further support in the ideas about incrementalism in decision-making. According to the latter, decision-making consisted of limited comparisons and at any particular point of time it only dealt with a small portion of an organization's activities. The remaining being determined by past commitments [Lundquist, 1985].

Sectorialization of urban planning

The period between the enactment of the 1947 Planning and Building Act and the end of 1960s was marked by the consolidation of urban public administration in Sweden. As we noted earlier on, the expansion of the public sector took place mainly at the local level. This expansion was, however, accompanied by increased use of special legislation and regulations for municipal activities. A distinguishing feature of local government in Sweden is the role of committees or boards made up of elected representatives responsible for handling issues at all levels - from drafting to decision-making and implementation. With the expansion of the public sector, the number of statutory as well as optional committees in the municipal government increased resulting in corresponding expansion of administrative offices and staff.

Even if the administrative organization varies between municipalities of different sizes, an overall tendency during this period was to create offices corresponding to the various committees. The central government's intervention either through various regulations or through its own sectorial planning (requiring in turn municipalities to supply data for these plans) was to enhance sectorialization in the local administration.

Master plans implied a division of power in urban government which has been difficult to solve. During the period of urban expansion when the community development was geared to building of residential areas and infrastructure, the responsibility of long-term planning was vested with one of the special statutory committees responsible for building. But this organisational arrangement became increasingly unsatisfactory with the growth of the public services administered locally. Planning came to be spread
over a large number of committees and the corresponding departments. The committees and departments were oriented to the acquisition and defense of adequate supply of resources for their particular domain. This meant that the lack of coordination at the initial stages of planning often resulted in painful adjustments at advanced stages of the planning process [Khakee, 1983].

On the political side, planning for urban expansion in many urban communities was marked by considerable consensus between the elected representatives of different political parties. Urban politicians tended to put the achievement of substantial results before ideological viewpoints. It was not until after the introduction of the common polling day for parliamentary and local elections in 1970 that ideologies became increasingly important in local politics. There was a tendency toward coalition rule over party lines and it was not unusual that urban politics was dominated by one single political leader.

PLANNING UNDER ECONOMIC RETARDATION

The 1970s was a turbulent decade not only for Sweden but for many other countries in Western Europe. The exceptionally rapid rate of economic growth which had characterised development in the preceding two decades had already slowed down in late 60s and declined further in the 70s. The Oil Crisis and the subsequent stagnation in the industrial production enhanced the structural crisis in the economy. Unemployment rose in many industrial branches. Urbanization rate slowed down considerably and many municipalities experienced stagnation or decline in the growth of population. Housing production decreased or came to a stand still in many urban communities. The expansion of the public sector ceased. The major focus of urban planning shifted from the building of residential areas and infrastructure to financial and management issues.

Another factor contributing towards this turbulence was the political instability in the country. The 1970 as well as the 1973 General Elections resulted in a stalemate in the Parliament and in 1976 the four-decade-long Social Democratic rule came to an end. The non-socialist coalition which came into power was based on an uneasy alliance between three political parties and the resulting parliamentary instability delayed decisions on many major national issues.

The turbulence of the 70s was not only limited to the economic and political field. The sexual revolution in the 60s and the improvement of women’s role in nearly all walks of life had a profound impact on the family system. Marriages broke up at a rapid rate, young people left home early and the size of households continued to shrink. The radical
movements of the late 60s and early 70s were accompanied by a startling shift in values and beliefs. Major aspects of the traditional Swedish devotion to progress were called into question.

The Swedish urban planning was profoundly affected by these major trend-breaks which had befallen the society as a whole. There are, however, several more specific events which came to shape urban planning during this decade.

The municipal merger reform

The municipal merger reform which was completed by 1974 resulted in the creation of the "new" municipalities which were geographically quite large with substantially differentiated structure within their boundaries - a large central place, one or several urban localities, agricultural villages and purely rural areas.

Prior to the merger reform, many of the small municipalities had practically no planning. The new municipalities had never functioned as such before. All the previous knowledge and personnel relations which were considered adequate in the decision-making prior to the merger reform was no longer found to be sufficient.

The merger resulted in a new planning approach, namely planning of municipality as a multiorganisation with a big central administration responsible for the provision of services in different types of districts. Another impact of the reform was to enhance its role as purveyor of various sectorial plans (housing programme, energy supply plan, environmental protection programme, etc) to the regional and national authorities [Carlestam, 1977].

Housing segregation and central city clearnace

Implementation of the Million Programme led to the development of high rise and high density suburbs. Although the apartments were of high standard, the physical environment outside the buildings was very poor and lacked any architectural originality. Provision of essential services like day-care facilities and community-centers did not keep pace with the record level of housing construction. These residential areas combined all the disadvantages of outer suburban flat-living in terms of isolation, distance from urban facilities and lack of private space. The stagnation in population growth in cities and towns led to a considerable decrease in the demand of housing. Most of the resulting housing surplus came to be concentrated in the newly erected suburbs.

