



DEGREE PROJECT IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING,
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Analyzing Stockholm's Comprehensive Plan: In Search of an Ecofeminist Future 2050

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"Sustainability and efficiency, Boyce (1995) concludes, are only compatible under conditions of true democracy and equity. Thus, if, as ecofeminism insists, the destruction of nature and social inequality are profoundly connected, so too are sustainability and social justice." ¹

¹ McMahon, M. (1997) From the ground up: ecofeminism and ecological economics. *Ecological Economics*. 20. p. 172

Analys av Stockholms Översiktsplan: På jakt efter en ekofeministisk framtid 2050

ABSTRACT

Denna studie hanterar miljödiskurser i den gällande översiktsplanen för Stockholm, Promenadstaden, och hur de kan utvecklas utefter ett ekofeministiskt ramverk. Med en grund i ett kritiskt perspektiv på samtida urbaniseringsprocesser, ekofeministisk teori, och ett intresse i den potential som vilar i utopiskt tänkande, avser detta arbete vara översiktsplanen behjälplig i att hitta alternativa vägar att närma sig stadens utveckling, på jakt efter social och miljörättvisa genom ökat medborgardeltagande.

Ekofeminister menar att ekonomisk tillväxt villkoras av och förstärker koloniala och patriarkala relationer mellan människor, och mellan människor och naturen. Den nuvarande globala urbaniseringsprocessen är en grundläggande del i att upprätthålla ekonomisk tillväxt, vilket gör städer till ett viktigt område att hantera ifall nya relationer ska etableras. Hållbar utveckling har framhävts som ett sätt att minska det ekonomiska systemets negativa sociala och miljöeffekter, och har därför haft stort inflytande över policys för stadsutveckling. Policys, som översiktsplaner, formar hur våra städer utvecklas. Den huvudsakliga strategin i Stockholms gällande översiktsplan är "hållbar tillväxt".

Denna studie analyserar de delar som formar strategin hållbar tillväxt för att förstå varför den är problematisk. Vidare ägnas arbetet åt generering av framtidsscenarioer med deltagare utifrån ett ekofeministiskt ramverk, för att finna nya idéer och spår för hållbar stadsutveckling i Stockholm.

Slutsatserna omfattar den positiva uppfattningen att det finns goda chanser att utveckla formuleringen av och strategierna för att nå hållbarhet genom workshops med deltagare. Även om den övergripande utvecklingsinriktningen i scenarierna ligger alltför långt ifrån vår nuvarande verklighet för att med lätthet implementeras finns det fortfarande många konkreta förslag med god potential redan idag. Vidare pekar resultaten ut viktiga riktningar för planens utveckling i ett längre perspektiv, vilka har att göra med en grundläggande omstrukturering av den politiska ekonomin i enlighet med en mer socialt och miljömässigt förnuftig riktning, där mänsklighetens och naturens ofrånkomliga sammanlänkning upphöjs. Det är en omstrukturering som gör ekonomisk tillväxt enligt nuvarande modell omöjlig, men som eftersträvar jämlikhet mellan människor och ett långtgående miljöskydd. Det påpekas vidare i rapporten att nyttjandet av motstridiga scenarier i planering skulle bidra både till stadsutveckling och demokratiskt deltagande, där de konflikter planering präglas av blottläggs.

KEY WORDS

Comprehensive planning, environmental discourse analysis, ecofeminism, participatory scenario generation, utopian thought.

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Mormor.

Analyzing Stockholm's Comprehensive Plan: In Search of an Ecofeminist Sustainable Future in 2050

ABSTRACT

This report addresses the environmental discourse of the current comprehensive plan of Stockholm, *The Walkable City*, and in what ways it can be developed following an ecofeminist framework. With a foundation in a critical perspective on current processes of urbanization, ecofeminist theory, and an interest in the potential in utopian thought, this thesis attempts to assist the comprehensive plan in finding alternative ways of approaching the urban development of the city, in search for social and environmental justice through increased citizen participation.

Ecofeminists argue that economic growth is conditioned by and enforces colonial and patriarchal relations between humans, and between humans and nature. The current global process of urbanization is an integral part in sustaining the economic growth, making cities an important area to address in search of other relations. Sustainable development has been put forth as a way to relieve the negative social and environmental effects of the economic system, and has informed much urban policy-making. Urban policy, such as comprehensive plans, shape the path of urban development. The main strategy of the current comprehensive plan of Stockholm is "sustainable growth".

This thesis analyses the components that make out the strategy of sustainable growth in order to understand why it is problematic. Further, it engages in participatory scenario generation using an ecofeminist framework, to find new ideas and paths for a sustainable urban development in Stockholm.

The conclusions that are found comprise the positive notion that there are great chances to develop the notion and strategies for sustainability through workshops with stakeholders. While the overall course of development of the scenarios may be too far from our current reality to be easily implemented, there are several suggestions with great potential even in our current context. Furthermore, the results point out important directions in which to develop the plan in a longer perspective, that concern a fundamental restructuring of the political economy along more socially and environmentally sound lines that elevate the interconnectedness of humans and nature. This is a restructuring that makes economic growth according to the current model impossible, but that aims for equality between humans and far-reaching environmental protection. It is also pointed out that the deployment of a multitude of conflicting scenarios in planning would benefit both the urban development and democratic participation.

KEY WORDS

Comprehensive planning, environmental discourse analysis, ecofeminism, participatory scenario generation, utopian thought.

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Innehållsförteckning

Abstracts	
Keywords	
Acknowledgements	
1. INLEDNING	7
1.1 Bakgrund	9
1.2 Forskningsproblem	18
1.3 Syfte & Forskningsfrågor	20
1.4 Begränsningar, Etiska Hänsynstaganden & Situering	21
2. EKO-FEMINISTISK TEORI	25
3. MILJÖDISKURSANALYS	31
3.1 Teori & Metod för Diskursanalys	31
3.2 Miljödiskursanalys av Översiktsplanen	37
3.2.1 <i>Grundenheter vilkas existens erkänns eller konstrueras</i>	40
3.2.2 <i>Antaganden om naturliga förhållanden</i>	45
3.2.3 <i>Agenter & deras motiv</i>	49
3.2.4 <i>Nyckelmetaforer & andra retoriska verktyg</i>	53
3.2.5 <i>Sammanfattning</i>	56
4. WORKSHOP I EKO-FEMINISTISK SCENARIOGENERERING	59
4.1 Workshopmetod för generering av feministiska framtider med deltagare	59
4.2 Workshopresultat	63
4.3 Sammanfattning	70
5. UVÄRDERING AV ÖVERSIKTSPLANEN UTIFRÅN WORKSHOPRESULTATEN	71
5.1 Inom-scenarier	71
5.2 Bortom-scenarier	78
5.3 Sammanfattning	83
6. DISKUSSION & SLUTSATSER	85
7. REFERENSER	95

