# METHODOLOGY FOR SUSTAINABLE E-PARTICIPATION: REDISTRIBUTION, REPRESENTATION AND RECOGNITION

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There is often too much confidence in the capacity of technologies to solve complex democratic problems. Information and communication technologies (ICT) have rather widened the gaps between different groups. ICT strengthens undemocratic influence on the political agenda, the information becomes more difficult to overview and interpret and the fragmentation of the media increases the differences between various groups' worldviews and reduces involvement in the local common.

A methodology that stands on a radical democratic ground departs from a broader understanding of citizens as e-participants. To find more sustainable e-strategies for participation we have studied the information structures in relation to an urban planning process in Husby, Stockholm. Based on these findings we suggest an IT-strategy to strengthen existing democratic structures. This entails redistribution of the means to participate with public available decision-support systems, a clarification of the unequal representation in the public sphere, support of a variety of alternative public spheres, and to strengthen recognition of the community through a shared archive.

## 1 Introduction

In order to improve citizen participation in government with information and communication technologies (ICT), participation has to be seen in a wider context, and not only focus on the relation between government and citizen. The lack of equality in access to ICT, reliability of information, and manipulation of public opinions, are some of the threats to e-government that calls for a broader understanding of citizens as e-participants. In a recent review of EU funded e-participation projects, the authors point out the importance of looking at a wider participatory situation and to put the concept of e-participation in context of the field of participation[1]. This has also been recognized by several researchers in the fields of e-participation by Macintosh et al. [2], Sæbø et al. [3], in Dahlberg's [4] overview of discourses on e-democracy, and in reviews of the field of e-government by Heeks and Bailur [5], the authors point to the fact that it is usually an unarticulated liberal or deliberative conception of democracy that forms the basis for technology development.

The area of e-participation is also characterized by technical determinism. For instance, Helbig, Gil-Garcia, & Ferro [7] point out that there is too much confidence in the technologies' capacities of solving complex democratic problems. This despite the fact that most research on the digital divide and differentiation indicates that technology often increases socio-economic inequalities rather than reduces them, and, as Norris and Schradie [7], [8] note, it seems that these differences are not primarily about access to technology but rather about how to leverage technology to reach out to influential groups. Not surprisingly, authors such as Macintosh et al. [2] emphasize that the digital differentiation may cause severe problems with regard to strengthening democracy through increased e-participation.

Similarly, Sæbø et al. [9] call for greater in-depth knowledge of the citizen as an eparticipant, especially given the differences in gender, nationality, social grouping, and cultural background.

Taken the critique of the current e-participation field into account. Instead of assuming an ideal democratic situation or ideal citizens when developing tools for e-participation we start from a complex reality in a suburb in north part of Stockholm, Sweden. In Husby in 2007, an extensive dialogue process, which involved thousands of people and generated numerous suggestions, was conducted to discuss and develop a new structure plan for the area. However, in practice, the dialogue didn't change anything of importance and participants felt duped by authorities, resulting in a lengthy conflict not yet solved year 2013. In order to understand the preconditions for a more collaborative government, we have studied the information structures at the site Husby, and based on these findings we suggest how the existing information institutions can be developed with the help of ICT.

Next, we describe the location Husby and our theories. Methods are described in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, we describe the results of our studies. In Chapter 5, we discuss how the results can be used to develop a sustainable participatory IT strategy. A concluding remark is given in Chapter 6.

#### 2 Husby, democratic justice and the fragmentation of the common

Car fires and riots have put Husby and other parts of Stockholm on the map in a global context. The events of May 2013 in which 76 cars burned as well as 21 schools and kindergartens, and where youth threw stones at police, is described in the media as a symptom of a growing alienation in suburbs marked by immigration, social problems and unemployment. The media picture is in sharp contrast to the quiet everyday life in Husby, a suburban idyll surrounded by large nature areas. Around 12,000 people live there, mostly in rental apartments, in an area built for small-scale encounters and community.

The area brings together many immigrants, 7,393 were born outside Sweden,, a total of 85.4% compared to 33% in the entire of Stockholm [10]. The unemployment rate is 8.8% (Stockholm 3.3%), and the total number of people working is 55% (77% in the entire Stockholm). Voter turnout is similarly low 55% (81% in the entire Stockholm).