The building boom coincided with the immigration of more than one-quarter million guest-workers who received apart-
ments in these suburbs since much of the housing there was owned by municipal housing companies. Together with low-income earners, these immigrants created socially and economically segregated housing areas - a development which the central government had sought to avoid since the promulgation of the national housing policy [Goldfield, 1982].

The stratification in the housing market was enhanced by considerable increase in single-family dwellings. Deduction of interest charges in the taxation of personal income made single family homes available to a large group of middle-class households. The result of all this development was that the central government paid out large amounts of subsidies to guarantee low cost housing but it could not control the impact of its policy on the housing market [Holm, 1985].

Parallel to the building of the sterile suburbs, many towns had large scale central city clearance projects. These projects often led to pulling down of old residential buildings and erection of business and shopping premises instead. There was a widespread public revulsion against this kind of development. In 1973, the Parliament passed the Urban Renewal Act emphasizing building conservation and central city revival. The Act sought to avoid displacement i.e. to maintain residents in rehabilitated premises.

As a result of these developments, the major focus in urban planning shifted from planning of large-scale residential areas to other forms of planning including improvement of social and physical environment in the existing areas. The increased demand for single dwellings often outside main urban areas created a need for the coordination of this development with the expansion of services and communications. On the whole, municipal housing programme lost its central status in urban planning. In municipalities where these programmes were coordinated with the land use plans, a need for reorientation in the planning process became necessary.

Resource mobilization in local planning

The regional policy based on a system of primary and secondary growth poles became short-lived. Following the economic crisis, intraregional imbalance became a problem along with the interregional imbalance. Regional policy in the 70s was therefore reformulated to support mobilization of resources within every region. As a result of this approach, decision-making with regards to the disbursement of regional development resources was decentralised to the county councils. In municipalities, especially in regions with heavy unemployment, mobilization of local resources became an important aspect of municipal planning.
Accessibility to public services became an important issue following the municipal merger reform. The intellectual basis of this reform was the central place theory. The relevance of this theory must, however, be put in the context of an economic policy which emphasized market-based industrial growth, labour-market development emphasising labour mobility and concentration of public services to central places within every municipality in order to achieve cost-efficiency. The distributive aspects of the welfare policy, however, required that these services were accessible to population living outside the central places. This development led to politicization of the planning process. The issue of distributing investment in different urban localities within the municipality and the trade-off between efficiency and accessibility became important political issues [Floderus, 1986].

Conservancy scrutiny and urban growth

As mentioned earlier on, environmental protection was not a serious policy issue until the later half of the 60s when pressures from large industries and recreational activities involving heavy demands on natural resources became significant in some areas e.g. the west coast of Sweden. At the same time, the increased building of single family dwellings put pressure on agricultural land within the municipalities.

In 1972, the Parliament approved guidelines for the conservation of land and water resources. In the same year, the National Environment Protection Board was established to scrutinize and issue permits for polluting industries.

The guidelines - they are referred to as the National Physical Plan - did not constitute a physical plan for the whole of Sweden. It did not, for that matter, determine where development could and could not take place or how land and water areas were to be utilized from different purposes. What the guidelines did was to determine which demands for land and water resources were of national interest. In a bill based on these guidelines, the central government proposed a system of municipal plans in order to ensure that vital national interests were taken into consideration. A supplementary legislation to the Planning and Building Act linked conservancy scrutiny and building development [Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning, 1982].

Co-ordination between central, provincial and municipal authorities was a key theme in the new environmental planning system. The National Board of Physical Planning and Building, which was established in 1967 to provide technical advice to municipalities, proposed that municipalities, prepare a structure plan (formerly master plan) consisting of three sections. The first section would show
what development regulations were in force in different areas and how local authority would deal with development applications in areas not covered by detailed development plans; mainly rural areas. The second section should provide a synoptic picture of current and future land use. In certain cases, for example, a built-up area or an area for outdoor recreation, a more detailed analysis of future development and potential land-use conflicts was required. The third section should consist of proposals including ongoing surveys, land acquisition and the expansion of facilities for outdoor recreation. Detailed development plan was still the main instrument for controlling the building activities and had statutory status. Municipalities were naturally free to prepare intermediary plans for areas of potential interest for urban development [National Board of Physical Planning and Building, 1978].

These changes in urban physical planning did not diminish the local planning monopoly even if the central government’s influence increased. They helped to bring about a more uniform method of land use planning which was specially important for small municipalities. The county boards’ approval of the structure plans prolonged the planning process but it also contributed towards the coordination of plans so that they corresponded with the national policy objectives.