Table of contents

Abstracts	
Keywords	
Acknowledgements	
1. INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 Background	9
1.2 Research Problem	18
1.3 Purpose & Research Questions	20
1.4 Limitations, Ethical Considerations & Situatedness	21
2. ECOFEMINIST THEORY	25
3. ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	31
3.1 Theory & Method for Discourse Analysis	31
3.2 Environmental Discourse Analysis of the Comprehensive Plan	37
3.2.1 <i>Basic Entities whose Existence is Recognized or Constructed</i>	40
3.2.2 <i>Assumptions About Natural Relationships</i>	45
3.2.3 <i>Agents & Their Motives</i>	49
3.2.4 <i>Key Metaphors & Other Rhetorical Devices</i>	53
3.2.5 <i>Summary</i>	56
4. WORKSHOP IN ECOFEMINIST SCENARIO GENERATION	59
4.1 Workshop Method for participatory Generation of Feminist Futures	59
4.2 Workshop Results	63
4.3 Summary	70
5. ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN USING THE WORKSHOP RESULTS	71
5.1 Within Scenarios	71
5.2 Beyond Scenarios	78
5.3 Summary	83
6. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS	85
7. REFERENCES	95

I. INTRODUCTION

The comprehensive plan of Stockholm, *The Walkable City*, represents a strategic concretization of a future vision that aims for "a world class city" through "sustainable growth". It has been formulated in a particular socio-cultural and political context that claims to be more or less feminist, and to favor a sustainable development that balances social justice, environmental protection and economic growth.

Sustainability is a contested concept generally, often reduced to a label justifying business as usual without consideration to social justice or environmental protection. Understanding economic growth as connected to exploitation of social and environmental values, the strategy "sustainable growth" suggests a fundamental contradiction seen through an ecofeminist lens. It is assumed that the comprehensive plan encourages economic growth and urban development of Stockholm in a manner that may impair the chances of achieving an inclusive city where social and environmental values are supported.

This thesis will attempt to clarify what kind of social and environmental relations the plan supports and contributes to, in order to assist the comprehensive plan in finding alternative ways of approaching the urban development of the city, starting from an ecofeminist framework that aims at social and environmental justice, locally and globally. This is done by deploying an environmental discourse analysis of the comprehensive plan, followed by participatory generation of ecofeminist futures scenarios in workshops. The workshops also aim to investigate how comprehensive planning can be democratized, through the inclusion of stakeholders, and through a larger variety of images of the future in search for an antagonistic kind of planning that recognizes conflict as one of its fundamental conditions. The resulting workshop material is then used to assess the comprehensive plan in a discussion about their compatibility.

The thesis concludes that participatory scenario generation has a number of benefits in terms of sustaining the conflictual parts of planning, and thus allow for pluralistic discussion over both the present state and what future is desirable to move toward. It is also found that moving toward sustainability requires a clear formulation of what it implies, in which an ecofeminist understanding would emphasize the reformulation human-human and human-nature relations toward interdependence, beyond patriarchal and colonial patterns of exploitation and oppression. Economy needs to be rethought and oriented away from surplus production toward interconnected consumption and production driven by the need for subsistence. It will be argued that some first concrete steps toward environmental protection and social justice is to make the national environmental quality standards, equality objectives and human rights mandatory targets for comprehensive planning to work to achieve.

The thesis has 6 chapters. Chapter 1 provides the thesis with a background and context, its problem formulation, purpose, anticipated results, and limitations. The second chapter approaches the main theory that underpins the work, ecofeminism. Chapter 3 introduces environmental discourse analysis as theory and method, followed by the analysis of the discourse/s of the comprehensive plan. Chapter 4 is dedicated to a workshop method for participatory scenario generation, followed by reports from three workshops that were carried out in May 2014. In chapter 5 the comprehensive plan will be assessed using the futures scenarios resulting from the workshops. Chapter 6 contains a concluding discussion on the relevance of participatory scenario generation, and how the comprehensive plan can be taken in a direction toward ecofeminist sustainability.

1.1 Background

URBANIZATION IN THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Amin & Graham (1997, p. 413-421) describe how inner cities after a period of decay were the subject of a renaissance. Attention turned to cities as hot pots for culture, consumption, centers for communication and information, characterized by diversity, difference and intersection. Building on Jane Jacobs, the favored form of urbanity was the new urbanist mixed-use dense structure that would live both day and night. This idea paralleled the theories concerning cities as motors for the national economy. As agglomerations of knowledge, culture, ideas, nodes in global networks of cities, besides an attractive environment and urban life, the cities provided a favorable basis for economic expansion. The city became an area for investments. Harvey introduces his *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution* (2013, p. 5) by stating that

”capitalism is perpetually producing the surplus product that urbanization requires. The reverse relation also holds. Capitalism needs urbanization to absorb the surplus products it perpetually produces.”

The capitalist economy rests on some fundamental conditions: it needs to produce growth, which needs to be invested in order to avoid devaluation and crisis. For the economy, and growth, to keep expanding it depends on a constant increase in the labor force, alternatively automatization, new means of production, increasing stress on nature through extraction of resources and absorption of waste, new organizational forms and methods due to constant competition, expansion of markets through new inventions and products or new credit instruments. If these challenges to capital expansion cannot be overcome the result is crisis. Urbanization has become the main way to absorb surplus capital, thus being an integral part in sustaining the growth of our current global economic system. (ibid, p. 6f)

Engagement in sustainable development, by which is usually intended economic, technological, industrial and commercial development, is suggested as a broad solution to poverty alleviation and environmental protection, by the World Bank, the Brundtland Commission, Our Common Future and the UNCED. It is assumed that the free market brings with it an increased standard of living, fulfilled human rights, global peace and environmental preservation. Ecofeminists Mies and Shiva (2014, p. 70ff, 251, 268f) argue that the growth paradigm contains a fundamental paradox, referring to the increasing poverty and natural deterioration that follows economic growth, particularly in the global South. Assuming that the high living standards of the global North can be universalized to all humans ignores that the process that generates wealth also produces poverty (ibid, p. 271), and that the planet has environmental and natural limits. Economic growth simply cannot assist the regeneration of the spheres that it exploits, which leads the authors to conclude (ibid, p. 270)

”nature shrinks as capital grows. The growth of the market cannot solve the crisis it creates”.