There are strong interests to expand the area and renovate the stock of apartments built in the 70s. The development plans have been put on hold due to protests from residents that among other things are afraid of increased rental costs and who don't necessarily agree with increased traffic in the area being a good idea. This and other events such as the relocation of the community hall and privatization of the health centre have created strong reactions and united local associations around the defence of Husby's special values. Demonstrations and occupations of different premises has created negative headlines and conveyed an image of authorities who do not listen and citizens who are forced to take matters into their own hands to avoid being run over by officials in collusion with powerful construction companies.

Partly the conflict is about different worldviews and problem definitions, what can be seen as an information problem, and the media plays a crucial role. The lack of *redistribution* of the technical, economic and cultural opportunities to participate in politics by being able to access information, and be able to produce discourse, is something emphasized in the discussion on digital differentiation. As the political agenda to a large extend is developed in the public spheres, *representation* here is just as important as representation in elections [11]. In addition to redistribution and representation, *recognition* of one's own identity in the public sphere is also important for democratic justice. To have the own worldview confirmed by media, and that the problems you think are important also is treated as political, is crucial as an incitement to participate in the development of the common.

Ekberg [12], shows how Swedish journalists are concentrated to the big cities, and in some few neighbourhoods. There is a clear relationship between where the journalists live and news reports. Where they live, news is densely reported, and it is more positive, outside journalists neighbourhoods there are fewer articles. In the outer suburbs only negative things seems to happen. Virtually all articles are about crime or social problems. The source of the article is often the police or a municipal official, virtually never any residents living in these areas. This shows how journalists lack a personal network in these areas.

When the dominating public sphere is unreliable or information scarce, informal networks are important information disseminators. As in shown in urban network studies, participation in informal networks can be structured along parameters such as class, gender, or ethnicity, verifying the assumption that equals are looking for equals [13]. People with similar interests or similar problems are simply attracted to each other as they acknowledge each other's perspectives, codes, and rituals. In this perspective, community is about recognition and shared cultural norms and values developed in interaction between individuals over time. Here the significant contribution by information technology is that the importance of time and physical location is reduced. It becomes easier to tie common bonds with peers at a distance. In practice, this means that the common room is moved from one based on time and geographical proximity to one where interests do not only depend on time or physical location. For example, instead of having a conversation with people in your physical vicinity that you might not know very well, the mobile phone allows a conversation with friends at a distance with whom you might prefer to talk. To understand the individual's motivation to participate in the shaping of the common local rooms, one must understand how interests due to shared geographical space intersects with other communities of interest. Here you can see the individual as more or less fragmented into various communities of interest that can be shared by people in the same geographical space, or with people in completely different geographical spaces. ICT enables fragmentation, but can also be used to reconnect people who share the same physical location by facilitating involvement in local affairs.

## **3** A mix of methods to get a complex image

In a radical democratic perspective, it is important to recognize antagonistic interests. Especially urban development projects are surrounded by conflicting needs. In Husby, what is at stake is not the colour or the location of new buildings, but that some people will not be able to afford to live in the buildings if renovated. Therefore, a deliberative public debate is difficult to implement, since it is impossible to reason rationally with a party that has a goal to replace the other party with more appropriate citizens. Furthermore, the public sphere where the political agenda is developed, might not be representative for all, but dominated by strong groups and the problem definitions limited to a few discourses. A broad deliberative discussion may therefore not be possible, but within certain limits, outside the hot political sphere, it may be possible to develop the issues further. Fraser emphasizes the importance of so-called subaltern counter-publics, alternative forums for groups that do not get recognition in the dominant sphere, where their own discourse can develop in conversation with peers. A discourse when developed can influence the dominant discourse. A methodology for understanding political participation in a broad sense therefore is about looking at a situation from different perspectives and with a mix of methods, without having a too strict definition of participation or the public sphere. Here the concepts discussed above, redistribution, representation and recognitions, are useful as a way of analysing the level of participation.

In order to understand the information spheres in Husby we have looked at the situation from two different perspectives; from the perspective of the dominating public sphere and from the perspective of living and working in Husby. To understand what images form the public opinion about Husby, we have looked at the dominating public sphere of news media. Herein, we have focused on representation and identity. We have not closer reviewed the kinds of identities that are recognized in newspaper articles, however, we have calculated how different age groups and professional identities are represented, and we have looked at how they are represented, as subjects or objects. In this way, we can quantify indicators of representation, without immersing ourselves in a more detailed analysis of the discourse. We have examined the 99 articles and notices available from 2011 related to the place Husby in Stockholm, by searching in Swedish local, daily and evening papers collected in the database Mediearkivet.