Growing critique of urban planning

When the non-socialist coalition came into power in 1976, its profile in planning matters became generally low. The Conservative Party in the coalition had very little interest in extending municipal planning powers. The economic crisis and the various trend-breaks during the 70s meant that for the first time since the end of the Second World War the meaningfulness of community planning was questioned. Forecasts had not been good enough to predict the trend breaks. It had resulted in the building of dreary housing districts and highly commercialised city centers. This criticism of public planning intensified just at the time when the market economy suffered from its most serious failures - structural crises in important industrial sectors like shipbuilding and steel industries.

There were, however, some countervailing factors which helped to preserve some interest in community planning. The municipal merger reform was one such factor. In large municipalities, investments in different urban localities, accessibility to public and private services and coordination of decisionmaking in the enlarged urban government became important planning issues. Another important development was the National Physical Plan and its subsequent impact on local planning for resource conservation. Regional policy with its emphasis on local mobilisation was a third factor which helped to counteract the growing
critique of community planning. Despite this, the fundamental premises for urban planning changed and so did its methods and organisation.

Planning methodology in a turbulent decade

Three major features characterised planning methodology during the 70s. Attention shifted from the theme of how to plan to the preconditions of planning or the lack thereof. With the retardation in economic growth, financial planning became all the more important in urban development. Even in the new structure plan, greater attention was devoted to time and cost issues. As the budget squeeze became increasingly troublesome, there was a desperate search for solutions which were just about good enough to survive the next day. Municipal planning came to resemble crises management with its emphasis on budget techniques and management models [Carlestam, 1977].

Physical planning based on master plans had come into disrepute already in the 60’s because of the limited use of such plans in decision-making. The National Board of Physical Planning and Building managed to revive some interest in long-term physical planning by issuing recommendations to municipalities to prepare structure plan. The main purpose of this plan was to implement the intentions of the National Physical Plan. The recommendations put a combined emphasis on national restrictions and local priorities. The Board stipulated that municipalities develop a rolling plan system within which plans are revised at regular intervals in order to take into account changes in environmental policy and new economic circumstances.

In contrast to the master plan, structure plan was required to render an account of all land within the municipal boundary (see figure 6). Municipalities had to demarcate land for different types of urban exploitation as well as for rural activities and preservation. The structure plans were then put forward to the county boards, who having proved their consistency within a regional framework, presented them to the central government. The latter assured that the national guidelines were followed by holding consultations with the county administration and local authorities. In case of the failure of such consultations, the central government could require the local authority under question to prepare a new structure plan.

Another important feature of the new physical planning was the evaluation of plan proposals on the basis of resource availability. The evaluation was often limited to the calculations of investment costs taking account of land conditions, transportation facilities, composition of single and multidwelling houses. These estimates acted as a check on planning based mainly on physical criteria.
With the growing uncertainty regarding economic growth and urban expansion, time-phasing of building became an important feature in the housing programme. Many large municipalities developed a form of "stock model" which meant that houses and infrastructure were built gradually rather than all at the same time. According to this approach, the demand for services like schools, daycare centers and recreation is very high when young families move into a new housing district. The demand decreases as the age structure of the households changes. In order to maintain an even demand of such services and assure an efficient use of public premises, the housing district is built in stages. The "stock model" was an expression of the growing concern for the scarcity of resources and of flexibility in planning in order to meet unexpected changes [Högberg, 1980].

The economic crisis also led the municipalities to adopt a resource-oriented approach in financial planning. According to this approach, it was the tax level and municipal incomes which determined the volume of services available to the municipal citizens. On the base of the tax level, resources available were estimated and distributed among the different service departments. An alternative was for the service departments to present departmental budget
within the framework of the resources available (see figure 7).

![Figure 7. Resource-oriented approach to financial planning.](image)

The municipal merger reform resulted in creating quite different preconditions for planning in the emerging municipalities. These were large, had a differentiated structure and the urban government came to resemble a large multiorganization. Territorial and administrative coordination became an important issue. It became all the more important because of the extraordinary expansion of different areas of the public sector during the 60s and early 70s.

In order to meet these needs, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities presented a model for coordinating various plans. In Swedish, the model is referred as GPF-model. According to this model, all planning was to be based on common planning premises which were made up of a set of common goals, common data-bank and long-term projections over strategic social and economic variables [The Swedish Association of Local Authorities].

On the basis of these premises, the responsible departments carried out land-use, economic, sectorial (activity) and personnel planning. The planning proposals were then subjected to an overall evaluation by the municipal executive committee which at the same time decided on the allocation of resources. Final plans, prepared on these bases, as well as their implementation were to be continuously examined for consistency with reference to the common planning premises. The model is summarised in figure 8.

The GPF-model outlined above is implicitly a cyclical planning model which provides an overall insight into the preconditions for planning and provides a framework for coordinating different forms of plans. The model is built on the assumption that the goals proposed by the municipal leadership would steer planning and urban government activities. However, the application of the model ran into difficulties in many municipalities. The main obstacle was that the politicians were unwilling to define goals for long-term development. When they did so, the goals were
presented in such a vague manner that they were hardly useful for preparing the plans. This meant that the common planning premises in most cases consisted of a lot of prognoses and technical data and only occasionally contained a diffused policy statement [Khakee, 1983].