In the urban context the World Bank recommends to support economic growth through deregulation of government controlled land and property to limit the state intervention in the market, and as little urban, regional and spatial planning aiming for social justice and regional equality as possible. These kinds of deregulations, paired with limitations to social programs has been a recurring method to handle economic crises in the US and Europe, in effect resulting in the externalization of social and environmental costs (Harvey, 2013, p. 53, 86). The World Bank report never considers that there can be large discrepancies between the economic state of a city and the state of its environment and population, which is why the belief in the free market’s ability to include all citizens has often proven faulty, leading Harvey to conclude that ”[t]he World Bank plainly favors speculative capital over people” (ibid, p. 29). The irony in this broadly supported encouragement to engage in economic

growth is that the offered solution is exactly what caused the problems in the first place (ibid; Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 268f): poverty and environmental destruction to be alleviated through economic development in the end leads to increased poverty and environmental destruction. The consequences of the deregulations often display political and class conflicts, as the already vulnerable populations end up disadvantaged through dispossession and dislocation, limited service provision, exploited on the labor market through bad conditions. (Harvey, 2013, p. 54-57) These sharpening inequalities are also often gendered, as economic restructuring, especially in transition countries, often relies on women's unpaid work to cover up for the services that are no longer provided by the state (Milojevic in Hurley et al., 2008, p. 390). Simultaneously, the bonuses on wall street stay generous, which in practice means that what is going on is "a massive transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich" (Harvey, 2013, p. 54).

The results of investments in urban construction for the urban life are therefore often disappointing, as the increasing commoditization of urban spaces has been followed by increasing social divides, often including filters such as gender, race, class or other. (Amin & Graham, 1997, p. 413-421) Inner city regeneration more often than not entails a process of gentrification, where the former poorer inhabitants are dispossessed and displaced leaving space for more affluent groups to move into newly renovated centrally located dwellings. (Harvey, 2013, ch. 1) According to Schmid (2012, p. 55) this commoditization encompasses the totality of the urban space, including the people that live there and the relations and interactions they produce, and the results of their economic activities. It is the urban life in itself that is the target of commoditization and valorization, and eventually leads to a reconfiguration of the entirety of urban life. (ibid, p. 55f) Harvey notes that this is not a singular event, but rather a continuously recurring process in contexts where private property rights and economic growth are the drivers of urbanization. (Harvey, 2013, ch. 1) This process goes against what Schmid (2012, p. 57) understands as the main potential of the urban, and contains a fundamental contradiction: the great asset of the urban context to facilitate spontaneous and unexpected social interaction is limited through the commoditization of the urban, in the end robbing the urban of one of its most important characteristics.

QUESTIONABLE GROWTH

The longterm feasibility and desirability of this growth paradigm thus necessitates questioning. The much discussed global impact of climate change and environmental deterioration has yet to see any serious attempts at addressing, and Victor (2012, p. 207) notes that a reason often given for this insufficiency is the threat climate change mitigation may pose to economic growth. One undeniable aspect, however, is the access to finite resources that the current course of development this far has taken for granted. It has been prognosticated that the cheap supply of particularly fossil fuel, an hitherto fundamental condition for our economy, will end in the early 21st century. (Victor, 2012, p. 206) Apart from the negative bi-products of growth, it has also been found that the connection between an increasing standard of living and wellbeing is conspicuously weak, as noted by both Victor (2012, p. 206) and Mies & Shiva (2014, p. 322). This questions the desirability of letting the currently dominant path for development stand in the way of potentially more suitable ones.

Folke & Rockström (2009, p. 1) point out that our current societies' fragmented cycles of production and consumption masks the environmental feedback of the whole system:

"A social-ecological system can avoid vulnerability at one time scale through the technology it has adopted. Similarly, resilience at one spatial extent can be subsidized from a broader scale, a common pattern in human cultural evolution and often exacerbated by technology, capital markets and financial transfers that mask environmental feedback. Losing sight of environmental feedback in the shorter term by exporting them to regional and global scales and by using ecosystems worldwide seems to have mentally disconnected many people, particularly urban inhabitants, from biospheric processes and made many illiterate about their ultimate dependence

on the life-supporting environment. Social–ecological systems are not just temporarily linked but are truly interdependent and co-evolving across many different spatial and temporal scales.”

The ongoing climate changes cannot be easily perceived by humans, but are nevertheless rapid when seen through lenses of the scale and history of the planet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) finds that the current global warming will result in an up to 6,4°C rise in global temperature by 2100 (2007, p. 13). The human effect on ecosystems, biodiversity and the climate today is in fact large enough to talk about a new geological epoch, the ”Anthropocene”. (Hughes et al., 2013, p. 389ff) Rockström (Dryzek, 2012, p. 34, Gunnarsson-Östling, 2014, p. 101) has worked out a division of planetary boundaries into nine vital support systems, distinguishing between safe and transgressed/unsafe operating space for humanity. ”Boundaries” in this context refers to the points where the consequences of our actions can no longer be foreseen, or threaten humanity. It stands clear that the transgression of the tipping points will produce major global environmental changes. One third of these boundaries, the climate system, biodiversity and the global nitrogen cycle have already been exceeded by humans. This means that the human influence on environmental processes for the first time in history has superseded the local and regional scales - it has gone global (Folke & Rocktröm, 2009, p. 1).

SUSTAINABILITY

Environmental Discourses

The slow but steady process of climate change has produced a width of discourses confirming or contesting the significance of the human impact on the environment. A discourse can be described as ”an ensemble of ideas, concepts ad categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices” (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 175). The dominant global discourse on environmentalism, sustainability, was formulated in the Brundtland Commission report in 1987 as

”the ability to [...] meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Dryzek, 2012, p. 147)

Sustainability has been furthered through two different paths, sustainable development and ecological modernization, which will be described briefly below.