To find alternative public spheres, informal networks important for information exchange and debate locally, we have conducted semi-structured interviews with eight people who live and/or work in Husby that we have come into contact with when we worked in Husby with various cultural projects. They range in age from 26 to 83 years, 3 women and 5 men, and more than half have roots outside Sweden. Two people are government representatives, two run their own media channels, the others are active in community programs or are information brokers in different ways. All are thus special and have deep knowledge of Husby, but are not representative for all residents.

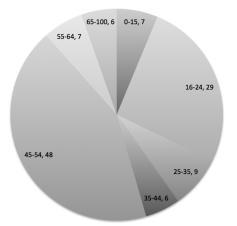
To open up more creative dialogues with a larger audience, we have implemented an art exhibition on the theme "Performing the common" where a group of international artists together with local artists during a period of two years have explored the theme unconditionally using the situation in Husby as a starting point. The result has been displayed for a month and discussed in four public seminars in the local art gallery, where panellists have represented various actors in the area's development such as city planners, residents, politicians and artists. The resulting conversations, observations, and confrontations are not reported in detail here, but have been important as a pre-understanding of the context. (A more detailed description of the methods is provided in Hansson et al[14]).

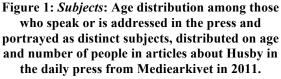
In what follows, we describe the result of the studies, and based on this we suggest sustainable ICT strategies to support existing democratic processes.

# 4 Representation and recognition of different identities related to Husby in the public sphere

Unlike previous studies of the media coverage of Stockholm suburbs, our study shows that the majority of the media reports from Husby are not about crime. On the contrary, only 10 of 99 articles and notices relates to crime. However, Husby is often portrayed as a problem area. 50% of the articles and notices describe some kind of problem.

Of the individuals acting as *subjects* in the articles about Husby, ie portrayed or interviewed and their opinions given a central role in the article, the majority are middle aged and with typical ethnic Swedish names (Fig. 1). They are generally people with a position in society, and usually work for a government or municipal authority. Of those described as *objects* in the articles, the ones talked *about* and not directly to, a majority are "youth" (Fig. 2). The different positions presented in the articles are far from an equal or fair representation of the diversity in Husby, or elsewhere for that matter. One can see the public sphere as a mirror, where some people recognize themselves more than others. "Youth" take a big place in reporting, but mainly as objects, the young ones are talked about and concerned for. Those who are concerned and talk are middle-aged and often government representatives: politicians, civil servants and police officers.





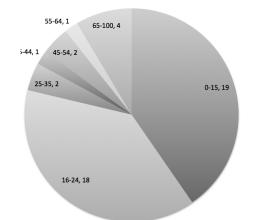


Figure 2: *Objects*: Age distribution among those talked about and portrayed as dim subjects, distributed on age and number of mentions (not individuals) in articles about Husby in the daily press from Mediearkivet 2011. It may be, for example references to "children", "youth", "seniors" or "69-year-old."

This uneven distribution of visibility for different groups in the media is not unique to the reporting of Husby. But it clearly shows how the public sphere can be seen as a highly unequal place with respect to the representation and recognition of identity.

For our study, it is interesting to look at what differs from the pattern. Something that is distinctive in the reporting of Husby is arts and culture. <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> of the articles and news items relates to cultural events. Husby gård culture centre is important for bringing Husby in to the public light. Kista theatre is the institution that had the greatest media impact for their productions, and is important for bringing young women in to the public sphere as active subjects. Pictures of girls participating in a virtual drama with their cell phones are reproduced extensively by the press (Fig. 3). The organization Megafon, is behind many of the articles that portray young men as acting and reasoning subjects (Fig. 4).



Figure 3: Sitora Turdieva and Berfin in class 7C in Husbygårdsskolan guided through Kista's Theatre production of "Antigone's diary" through their mobiles. [15]

Figure 4: Basar Gerecci is one of the initiators of the occupation of Husby träff. He is pleased that the Red Cross opened up a dialogue about the move of the activity local. [16] The image is from the occupation of Husby Träff in 2012

#### 4.1 Parallel public spheres

Swedish newspapers are not the only public sphere in Husby, and new communication techniques in particular enable alternative spheres, perhaps more consistent with the own worldview, and where the form of address is more inclusive.