![Diagram of Common Planning Premises and Implementation Process](image)

**Figure 8. Main Features of the GPF-Model**

**Politician of urban planning**

The municipal merger reform added to the uncertainty prevailing in urban governemnts following the rapid shift in values and the economic crisis. In large municipalities, the distributive issue became important as a result of political differences about the distribution of public investments in different urban localities. Increasing trade-off between environmental considerations on the one hand and urban growth demands on the other was another contributive factor. As we mentioned earlier on, the bulk of local government expansion occurred within the sector covered by special legislation. This increased the interdependence of national and local policy. The common polling day and the subsequent increase in the impact of national politics on local issues is an expression of this interdependence. Finally, the introduction of the GPF-model and the requirement of pronouncing goals for long-term planning was yet another reason for increased politicization of urban planning.

The municipal merger reform reduced the number of elected representatives from about 200,000 in 1951 to about 50,000
in 1974. Subsequently, the number rose to about 70,000 by 1980. At the same time, in large municipalities the proportion of local government officials to inhabitants increased considerably. Furthermore, a majority of the municipalities appointed municipal commissioners (elected representatives remunerated for full-time work). This development, together with an increasing interest in management-oriented municipal leadership implied that behavioural aspects of decisionmaking gained importance in planning methods. The rational model which assumed the coordination of efforts by politicians and planners during all phases of planning was regarded as unrealistic. Rational planning appeared to be worlds apart from the tactics of evasion, the dashed hopes and the desperate search for solutions which seemed to characterise much of the planning practice in the 70s.

Various models were presented to describe the interplay between municipal commissioners, spare-time politicians and local government officials. Such models described how planners tried or should try to gether politicians' intentions and ideas on urban development by using all sorts of techniques to elicit opinions [Brunsson, 1981]. Even the role of planners was questioned. It was increasingly contended that in the existing planning situation, planners' position was inbetween a beuraucratic apolitical role and fullfledged advocate role.

Organizing urban government for coordinated planning

As we have discussed previously, the development in the 70s led to a pronounced need for coordinating various urban plans. An important reaction to this need was the strengthening of the role of the executive committee for overall planning. Some of the planning functions of the building committee were transferred to the executive committee. Municipalities also tried in various ways to strengthen the interplay between the executive committee and the specialised committees. These solutions included either a personnel union between the executive committee and the specialised committees or creation of special advisory group of elected representatives from the specialised committees to advise the executive committee on planning matters or reorganising municipal functions into a small number of programme categories and appointing interdepartmental planning committees for each programme. On the administrative side, attempts to solve interde­partmental co-operation varied depending among other things on the size of the municipality in question. Small munici­palities (with less than 10,000 inhabitants) had already an integral administration with a single municipal office which was at the disposal of all the various committees. But in medium-sized and large municipalites with separate offices for each committee, attempts were made to coordinate planning by appointing ad hoc groups to handle
large-scale and complex projects or by creating special unit for coordinating plans.

Many of the organizational solutions aimed at avoiding "negative coordination" i.e. making sure that the committees and the offices were not at cross purposes. Positive coordination in the sense of real joint planning was difficult to achieve. Traditional departmental rivalry, enhanced by a squeeze on resources, made the sectional interests unwilling to implement a solution which might ultimately reduce their status or resources they controlled.

**PLANNING UNDER UNCERTAINTY**

The state of urban planning in the 80s contain significant contradictions. Since 1982, Sweden has experienced a fairly good rate of economic growth. However, there is a considerable amount of uncertainty about whether this growth would continue in the future. Moreover, Sweden like most other developed countries, has become information-intensive and makes increasing use of computer technique and electronics in the production of goods and services. This development implies that the Swedish economy becomes even more integrated with other economies at the same level of development. Furthermore, the increasing economic integration in the European Community also influences the Swedish economy regardless of the fact that Sweden becomes a member of the Community or not.

1980s and the foreseeable future seem to be characterised in many domains by much turbulence. Many features of politics, economy, technology, social values and external relations show much inbuilt uncertainty. Many of the variables which are of crucial importance to planning pose considerable amount of uncertainty. The AIDS disease and the suddenly discovered possibility of relatively cheap superconductors illustrate surprise events of far-reaching implications.

**Antiplanning bias and the new legislations**

Under such circumstances there is an obvious scepticism toward long-term community planning. The antiplanning tendencies from the 1970s have not diminished. But there are quite a few examples of urban communities where planners have recognised the presence of uncertainties and have tried to use various approaches like strategic choice and future studies in order to handle uncertainty more explicitly. The case of planning has been further strengthened by three newly enacted legislations - the 1983 Social Service Act, the 1987 Environmental Protection Act and the new Planning and Building Act. These legislations
extend urban governments' planning responsibilities beyond the traditional control of urban growth and urban renewal to include nature conservancy and environmental planning and revitalisation of the social welfare structure.