Sustainable development

Sustainable development is built on the three parts economic efficiency, environmental protection and social justice. Originally intended for a balance, the economic dimension is often seen as the main priority, followed by environmental concerns and lastly social justice. That the concept originates from a Third World discourse which largely excluded growth makes this circumstance slightly ironic. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 147f) This kind of reduction however means that the success of one of its parts risks being carried out at the expense of the other. (Gunder, 2006, p. 216ff) There have been ongoing debates over the exact interpretation of ”sustainable development”, some aiming to enhance the concept’s usability, others to support particular interests. Agenda 21 in 1992 followed up the Brundtland report, and argued that the overconsumption and overproduction of the richer countries was the reason for the environmental problems, while simultaneously seeing economic growth for all as the solution. The emphasis on economic growth has over the years been stretched to include globalization and free trade, and ultimately ”green growth” through the World Bank. Sustainable development has had a certain impact on national levels, however often oriented toward what economic gains can be made from the growing eco-economy. The reason for the environmental problems as stated in Agenda 21 has been ignored. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 147-164)

Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling & Isaksson (2008, p. 70) conclude that the prevailing definition of sustainability promoted by the Swedish Government has its foundation in the Brundtland report, but furthermore that

”[t]he overall message being communicated in the strategy document is consensus and win-win solutions, in which economic development, social justice and environmental protection fit smoothly together in the endeavor for green growth”.

Green growth is however a questionable concept, according to Mies & Shiva (2014, p. 299f) merely opening up possibilities for new markets to form, in the name of green growth, ”greening of capitalism, ”eco-marketing, or ”eco-sponsoring”. This market generally engages in quick fixes, such as substitutions of toxic products, conversion of traditional farming to organic, but also encompasses how corporate funds are set aside for projects by environmental organizations, in turn reflecting positively on the funding corporation regardless of their effects on the environment. Economic growth and the relation between production and consumption are sustained, just like the exploitation of natural resources and the continuing simultaneous growth of wealth and poverty.

Social equity is often understood as outside the technocratic and rational approach that is deployed to meet economic efficiency and environmental protection, and is thus overlooked. Gunder (2006, p. 215) argues, that ”the market does not favor the disadvantaged” as equity values are contrary to market values. Sustainability *can*, but does not necessarily, contain social justice. Gunder understands the lagging attention to social justice as a function of urban inequalities, homelessness and racism no longer being considered *urban* problems of concern to the urban institutions. Sustainability as a goal has diffused planning’s traditional ideal and concern with social justice, and turned the attention to the importance of limiting the ecological footprint of cities. (2006, p. 215-218) With this in mind, the current attention to sustainable growth becomes troubling, and suggests there might be problems in simply adding a strategy for sustainable development to the plan in its present form. The newly adopted recency examination found the attention to sustainability generally, and to social sustainability particularly, to be insufficient in the current comprehensive plan (Stockholms stad, 2014b). The comprehensive plan may in the end risk exactly what Gunder describes, that particular parts of the sustainability concept remain inappropriately addressed as others are fulfilled.

Ecological Modernization

Regardless of their differing opinions, Arthur P.J. Mol (2000, p. 45), Gert Spaargaren (2000, p. 41), David Harvey and Marteen Hajer (Gunder, 2006, p. 214f) all agree that ”ecological modernization” is the dominant theory and discourse on sustainability. Emerging as a theory in the 1980s in environmental sociology on how the modern industrial society handles the environmental crisis, ecological modernization was shaped through empirical examples showing how material flows could be decoupled from economic flows (Mol, 2000, p. 45f). The origin of this decoupling is institutional changes and social practices, that eventually lead to structural transformations of the institutional order of industrial society, and result in the preservation of the resources industrial society requires. (Mol, 2000, p. 45f) Among the differing strands within ecological modernization, influential Joseph Huber focused on the effects of modern society on the environment through capitalism and industry. Industrialism was understood as closely tied to environmental problems through its poorly designed organization of production and consumption, whereas capitalist dynamics showed no such direct connection. (Spaargaren, 2000, p. 48f) Spaargaren finds, in line with Huber’s argument, that

”[w]hat counts for the dynamics of capitalism can also be maintained with regard to the industrial dimension of modern production and consumption. There is no principle or theoretical argument making a ‘modern’ organization of production and consumption and its technology antithetical to sustainability.” (ibid)

Ecological modernization came to be characterized by an understanding of environmental deterioration as a challenge to be countered by ”socio-technical and economic reforms” rather than

governmental reforms, encouraging scientific and technological experimentation, alongside ascribing markets and supranational levels the responsibility for environmental reform. (Mol, 2000, p. 46; ; Buttel, 2000, p. 30) The assumption that environmental protection and economic growth formed two extreme poles on the political spectrum was disrupted. (Mol, 2000, p. 46).

Among the critical voices concerning ecological modernization are Harvey and Hajer, who claim that the fundamental paradox of named discourse is that the supposedly benign forces in economic growth are the ones causing poverty, exploitation and degradation of peoples and environments globally. What makes this version of sustainable development so attractive to planners, policymakers and politicians is that it supports continued economic growth, and gives it equal or higher value than social and environmental circumstances. In the end this means that no substantial change of our current societies or economies is needed. The broad support through planning agencies, markets, and politicians of this form of sustainability means that other versions are neglected, which has the consequence that policies and reforms that manage to meet the challenges are very few. (Gunder, 2006, p. 214f)

Unquestionable Sustainability

According to Gunder (2006, p. 213) sustainability has been turned into an unquestionable good, rising as a Platonic idea with great ideological power that practically everyone can agree with. As such anything that is associated with sustainability will also be supported - such as sustainable cities, sustainable development, or sustainable management - and sustainability has thus come to be referred to in situations where its content is largely irrelevant, but where the "universal acceptance" in the name of the common good becomes a useful tool for justification. (ibid, p. 213f) Swyngedouw (2007, p. 14-23) agrees with that no one speaks against sustainability - rather, virtually everyone agrees on the importance of it, across the political spectrum, economic activities and industries, and socio-environmental contexts. But while the interest and engagement in sustainability is high, everyone carries on business as usual, signaling that the urgency of natural destruction is not urgent enough to carry out any larger changes. The benefit of sticking to this universal good, then, is to avoid asking fundamental questions about our capitalist socio-environmental relations and organization. Instead, we imagine that a "fundamentally harmonious Nature" can be reinstalled by deploying technological, managerial and organizational fixes. Disagreements on these fixes are allowed, and maybe even necessary, to cover up for the forbidden questioning of the fundamental unsustainability of the current capitalist system. This limits sustainability to a post-political condition where the basic political issues cannot be discussed.