The satellite dishes are illustrative. Many people do not experience what is around them as real. What is here is not your truth, so you turn away, maybe to your home country, to get information from outside. (Amir Marjai 45)

Information technology facilitates parallel public spheres. If one's identity is not confirmed in one forum involvement is reduced but might increase in other forums. This may strengthen the individual's identity, but obviously, if there is not a common place or forum in a society the possibility of solving common problems is reduced. In this way ICT leads to a fragmentation or separatism. In a radical democratic perspective separatism is sometimes necessary to get an opportunity to develop your own thoughts and opinions without having to be questioned by the majority culture. What Fraser[17] calls subaltern counter-publics can be seen as incubators for ideas, that when stronger can influence other public spheres.

The web magazine Megafonen was founded with the goal to create an alternative view of the northern suburbs of Stockholm. They lacked a more nuanced picture of young people and Husby than the dominant Swedish media sphere gave room for, and wanted to launch a debate on their own terms through the online forum and organization of discussion evenings.

Megafonen and its representatives has quickly managed to get attention also in the dominant media, and is currently an informal representative for both the young people and their parents, when something is to be debated.

But even within groups of people with a lot in common there are power structures that limit people's participation. The association "Street Gäris", is using a Facebook group as a meeting place, and was founded as a reaction to male dominance in different contexts as youth centres, classrooms and corridors [18].

#### 4.2 The meeting places

One of the questions we asked our informants was how they would act in a crisis situation, when phones and the Internet did not work. The meeting place Husby Träff, the premise that has served as the community house since Husby was built, was arguably the most important physical location, prior to square and grocery store. Husby Träff is located in the centre and has a café, a computer room and a large hall with a stage that is rented out for weddings, funerals, parties and meetings. Husby Träff was built in the 70's as the local community room, and although it is now in private ownership it still works as a central spot for the community. Husby Träff is now due to poor economy moved to another smaller location, despite strong protests. One of the more active in the preservation of Husby Träff, was Anna O'Neil 80 years. The opposition was organized by the network Järvas future where Anna is active [19]. The network is politically independent and is no formal association and organized using a mailing list. It involves people from different parties and associations, both young and old. Anna has started using email more and has also sent letters to a politician once via email. Otherwise her primary communication channel is to talk to people on the streets in Husby, and at various briefings with politicians. Meeting people is important, to read the body language, and to acknowledge each other as humans.

Although Husby Träff is the obvious meeting place, not everyone goes there. A place where everyone gathers on a more regular basis is the local grocery store and the semi-public laundry room. The informants who work professionally with communication also emphasize the school as a way to reach a broad section of the population through their children. Another venue is Husby Gård, a non-profit cultural dwelling in culture shanties on the outskirts of Husby at the natural area Järvafältet. It has an art gallery, cafe, workshops and studios. Husby Gård and Husby Träff are also used by a variety of associations, from sports to religious communities. The leaders are often important disseminators in their networks. The associations are not always democratic, but often built around a few dominant founders.

#### 4.3 Local newspaper

After the physical meeting places, the local newspaper is the main source of information, far more important than daily newspapers and television. *Norra sidan* that started in 2012 has a profile of conducting so-called citizen journalism, working more outreached and with the

ambition to formulate problems and solutions together with readers. Although Norra sidan is only issued monthly, they have quickly become an important local source of information.

In the newspaper Norra sidan it is the local who writes, it becomes a difference, a different feeling. It happens other things in the area then crime, the media gives the wrong image.

The image has consequences.

A while ago, the kids played with the image by making fun of it. They harassed those who came here they did not recognize, just to confirm the prejudices. (Amir Marjai 45)

The line between playing with stereotypes and being a stereotype is subtle. The roles that "youth" are given in the media are few. Either you are someone who managed to get from the suburbs "after all", or you're a dangerous type. For Rouzbeh Djalaie 47, editor of Norra Sidan, the momentum to the local newspaper is not to change other people's image of a place, the most important thing is to change people's self-image.

If the local newspaper constantly stress that you live in a crappy area, then you have to, as a reaction, either move away or it's you who is the problem, and you make the problem to your identity. (Rouzbeh Djalaie 47)

Rouzbeh believes that the reason for stereotypes is that journalists do not have personal experience of the areas they write about. As a journalist, you have limited time to really get to know a place. It's about taking advantage of the knowledge that you get spending time in the park with your children.