One of the principal distinctions between the Planning and Building Act of 1947 and 1987 respectively is that the latter envisages that every municipality prepares a comprehensive development plan covering the entire municipal area. It also puts a greater emphasis on the role of municipal authorities in determining the future municipal structure and in enacting the plan. The new Act also includes directives of how municipalities should implement national guidelines for the conservation of natural resources. The county administration retains the authority of approving the plans. In case of disagreement between municipal and county authorities, the central government acts as arbiter. Another feature of the new Act is that a municipal authority can no longer refer to the directives in the plan but is obliged to scrutinize every individual construction proposal if so required. This puts a new demand on urban planning since the urban renewal which characterises development in many cities and towns often involves planning of individual sites.

Four years prior to the enactment of the new Planning and Building Act, a new Social Service Act was passed by the Parliament. This Act requires efficient coordination of social policy with far-sighted housing policy and town planning. The Act prescribes co-operation between social welfare bodies, the designers of homes and physical planners. The emphasis is on preventive measures and a long-term revitalization of community's social structure.

The third legislation with important implications for municipal planning is the 1987 Environmental Protection Act. This Act is based on further work which has been carried out since the first National Physical Plan was presented in 1972. The guidelines on natural resource conservation presented in early 80s were more specific than the predecessors and contained details on energy issue, mineral resources, water management and the maritime environment. The guidelines are much more specific on the geographical location of industries, vacation cottage development, fresh water conservation and areas of nature conservancy and outdoor recreation. The new Environmental Act envisages that these issues are linked to the municipal comprehensive plan and that municipalities present measures for implementing the guidelines [Ministry of Housing and Planning, 1982].

Human capital in regional development

Regional policy underwent yet another metamorphosis during the 80s. It has been increasingly recognised that human
capital, entrepreneurial traditions and infrastructure are vital factors in determining development potentialities of an urban place in an information intensive society. Places with higher education facilities are considered specially endowed. Therefore, improving the climate for innovation and strengthening research and education have become key issues in the regional policy decisions [Back and Eriksson, 1988].

As a result even the county planning has undergone alterations. The emphasis has shifted from collection of statistical data to a more decision-oriented planning in order to develop competence in every region. County authorities have increased their control and share of development resources for this purpose. For municipalities, this implies a further need to coordinate their plans with regional activities.

Recapturing the civic spirit

Various factors have contributed towards new demands for public participation in municipal decision-making during the 80s. Municipal merger reforms considerably reduced the direct personal contact existing between voters and elected representatives. At the same time politicians came to be increasingly concerned with general political issues than with local questions. Social and aesthetic conditions in the new housing areas also led to disenchantment and alienation among many municipal citizens.

Various efforts have been made during the 80s to recapture something of the civic activity and spirit of co-operation which prevailed in the small municipalities. Some municipalities have established local bodies at sub-municipal level. Others have tried to decentralise some of the municipal activities at sub-municipal level or in housing districts. Yet others are experimenting with greater tenant involvement in rehabilitation issues. Some municipalities have created legal instruments to facilitate tenant purchase of apartments, especially from the municipal building companies. What all these experiments amount to is to detach belief in traditional top-down planning at the local level and stimulate initiatives from individuals, consumer groups and other vested interests. Increased flexibility of planning process is already underway in many municipalities as result of these decentralisation efforts [Kolan, 1987].

Doubts against national urban policy

1980s has also been a decade when serious doubts have been raised against the national urban policy. Municipalities complain that the national building norms are too inflexible and drive up construction costs to the extent that development has been curtailed. The central autho-
rities defend the norms as less costly in the long run since new and rehabilitated buildings will last longer and have a few maintentance problems. They maintain that the building standards have given the Swedish people the best equipped homes in Western Europe [Goldfield, 1982]. Similar complaints have been raised against the statutory requirements regarding the provision of schools, child care centers and other social services; and also against the inflexibility in the local government as a result of the compulsion of having special statutory committees and corresponding administrative organisation.

The Local Government Act was amended in 1977 in order to reduce specific rules applying to the organisation of municipal statutory committees and the central government’s detailed control of local government activities in a variety of ways. A special State and Local Government Committee has been set up to examine regulations and policy decisions causing municipalities additional expenses. Certain municipalities have been granted special status to experiment with a more flexible committee and administrative system [Gustafsson, 1983].

These developments toward greater local freedom have taken place at the same time as the municipal planning monopoly has been challenged in connection with national physical planning aimed at establishing a national management of land and water resources for the protection of environmental values. What is not clear, moreover, is how it would be possible to detach local development from national policies under the present circumstances when interdependence between the two is becoming all the more strong and roughly 80 percent of municipal expenditures are in fulfillment of obligations under national legislation.