URBAN UTOPIANISM

Brief History of Urban Utopianism

"Utopia usually refers to an imaginative projection of an ideal society." (Pinder, 1992, p. 945) Imagining an ideal society or state carrying social and political content, beyond problems and ills, utopias have been unbounded by space, form and time. Whether concrete in the form of formal plans, a sudden cry for radical change, or alternative experiments to be applied in the present, utopias have a strong history in urban development. (ibid, p. 946)

Utopianism was strong in the first half of the 20th century, as an important tool for rethinking the present reality, and as a way to express critique, fears or hopes about an approaching or distant future. Cities were often the sites of the utopias, as they've historically been looked upon as a nexus of enlightenment, freedom and democracy, and as possible instruments for the implementation of a new society. (ibid, p. 946f) Utopianism has also had a most practical significance, e.g., in the Swedish "Million Program" from 1965-1974, in which the political ideal and utopia to establish a strong welfare state, and a "people's home" (folkhem) built on equality, solidarity and universalism, was materialized. (Gunnarsson-Östling, 2014, p. 102) Utopian thought lost its former strong function as comment on the current state of society in the later half of the 20th century, as postmodernist critique

rose around the modernist utopias' failures to reach their intended goals. The critique against modernist utopianism reflected negatively on utopianism in general. As liberal democracy and capitalism were understood as having triumphed after the fall of the socialist Soviet Union, the end of history had finally been reached and no further utopias were wanted or needed. (Pinder, 2002, p. 236) Zizek and Jameson (Tally, 2010, p. 109) conclude that the late 20th century made it "easier to imagine the end of the world than [...] to imagine the end of capitalism".

Utopianism in later years lost its force, especially in advanced capitalist countries where the reluctance to imagine a different future has led to the turning away from urbanism and the problems of urban areas. Selective regeneration financed by real estate developers and finance capital has benefitted a minority of the urban populations at the expense of the majority, while all-encompassing neoliberal rhetorics, supported by big money interests and corporations, have managed to silence the very idea of other societies, or utopias. The result is a lack of critical reflection and imagination about the contemporary state, and about possible futures to move toward, which according to Pinder (2002, p. 230) "has disturbing political and cultural consequences, not the least of which is narrowing of critical thought and a moving away from the anticipatory moment of critique". What has kept the debate about utopianism going is that it contains a potential for critique, rethinking and exploring beyond the present, why it could be an important tool for planning that looks to support societal change.

Toward a Pluralist Feminist Utopianism

Pinder (2002, p. 237) finds critical social theory, i. a., feminist theory, to hold a potential to forward urban utopianism. In its inherent analysis of the current against a backdrop of human rights and a livable world, social sciences provide an "anticipatory-utopian element" with the potential of pointing toward better futures. Bergman et al. (2014, p. 65) also attend to feminist utopianism, emphasizing the possible simultaneous critique and offer of other possibilities and futures than the ones commonly presented. Examining the preconceptions of the present is key to imagining different futures. This would ideally include working with a range of feminist futures scenarios, and different kinds of scenarios, in order to point to aspects that today are neglected, while also emphasizing the fundamental points of critique if the current society is to be projected into the future. Bergman et al. (2014, p. 67) claim that

"Describing varied, contradictory, and competing feminist futures could be a way of making temporal knowledge production more tangible and engaging, as well as a way of intensifying the debate about the future in politics and planning."

This kind of rethinking of what the utopian in urbanism could be turns utopianism away from ideal "endings", toward open-ended, pluralistic and oppositional processes that allow for a transformative utopianism that stays close to our present realities without getting stuck on one set path. (Pinder, 2002, p. 237) Bateman in Hurley et al. (2008, p. 400) states that there cannot be one singular image, rather plural images are needed to display the multiplicity of parallel gendered perspectives, reflecting the different aspirations, needs and experiences that people have simultaneously. More than a potential in parallel conflicting images, it is the only way to come together. There are several examples of efforts at working with plural images, such as "planning for multiple publics", Fainstein's "just city", Young's "ideal of city life as a vision that affirms group difference", or Sandercock's challenge to build cities that appeals to everyone - to a common "we" (Gunnarsson-Östling, 2011, p. 1037). Plural images by force challenge the idea of a common good and consensus as a possibility. Instead, it exposes the political content of planning, as it opens up for discussion concerning the differing implications of different images and supports informed decisions on what kind of futures we desire. (Gunnarsson-Östling, 2014, p. 109)

Feminist gender studies have often shown a great strength in analyzing and assessing works of futurists, and have in this way provided the basis for a rethinking of what has been taken for granted. (Bergman et al., 2014; Gunnarsson-Östling et al., 2012; Gunnarsson-Östling 2011) Both Bergman et al. (2014, p. 65), Gunnarsson-Östling (2011, p. 1036) and Hurley et al. (2008, p. 400ff) conclude that

the Western male bias in futures studies is strong, in everything from topics; use of political categories; methods; insufficient analyses of aspects such as gender, sexuality, power, technology, time use and use of space; a lack of reflexivity; and the exclusion of women as agents. Gunnarsson-Östling (2011) also notes that feminist envisioning or alternative futures scenarios are often met with ignorance. Nevertheless, feminist utopias have a long history including, e.g., Harriet Taylor (1869) in *The Subjection of Women*, Ellen Key (1908) in *Lifslinjer II*, the many works by Alexandra Kollontay, and Elin Wägner (1941) in *Väckarklocka*. Among the more recent can be found Haraway (1985) in her *Cyborg Manifesto*, and Haug (2000) in *On the necessity of conceiving the utopian in a feminist fashion*. Bergman et al. (2014, p. 63ff) emphasize that it is imperative that feminist studies not only engage in critique from an outside perspective, but get into the process of *generating* feminist futures scenarios. Unless this is done, the chances of achieving an equal future is very limited. The authors emphasize that working with futures forms another kind of critique, one that is based on images that can scrutinize the current state while simultaneously pointing out better organizations of society. Feminist writers express a great desire for feminist utopias, according to Gunnarsson-Östling (2011, p. 1037): for other futures to balance the "hegemonic, Western, white and male futures", for images worth striving for and for a clarification of the steps that need to be taken to get there. This is not only a critique of the present images of the future, but also an encouragement to take better responsibility of our current society in relation to future generations.

Ecofeminist utopianism

Voicing both critique and the significance of new paths of development, Mellor (1995, p. 138) states that:

"the male-dominated / capitalist economic system is not the only alternative; it is not even a feasible alternative. It is a *utopian*, ideological construct based on real relations of exploitation that are in danger of destroying us all" [italics added]

With a foundation in a critique of what is understood to be an anti-ecological, patriarchal, colonial world system (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 2, 253) ecofeminists open up for new visions and ways aiming to solve the problems of environmental destruction and of poverty in the global South. Shiva and Mies (2014, p. xx-xxi, p. 297, 253) claim that a paradigm shift away from the current global capitalist economy is needed, requiring that the demand for economic growth by means of free trade, consumerism and competitiveness is left behind. The change must start in the rich part of the world, as that is where the profoundly unsustainable patterns of consumption are the strongest.