Most officials and politicians who decide over how Husby will be developed are not directly affected by the decisions themselves, as they are not living in the area. Göran Holm 62, official in City of Stockholm, emphasizes that this can be an advantage. He says officials that work where they live sometimes have problems being confronted in their free time by angry residents who feel mistreated. There is also a risk of nepotism and corruption if you are too involved in the local. He says that he, even though he does not live in Husby, through his long duties has acquired a good knowledge of the area. He experiences a problem with residents that only see the short term and do not understand that investment costs.

#### 4.4 The community radio

An important source of information in the Persian-speaking part of Husby and in other parts of the world as well is Radio Peyvan, a community radio in Husby. The role of the Iranian Culture Association that operates the radio is to strengthen a sense of self and thus promote integration and participation in the Swedish society. One of the more popular programs was when they explained everything the parliament and the government is doing. As it was in Persian it made it easier for the elderly, who may not be as good in Swedish, to follow so that they may better understand the community and get into it. They also present and discuss the Swedish news. The radio channel works a bit like a bulletin board, where you can advertise events and call in to discuss, where the listeners in the area can discuss various issues. The radio is also available on the Internet, and according to the producers Bahman Motaei, it has about 8000 listeners online, of whom an estimated 90% reside in Iran. For Bahman it is important that people who contact the channel is given space and can control the content. He acts more as a moderator, listens and makes sure that everyone gets to talk. Rouzbeh Djalaie at Norra Sidan also emphasizes the importance of having time to talk to people, which is something else than to interview them. This kind of quality journalism takes time, it is costly to gather a group of parents and students and allow them to talk about an issue, it will take two days instead of two hours. Norra Sidan also makes a type of citizen journalism where they help people get started with writing.

## 4.5 Increase participation and dialogue

One of the questions we posed to the informants was what they would go for if they had unlimited information resources. Bahman Motei would in that case develop Radio Peyvand as a voice for the entire Husby, a place where you can discuss and develop the site together. The editor of Norra Sidan emphasized that what is needed is that people come together and develop their own thoughts and ideas and what are needed are real venues.

Anders Persson, 80, who has lived in Husby since the 70's calls for an archive, something that brings together the history and form a collective memory. Together with the artist Per Hasselberg, the idea was presented as an art project in the art exhibition [20]. The artist Shakir Attiya, one of the participants in the art project, is calling for the opportunity to influence the local environment. He feels he has no opportunity to manifest his history of the place he lived in so large part of his life, and where he and his friends' children grown up.

The official Göran Holm responds, when asked what he would do if he gets endless communications possibilities, that he wants to find out more about the various individuals and groups who claim to represent the residents, to check if this is true. He has previously investigated various associations that sought money, and he believes that they sometimes do not represent those they claim to represent, but are just looking for power for themselves.

Anna O'Neill wants to "map culture." I.e. to go around and knock on doors and talk to people about what they gather around. We talk about what culture really is, and according to Anna culture is just *what creates common ground*.

In conclusion, there are no simple answers to how information structures can be developed. Places where there is space and time to meet. A global radio station. An archive. A way to measure representativeness. Something that creates common ground.

How can we use these requirements as a starting point for the development of an it-strategy?

## 5 Sustainable ICT strategies to support existing democratic processes

Husby has great meeting places and a rich social life, but this does not include all on equal terms. Something is needed that clarifies the representativeness in these forums, so that the significance of opinions can be judged more fairly. Now there is always a risk that authorities dismiss citizens as unrepresentative.

When the plans for the closing of the medical centre were announced, the association for the seniors collected 2,600 signatures in a week, but when this was presented to the managers they claimed that these didn't matter since they were not representative of the entire Husby's 11,000 residents. (Anders Persson 80)

Not only Husby residents may lack legitimacy for this reason, established media can be questioned on the same grounds. By clarifying how the information is produced in various media, and by actively examining sources, one can highlight inaccuracies or speculation. One of the officials also feels that there are a few loud people who claims to represent Husby but which he suspects are not truly representative. But the politicians do not like to offend those who receive much media attention, why this still slows the democratic process.