Methods for uncertainty resolution

The requirements of coordinating plans according to the GPF-model and of preparing structure plan according to the national guidelines for environmental protection resulted in some form of uniformity in middle-term planning in a majority of the municipalities. As for long-term planning, municipalities have adopted different approaches. Five such approaches can be distinguished - three of which are concerned with how urban planners handle uncertainty more explicitly.

The most publicised among the latter three approaches has been the use of futures research techniques. These techniques include Delphi, trend extrapolation, scenario-writing and various system models. The main focus of futures studies in several municipalities has been to generate knowledge about alternative future developments, in order to evaluate possible consequences plans decided upon in the face of future uncertainties, will have on the present.
The most commonly applied technique has been the construction of alternative scenarios of municipal development in light of likely national and international changes. These scenarios often depict alternative end states which are indicative of the probable outcomes and are used as criteria (a) to identify key areas which need more detailed and specific strategic studies, (2) to delineate development strategies (policies and actions) in order to reach the most desirable future, and (3) to acquire understanding of the underlying processes of change. This information together with the knowledge-base in the scenarios provide guidelines for middle-term and short-term planning (see figure 9).

Planning system according to this approach consists of three major levels: (1) futures-oriented planning which includes an analysis of alternative future end-states with a time horizon of anything between 10 and 30 years and outlines the choice of means to reach the most desirable end state, (2) operational planning establishes how, when and in what sequence strategies shall be implemented. Structure plan, financial plan and housing programme are the instruments for this purpose. (3) Implementation planning involves the actual actions taken in order to put into action the means and resources available. Budget and detailed development plan are the major instruments to this end [Khakee, 1988].

Another approach - the strategic choice approach - has been developed by the Center for Operational and Organizational Research in England and has been applied by urban governments in several Western European countries including Sweden. Strategic choice is a way of developing a full
understanding of the scope and limitations of current decision-making in light of various obstacles and uncertainties. The types of uncertainty explicitly examined concern environment, values and related areas of choice [Strömberg, 1986].

As opposed to sequential planning process which includes two aspects of planning namely designing possible courses of action and comparing them in light of their likely consequences, the strategic choice approach introduces two more planning modes - one deals with the shaping of problems where the possible connection between different fields of choice are examined and the other relates to the choosing of preferred courses of action and deferring decisions for later implementation (see figure 10).

Figure 10. A Process of Strategic Choice
The strategic choice approach identifies four major operational problems: (1) find solutions, (2) express preferences, (3) expose latent uncertainties and select exploratory actions to reduce them, and (4) select immediate commitments in the face of remaining uncertainties. The approach is not so much concerned with producing a plan as with gaining a better understanding of the problems urban governments are faced with currently and in the future. One important technique developed within the framework of this approach is AIDA (Analysis of Interconnected Decision Areas) which uses graphic representation of the interrelations between various options for every decision area in order to generate alternatives systematically [Friend and Hickling, 1987].

An important by-product of the large number of management ideas and actor-oriented models of planning during the 70's was the step-by-step approach which has been explicitly or implicitly adopted by several municipalities. The main principle of this approach is that comprehensive planning should be as less detailed as possible since restrictions and obstacles make the planning results out of date soon after their formulation. Too much information in an information-intensive society tends to confuse rather than clarify necessary conditions for decision-making is a major contention among the advocates of this approach. Comprehensive planning according to the step-by-step model leads to a general picture of the development possibilities including prerequisites and restrictions. [See, for example, Sahlin-Andersson, 1987].

On the basis of this general picture, operational plans for different sectors are prepared. The feedback from the implementation of these plans as well as information on new restrictions and prerequisites lead to a revision of the overall planning premises. The step-by-step approach gives increased freedom of action in the long-run and allows the urban government to choose a development path which is more adaptive to sudden changes but at the same time take into consideration long-term goals and resource conservation issues (see figure 11).

Comprehensiveness in step-by-step model is not interpreted as rigorously as in the conventional planning models. As we mentioned above, comprehensive planning results in a very broad picture of preconditions determining urban development and is supposed to function as guidelines for the sector plans. Emphasis is on flexibility which allows for the revision of this overall analysis. Flexibility also implies that the urban government can follow another development path if there is a substantial change in the preconditions.
Declining belief in traditional top-down planning has been quite common in many small municipalities situated in regions with serious structural problems. There is a gathering interest in planning approaches involving mobilization of local resources and decrement of reliance on external forces of development. Mobilization approach makes use of "ad hoc" planning involving politicians, local government officials, entrepreneurs and citizen groups.