This change is already on the way in both the global North and the global South. One part of the shift is a change in consciousness concerning how to prevent our negative impact on the planet's biodiversity, ecosystems and climate. The other part, the ecological shift, implies understanding humans as part of "the Earth family" where our production and consumption must be carried out "within our share of ecological space" with respect to other species and generations. "Planetary and human well-being" are the new top priorities. (Shiva in Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. xx-xxi) Mies describes an ecofeminist vision based on self-sustenance in non-patriarchal, ecologically sound, non-exploitative, just societies, cutting across the whole social class system. It is called the subsistence or survival perspective, and recognizes the interconnectedness of all life. (2014, p. 297) This will be described in closer detail in chapter 2.

Practicing Utopianism

Mouffe argues for "the creation of a vibrant 'agonistic' public sphere of contestation where different hegemonic political projects can be confronted" (Gunnarsson-Östling, 2014, p. 104). This sphere is a necessary space for deliberation over and democratization of planning and utopian thought. The traditional effort to aim for rational and universal consensus in planning doesn't agree with democratic thought, as it rids planning of its political, and sometimes irrational and oppositional dimension. Participatory planning processes that have consensus as

their aim will end up having the same problems and in the end bring planning back to the rationalist unison common good. That is why participation per se will not ensure democratic processes or planning outcomes, as human interaction will always be informed by power play, differing abilities to participate, and the participants' individual experiences, knowledge and perspectives that simply do not match.

Albrechts (2010, p. 1117) advocates for what he labels transformative practices in planning, a proactive approach to planning that aims to design a desired future and how to reach it rather than to react to recurring problems. It focuses on the process of change rather than an end state, and is therefore an activity, a process of "becoming", rather than substance, and involves a broad range of stakeholders. The reason transformative practices through, e.g., strategic spatial planning is needed in the first place is that the strategy up until now (like the expansion of the market, technological development, or simply maintaining current discourses, concepts and practices) continuously fail to meet the great challenges we are faced with. What is needed is a change in relation to the natural and the built environment, and in our relations with others, and "the other" in particular. Broad participation is necessary to avoid manipulation or one-sidedness, as planning is always already informed by positions of gender, class, age, race etc. The desirables that underpin strategic spatial planning are all based on values, out of which planners need to make prioritizations, in search for a movement towards a future where something we lack today is fulfilled, e.g., sustainability or equality. The planners are in this situation faced with a great task of finding a multitude of images, strategies and visions, where the influence of the public through increased participation and agonistic deliberation is an absolute necessity. (ibid, p. 1120-1125)

THE WALKABLE CITY

Urbanization as the main means of absorbing surplus production, thus keeping the wheels of the economic growth spinning, makes cities integral tools in the expansion of the economy and in the extended use of human and natural resources. Cities then, are a likewise integral targets for a development that intends a sustainable direction. As a guiding document for the urban development, the comprehensive plan has an immensely important part to play in this equation, as this is where the strategy for urban development is shaped.

The comprehensive plan

The comprehensive plan, *The Walkable City* (2010), is a strategic planning document that aims to guide the use of land and water in the development of Stockholm. This is where the abstract political vision for the development of the city, *Vision 2030*, meets national public interests and a local context with particular conditions, experiences and needs, as a first step toward physical form.

The comprehensive plan aims to achieve the primary goal of the vision: that Stockholm is to become "a world class city" through "sustainable growth". It includes nine focus areas that represent those public interests that are seen as the most important ones by the city. Every focus area refers to recent policy and planning documents, often related to generally expressed and geographically unspecified national interests (e.g., environmental quality standards). Careful consideration of the public interests has resulted in a main strategy for urban development, a more dense and connected Stockholm, which is specified in four different sub-strategies. The model image is the dense, vivid and mixed structure of the inner city, applied in accordance with the different kinds of contexts. The strategies are: to continue to strengthen the central Stockholm; invest in attractive centers; connect the different parts of the city; and promote a lively urban environment throughout the city. The plan also contains particular areas that have been named important for the urban development, in currently ongoing and future projects. Lastly, it is shown how the plan is intended to be implemented.

The comprehensive plan is not legally binding, but nevertheless provides guidance in decisions about urban development broadly. It is intended to ease implementation, and has been coordinated with other policy documents, and points out what documents are important to consider

when the plan is to be implemented through detailed planning and building permits. All committees and companies of the city, that are involved in urban development, are thus to deploy the plan in their work. It is also connected to the yearly budget. In the process of writing the plan a large number of stakeholders were involved, officials from the city's agencies as well as citizens.

Sustainability

The comprehensive plan mentions the difficulty in finding a cohesive definition of "sustainable development" or "sustainable growth", as the definitions differ and also contain inner conflicts as to their targets. However, it is concluded that the definition of the plan corresponds with the that of the visionary document and the national strategy for sustainable development. Sustainability is understood as a process rather than an end state. It is important that all strategic decisions taken in the city council, committees and corporate governance aim to implement sustainable growth.

Recency Examination

The comprehensive plan has newly been followed up in a recency examination (Stockholms stad, 2014a). The report, *Fokus Promenadstaden - uppföljning av Översiktsplan för Stockholm* (2014b) states the need to work through and advance sustainability. Sustainability aspects need to be enforced generally through a separate strategy in the plan, with particular emphasis on social sustainability. The problem is defined as large social differences in health, education, participation, youth employment and immigration. It is suggested to make use of the strategy for public and green spaces, *Den Gröna Promenadstaden*, sustainable renovation and to create mixed housing areas, and to develop participatory processes and methods to work together with citizens (ibid, p. 13, 16f). The improvement work will likely be initiated in 2015. (Stockholms stad, 2014a)

1.2 Research Problem

The research problem of this thesis has a few different dimensions: the problem inherent in the current lack of urban utopianism, the interconnection between economic growth and urbanization, economic growth that is dependent on exploitation of humans and nature along colonial and patriarchal lines, a sustainability concept that has become increasingly diluted until today where its application cannot be expected to lead to an actual sustainable development, and male bias in planning that risks contributing to the enforcement of existing inequalities.