Here it may be interesting to develop methods that help the various parties to be more critical to information sources and to analyse them with respect to representation.

#### 5.1 Broad representation through decentralized structures

Husby is planned for community, with its small centre, library and community centre side by side. Bahman Motei worked as a youth leader in the area before the municipality cut down on this activity in the 80's. Previously there was more staff and more youth centres and neighbourhood centres. There was an institutionalized social structure that was important to the flow of information in the area. Those who worked in the structure quickly snatched up needs and opportunities. Husby is in this way similar to many small communities in Sweden, built around the idea of a decentralized democracy, where the organization of society would create democratic citizens. Today, the buildings remain but lack institutional support in the form of staff or are privatized, as monuments from a time of radical social engineering and a generous municipal budget. In order to establish an institutional support for local democracy one cannot rely on the municipality or the state's economy. Instead, it is interesting to see how the existing common rooms can be supported, and thus to promote wider representation. Today, residents use social media like Facebook, Twitter, blogs and email to organize themselves in various associations and networks. *Here it is interesting to develop organizational support for a micro-democratic context, it-support for associations and other organizations to develop autonomous public spheres*.

#### 5.2 Redistribution of power and transparency

Although Husby for many is a place one just passes through, many of Husby residents are involved in their local environment and it is despite the media image a place you want to stay at, if you look at the demand for apartments. All cases we have discussed where authorities have invited residents to contribute their expertise, as in the dialogue on the structural plan or the development of Husby bath, this has never been a question about any real sharing of power. The result has created frustration among people involved whose time and dedication are not treated as valuable. Participation is instead perceived as something used rhetorically to manipulate.

For authorities to legitimize the use of so-called dialogues in different contexts the power issue has to be clarified. The incentive to participate must be clear and attractive, and you cannot change the rules if the result does not match with the officials' expectations.

In the area of participatory budgeting, there are interesting models of participation clearly linked to economic power sharing. The problem of urban planning projects is that they are complex and not easily broken down into clear financial records. Even for politicians' long term planning projects are difficult to grasp. *However, there is opportunity to increase the transparency of information through IT-enabled decision support system that can be made publicly available.* 

#### 5.3 Recognition: Shared archive

As shown above, there are several public spheres in Husby. The problem is that everyone does not share them. What obviously is missing in Husby in terms of communication is a shared archive where different stakeholders can contribute information. When trying to find information on what is happening in Husby with its 12,000 inhabitants, there is no central place for it. Instead, you end up in different subdivisions at the municipality depending on the issue involved: children, sports, health care or construction projects. This may be rational from a large-scale government perspective, but is confusing for residents that want to have a complete picture of their community Husby. Local newspapers play an important role, as those who collect information from different agencies into a whole. But there is not any easily accessible archive that collects local history. An archive can easily be opened for all kinds of information gathering, and thus open up for other sorts of stories than the so-called news. *There are developed systems for crowd publishing such as wikis, which can both be open to all or moderated, that could fit this purpose.* 

## 6 Conclusion

We have in this article described some of the information structures at the site Husby and suggested how these can be developed with ICT. The dominant public sphere provides a simplified and one-sided picture of Husby that not is consistent with residents' self-image and affects this negatively, as well as creates the wrong basis for decisions. But there are alternative public spheres that together provide a more nuanced picture of the place, and these are given a greater influence thanks to Internet and mobile media.

The physical meeting venues are important places for information exchange, grocery store, school, youth centre, community centres, art gallery, but these are also organized by undemocratic power structures. Social media like Facebook serves as an interesting semipublic space, where previously private spheres are expanded outside the living room. Local media as local newspaper, community radio and websites for local associations, have a unifying function as they create recognition and self-esteem and makes room for discussion.

A sustainable IT-strategy to strengthen existing democratic structures in a place as Husby is therefore about:

*Redistribution;* Making decisions clearer and more transparent, both to enable influence and to create greater understanding.

*Representation*; undemocratic influence on the political agenda is strengthened by new media that benefits already dominant groups. Therefore it is important to:

- Clarify representativeness in public spheres and providing tools for source criticism.
- Support a variety of alternative public spheres through easy to use social forums and tools for collective decisions.

*Recognition*: The fragmentation of the media increases the differences between the various groups' worldviews and can reduce local involvement. To strengthen the community around the place recognition is needed of the local, historical and contemporary Husby. This can be developed through a shared archive.

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