The principles of this approach have been derived from the agropolitan model of planning for developing peripheral regions of the world [Friedmann and Weaver, 1979]. In the version applied by some urban governments in Sweden, municipality provides a territorial framework for mobilising local resources. The latter involves commitment
and awareness of the opportunities that each problem presents so that economic stagnation can be turned into sustained growth. Self-reliance in the Swedish context has never meant restrictions on external economic transactions but has meant making use of local productive capacities within the community and their interplay with corresponding development potentials in the surrounding world.

Since such planning has been "ad hoc" in character, no attempts have been made to develop an operational framework for this approach. Furthermore, these municipalities have carried out mobilization efforts at the same time as they have worked with traditional land-use and activity planning. In some municipalities, an overall framework has been prepared in order to relate the two types of planning.

Negotiative planning

Since the early 80s, the latest newcomer among planning approaches, namely negotiative planning, has drawn considerable amount of attention. Planning has always involved negotiations. It has meant that problems are defined from subjective points of view, reflecting the perspectives of those involved. It has meant that when cooperation between various actors is needed, adjustment of perspectives has become necessary and this in turn has made negotiations obvious. For example, cooperation between private developers and municipal authorities in the preparation of housing programme has nearly always involved negotiations.

The reason why negotiative planning has acquired great currency arises out of two major sets of circumstances. The first set of circumstances relates to the new legislations which have come into force in the 80s. The Environmental Protection Act involves municipal authorities in negotiations with regional and national interests as well industries and citizen groups with regard to the use of natural resources and preservation of a good environmental standard. The new Planning and Building Act requires scrutiny of individual developers' proposals as well as increased participation of citizens in planning process. The Social Service Act prescribes co-operation between social welfare bodies, the designers of homes, town planners and citizens. These legislations enhance the need for negotiations. Another set of circumstances relates to the impact of research about power relations in the society. It has been increasingly recognised that decision-making in market-based welfare economies is determined by interplay between the market, the bureaucracy and the polity. Decision-making has to look at the negotiative aspects, power relations and conflicting interests between these three forces. Planning can no longer be "top-down" in which implementation is defined in terms of coordination, control or obtaining compliance with policy [Khakee, 1987].
So far negotiative planning has been subject of a large number of empirical studies. No real efforts have been made to structure these analyses or develop operational framework for such planning.

Towards increased flexibility in planning

The review of different approaches should not give an impression that all Swedish municipalities explicitly make use of one or the other approach in their planning. Planning in many municipalities is still characterised by crisis management rather than a systematic selection of approaches and methods. Moreover, both mobilization approach as well as negotiative planning have so far been applied in terms of a hard nosed realism devoid of theory. It is too early to predict the tenability of the methods for handling uncertainty, mobilising resources and negotiations in the field of planning. A general trend in many municipalities is toward increased flexibility in planning. The use of computer-aided planning and design methods provide a useful support in this direction.

Devolution of planning functions

The most notable organizational change in urban government during the 80s has been the decentralization of decision functions to sub-municipal committees or to some other similar arrangements. Decentralisation implies changes in the committee system, in the relationship between field staff and administrative staff and in relations between municipal authorities and citizens.

Urban government is also changing gradually as a result of the extensive use of computers and computer-aided data-bases. The nature of information exchange between citizens and municipal authorities and within the urban government is changing. The municipal government is becoming less hierarchic and planning more of a teamwork.

We mentioned earlier that planning during the 70s became politicised. This trend has continued in the 80s. The decision-centered view of planning has often driven politicians to exercise detailed control of the day to day administration. The appointment of senior officials is often determined by political qualifications. The issue of accommodating political and civil service role in urban decision-making and trade-off between overall steering and detailed control have become important issues.
CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SYNTHESIS

The preceding analysis of the evaluation of Swedish urban planning has been selective. In order to bring forth the broader aspects of urban planning in a mixed economy, we have not included in our account any detailed discussion of specific questions like housing, transportation, environmental protection and a range of other policy issues.

We have deliberately taken a critical stance in our analysis. This fact should not conceal the fact that compared to many other countries of Western Europe, Swedish municipalities are well planned with regards to the provision of high standard housing, community services and the preservation of open space and green belts. The impact of the national urban policy is equally evident in the general prosperity enjoyed by citizens in every Swedish municipality.

We shall conclude this paper by recapitualating some of the most significant aspects of Swedish urban planning as it has developed in the past four decades and by speculating on the important issues for the future.

Some significant aspects

The question of coordinating physical, economic and social dimensions of planning has been a real issue throughout the entire history of urban planning in Sweden. The GPF-model presented an "institutional" solution to this problem but the lack of political realism and sound methodological premises made it difficult to apply this model successfully. One obstacle has been the problem of integrating the architect/engineer tradition on the one hand and the social scientist tradition on the other. The methods to translate population and other data to spatial needs, use of some elementary evaluation techniques in land-use planning and application of social indicators in housing programmes can be regarded as ways to overcome this obstacle. But they have not been adequate enough for this purpose. Another obstacle for coordination has been the fragmentation in the public sector. Interplay between the various subsectors at the national and local level has been so strong that urban planning has not able to cope successfully in reducing this sub-sectorial interplay and make planning more integrative.