Consensus-driven Growth Target impedes Urban Utopianism

Firstly, it notes that urban utopianism today is limited, stuck in a growth paradigm that dictates the way forward, with little space for other visions. It is driven by a consensus-striving ideal that excludes alternative interpretations and assumes a universalizing approach that supposes the in fact particular chosen picture is relevant for all. The lack of conflicting understandings leads to uniform ideas for societal development, and thus end up underpinning a likewise uniform planning that is geared toward consensus. Excluding conflict contributes to an undemocratic planning that is unable to consider other images, ideas and experiences than the dominant. Efforts at democratic participation often end up focusing on how to reach consensus rather than how to sustain a dynamic pluralistic dialogue over different interpretations of our present reality and possible futures. There is a need to work with several and conflicting scenarios and images of the future, for a democratic societal development to be supported. The utopia could function as an imaginative, but also most real, tool that opens up for other ideas than the most dominant. Comprehensive planning could be one level where this is addressed.

Unsustainable Urbanization

Another problem is the consequences of today's urban developments. Urban lifestyles are very energy and resource consuming, and the urbanization process in itself is a great reason for the increasing exploitation of natural resources. Urbanization has become an integral part of a system that is based on the idea that perpetual economic development and surplus production are possible. In order to continue the production of surplus, it needs to be invested, which has become an important function of urban areas in the current global economy. The growth machine does however not consider its simultaneous production of poverty and natural destruction, as these are costs that are seen as external to the surplus production. This means that growth relies on exploitative relations, to nature and to humans. Furthermore, this exploitation is unevenly distributed, as it tends to affect some parts of the world, populations and individuals harder than others in a pattern that largely follows a patriarchal colonial structure. These problems has been brought into the spotlight through efforts aiming for a sustainable balance of human, environmental and economic values. This brings us to the third problem.

Diluted Sustainability Concept

Sustainable development originated in a Third World context, and aimed for relations between social, environmental and economic factors beyond exploitation. Sustainability in 1992's Agenda 21 admitted to the poverty and natural destruction following in the path of economic growth, but all the same encouraged growth as a means to achieve social and environmental justice. Disrupting the conflict between economic growth, and social and environmental deterioration, allowed for a continued economic growth under the guise of being the ultimate way to move toward social equality and environmental protection. The third problem that is noted in this thesis is how sustainability has become a way to allude to universal values of common goods in the search of expanded markets and economies, while in practice resulting in continued exploitation of humans and nature. Continuing along this track means that longterm sustainability will be made impossible. Thus, there is a need to address how policy documents, such as comprehensive plans, deal with issues of sustainability, and

look into what kind of developments they support and contribute to. Scrutinizing the underlying motives for and understandings of sustainability leads to the fourth point of interest.

Biased Planning Contributes to Inequalities

Academics in feminist theory and futures studies have often encountered a male bias in utopian thought and planning. Planning that does not scrutinize its fundamental assumptions in aspects that are related to structural oppressions risks contributing to a furthering of inequalities. Ecofeminists emphasize that economic growth in our current global capitalist economy not only depends on the exploitation of humans and nature, but that this exploitation is both gendered and colonial. Accordingly, planning that encourages economic growth, but does not pay attention to its consequences in these aspects will most likely contribute to furthering or even reinforcing structural oppression. In order for another future, another economy and other relations to be possible, not only do we need to look for other ideas beyond the currently dominant growth paradigm, but we also need to see that environmental protection is intimately connected to social justice. Planning is an important tool in this process.

1.3 Purpose & Research Questions

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to assess how the comprehensive plan understands environmental phenomena, what the implications of this understanding are, and how it can be furthered toward ecofeminist sustainability using participatory methods.

It is assumed that the current path toward sustainability in the plan, "sustainable growth", may face difficulties in its strive toward a more sustainable society, as the focus on economic growth risks compromising social and environmental factors, in both a local and a global perspective. Ecofeminist theory emphasizes the need of a feminist analysis to appreciate the consequences of our current growth oriented paradigm on both the environment and human populations, and encourages the development of a form of just sustainability that attempts to achieve its targets without compromising with either people or nature.

The newly adopted report on the recency of the comprehensive plan (Stockholms stad, 2014b) has confirmed the need for a strategy particularly focused on sustainability in the plan, especially its social dimension, and it is my hope that this thesis will contribute with input to that work. Assessing the comprehensive plan from an ecofeminist framework would potentially suggest other ways to address sustainability, and question what kind of sustainability is desirable.

The thesis follows a number of steps. Initially, the comprehensive plan will be analyzed in terms of what environmental discourse/s it relates to, following Dryzek's (2012) methodological elements and categorizations. The analysis attempts to clarify how the comprehensive plan makes sense of environmental issues, looking into its idea of nature and other important basic entities, relevant agents for change, underpinning motives, and any possible metaphors. Particular attention is paid to mapping the definition of sustainability in the plan, potential problems in this definition, and the way it is deployed.

The second part of the thesis aims at looking toward alternative futures for Stockholm beyond the comprehensive plan through a workshop with a number of stakeholders. The workshop is carried out with an ecofeminist framework, and follows a method developed by Gunnarsson-Östling et al. (2012). In this way, the plan aims to support democratic participation in utopian thinking in planning along two lines: participatory methods in scenario generation, and to work with multiple scenarios as a basis for discussions over what urban development we desire. The use of participatory scenario generation will point at the problems of working with only one future image, as the only way of managing opposing positions (which is inescapable in planning) is to work with several scenarios.

The workshop scenarios will then be discussed in relation to the comprehensive plan, looking into their compatibility, points of conflict, and potentials for development of the comprehensive plan. In this way, the thesis aims to approach how comprehensive planning can open up to antagonistic processes involving stakeholder participation, and furthermore, to contribute to a widening of the content of the plan concerning sustainability.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How does the plan describe and make sense of environmental phenomena, and how does this affect its understanding of sustainability?
- How can participatory scenario generation contribute to the comprehensive plan?
- How can the comprehensive plan's notion of sustainability be rethought starting from an ecofeminist perspective?

I.4 Limitations, Ethical Considerations & Situatedness

LIMITATIONS

Overview of research field

The topic of this thesis encompasses a number of intersecting theories and practices, and it could easily have been developed following other main strands than the ones that were chosen. The excluded literature, which has been found likewise relevant for the topic in question and would have been included had the framing of the project allowed for it will now be presented shortly.