A remarkable feature of the Swedish welfare model has been the combination of a national urban policy made up of a building code, equitable tax and loan systems and special legislation on the one hand and municipal planning enjoying extensive power over land use and over the production of a wide variety of technical and social services, on the other. This combination has been an important factor in implementing an extensive welfare programme throughout
Sweden. It worked well during the period of rapid economic growth and political stability but has been under considerable strain as political and economic uncertainties have increased.

The municipal merger reforms carried out in 1952 and 1974 respectively represent an extraordinary development with important implications for urban planning. The reforms were carried out in order to achieve an efficient management of public services; at the same the mergers made it possible for the central government to transfer responsibilities to the local authorities. Faced with the problem of governing large territories, the municipalities were compelled to plan the location of investments in time and space despite the cumulative occurrence of trend-breaks and increasing uncertainty.

Throughout the evolution of urban planning in Sweden, there have been forces working for and against planning. Sweden is a market economy in which decisions by households and firms play a vital role. A large number of conflicts between the long term goals of urban development and resource conservation and short-term requirements of stabilization characterise this evolution. Planning has been quite successful during the period of urban expansion but limitations of planning became apparent in face of cumulative uncertainty during the 70s. Had it not been for countervailing factors like the need for planning large municipal territories following the 1974 merger reform and the growing concern for environmental protection, it is quite probable that Swedish urban planning would have lost its foothold during the turbulent decade.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the lack of an adequate theory and qualified methods has been an important drawback in urban planning throughout the entire period. Survey-before-plan approach during the 40s and early 50s suited architects but was not a planning method in the sense that it referred to any established way of inferring conclusions from assumptions and evidence. The rational planning model played an important role during the intervening period till the planning crisis in the 70s. Both the GPF-model and the requirements for preparing a new type of landuse plan in light of the national guidelines for the use of land and water resources are good examples of rational planning ideas. But the academic criticism of rationalism in decision-making and the increased use of ad hoc decision methods during the economic crisis represented forces acting counter to rational planning ideas. To what extent the recent approaches to handle uncertainties and integrate planning and implementation will contribute toward improving urban planning methodology in the long run is too early to say.
Issues of future importance

The most important issue relates to the possibilities of introducing new methods and improving current approaches in the field of urban planning. How to plan for urban environment and other forms of land use in light of the need to build up immaterial infrastructure, create alternative sources of energy supply and conserve natural resources? How to plan for stability in the urban system under increasing number of risks for changes? Future development might be a hard-nosed realism devoid of theory or radical improvement of planning methods and re-professionalisation of planning practice in order to handle uncertainty.

The second issue relates to the coordination of national and local policies. On the one hand the protection of environmental assets and the retention of the basic tenets of the welfare state require a strong interplay between local and national policies. On the other hand the reduction of detailed state control is regarded as an important prerequisite for revitalising local potentialities for development. The amendment of the Local Government Act in 1977 is an important indicator of further decentralisation of responsibilities. However, there are important contradictions in the current development of relations between central and local authorities and future development may lead to a new kind of relationship between central and local authorities.

Citizen participation has been an issue in urban planning throughout the development of urban planning. As a result of the municipal merger reform and increased concern for urban environment and natural resources, citizen participation has become even more important. Since 1982 municipal council elections, small local parties have gained increasing importance in municipal politics. Split voting has become common. Voters have tended to adopt a special local standpoint and express dissatisfaction with the way in which the major national parties handle local issues. The election results reflect a crisis of legitimacy for the established parties. It might be that the establishment of subcouncils and other local bodies might provide these parties with an opportunity to reestablish contacts with citizens. It might be that some other means would be needed to involve citizens more actively in local decision-making. Whatever the solution, citizen participation would remain a real issue for Swedish urban planning in the coming years. As yet there are no proper methods available to organise systematic input of citizen ideas in the planning process; especially for planning of large and complex projects.

The role of urban government has undergone some important changes in the past few years. Traditionally its main function has been to administer a large number of public
services according to the requirements in the Local Government Act and special legislation. Urban governments have also by means of land use planning measures tried to attract industrial investments. Following the structural crisis and the development toward information-intensive society, municipalties have become increasingly involved in improving research and development facilities and even participating in industrial ventures. Urban governments have become active participants in the economic development of the community. The implications of these new responsibilities are far reaching for urban planning.

REFERENCES


Khakee, A. "Starkare förhandlare behövs i kommunerna" ("Strong negotiators are needed in the municipalities"). Byggforskning 7:33-34, 1987.


Ysander, B-C. and Murray, R. Kontrollen av kommunernas (Control over the Municipalities). The Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research, Stockholm, 1983.