The thesis engages in ecofeminist utopianism, and attempts to explore what kind of sustainable futures scenarios this theoretical direction offers. Other possibilities would naturally have been other strands of feminism, such as queer feminism, or other theories that look into the connections between environmental exploitation and economic growth, such as deep ecology or ecological economics. Furthermore, it would have been interesting to explore what kinds of futures scenarios would be generated from a no-growth or de-growth point of view using, e.g., Björn Forsberg's (2012) *Omställningens tid*, the works by Kate Raworth, Peter A. Victor or Mikael Malméus. The ecofeminist attention to social inequalities combined with, i.a., Harvey's (2013) critical perspective on urbanization would fit well together with theories on urban justice, through Susan Fainstein's (2010) *The Just City*, Margit Mayer's work on urban social movements or Lefèbvre and Harvey on the right to the city etc. In terms of analytical tools, the initial idea was to engage in a critical policy analysis of the comprehensive plan following Bacchi's (2009) method. This would have taken the analysis in the direction of gender biases in the plan.

These are all areas that the thesis in one way or another relates to, and that would all have contributed to the work. Thus, they also form potential areas for the furthering of the project.

Ecofeminist Theory

The particular focus on environmental discourses and sustainability is an important delimitation. The insufficiency in current urban developments to handle social and environmental issues has been confirmed by many, and thus there are also many theoretical orientations that are concerned with social equality and environmental protection in both local and global settings. The choice of ecofeminism as the main framework has three main reasons. Feminist theory has an obvious relevance when addressing social inequalities, as the very scope - most broadly speaking - is to uncover social inequalities in order to take the first steps toward increased equality. Feminist theory is then most useful to deploy in tasks that concern social justice, such as sustainability. Given the topic of this thesis and personal preference, ecofeminism was advised to me by my supervisor. In the multitude of feminist theories, ecofeminism is based in a materialist postcolonial perspective on local and global inequalities, mainly starting from "women" and "the Other" as analytical categories. Furthermore, ecofeminism connects oppression of "women" and "the Other" with the exploitation of nature within the framework of industrial capitalism, aiming at painting a full picture of the consequences of the global economy in terms of structural inequalities and environmental destruction. The holistic character of theory and analysis, next to the particular topics of the theory, made ecofeminist theory an interesting framework to plunge into, and to test in relation to the comprehensive plan.

The Walkable City

The focus on the comprehensive plan, *The Walkable City*, positions this thesis contextually on the borderline between ideologically specific political envisioning and practical implementation in the materialization in our physical spaces. While lacking the power of political decision-making the comprehensive plan cannot escape its political effects when implemented. The plan also mediates national interests, and the needs of a practical context regardless of the prevailing political majority. What makes the plan interesting then, is how it is used as a mediator of all these demands, and its function as a tool to work with practical scenarios to underpin the urban development.

It would have been possible to look into other guiding documents for the urban development of Stockholm, such as the *Vision 2030*, *Den gröna promenadstaden*, *Arkitektur Stockholm*, *Energiplanen* or *Bostadspotential Stockholm*. Most of these documents should largely be possible to assess using the same perspectives as the ones deployed for the analysis of the comprehensive plan. The vision document, that is superordinate of the comprehensive plan, has however already been looked into in the project *Stockholm 2030 - Another Guide to the Future*. The rest of the documents are subordinated the comprehensive plan, why the plan was considered more relevant.

Another reason for focusing on the comprehensive plan is the examination of its recency that was concluded in the report *Fokus Promenadstaden - uppföljning av Översiktsplan för Stockholm* (2014b). This analysis will be followed by an expansion and supplements of certain parts of the plan, among those sustainability. Thus, the comprehensive plan is for the moment very topical, as are perspectives on sustainability. As part of a summer internship in 2013, I myself contributed to named recency examination, by assessing the functionality and efficiency of the strategies of the plan. Finding this project to be very interesting to work with has naturally affected the selection. It should also be noted that the design of the project was informed by both academic relevance and practical usefulness through conversations with planners from the Stockholm City Planning Administration.

Environmental Discourse Analysis

The choice to perform an environmental discourse analysis according to Dryzek (2012) will shape the reading and understanding of the comprehensive plan, as it will be continuously related to a set framework. That means that the understanding of the comprehensive plan will follow certain layout, pointing out certain issues that would probably otherwise not be as clearly available, but at the risk of dimming other issues or understandings. This is particularly the case as three out of the eight discourses of Dryzek will be of special focus. This implies a certain limitation of the scope and content of the analysis.

Workshops

Using a workshop method that needs to be applied in a particular way has meant a number of delimitations, among which the most important are the number of and groups of participants chosen. As is discussed more lengthy in ch. 3.1 the invitations were sent to certain groups, associations, students etc that were found particularly interesting to involve based on the topic of the thesis. This has meant a quite hard-drawn delimitation based on campaigns and activities, outspoken aims and viewpoints, areas of study and work. The delimitation is problematic in the sense that the assumed profile of a group, association, study program or workplace might not necessarily be reflected among its members, students or employees. Another problematic with the delimitation is of course the exclusion of other voices, which might have resulted in less dynamic discussions and workshop results. The reason for the narrow selection was an ambition to try to get as far as possible in the workshops, given the limited timeframe and number of people that could be fit in. It is then also important to note that the results of the workshops will be relevant within the set framework. Any extrapolation beyond this may be compromised by a limited result, due to the small number of workshops and participants, and a limited volume and content that heavily relies on the background and views of the participants. Thus, the result cannot be seen as representative generally, but can however still serve as examples of ecofeminist utopian thought, and be used as an input for discussions concerning images of the future and participatory envisioning.

There is also a complication in that I as a researcher will act as a filter between the participants and the workshop outcomes. Since carrying out a workshop and then analyzing its outcomes will always contain some element of interpretation there is a risk for misunderstandings. In an effort to prevent such events, the workshop will be documented partly by the participants themselves, partly together with the participants, and partly through sound recordings and photos.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theoretical framework of this thesis by force positions the point of reference of analysis in another part of the political spectrum than the one the comprehensive plan is influenced by through its backbone in the vision document, *Vision 2030*. While engaging in a discursive analysis, the thesis in itself will thus display the contrasts and conflicts between differing discourses. This illustrates some fundamental points. No knowledge is neutral, but rather always infested with political ideologies. While the thesis will make dominant arguments following the chosen ecofeminist framework, this attends to that beyond hard facts (if even then) knowledge production has maybe more to do with interpretation than truths. Thus, as the thesis will be clearly situated within a particular theoretical discourse, following a certain strand of thought and attending to a particular problem formulation, it does not pretend to achieve any all-encompassing results. The selection moves within the same discourse, and can therefore still be seen as internally valid.

Given this state of affairs, it is still assumed that the project ought to have a reasonable applicability. By taking its starting point in an existing document, the work aims to open up for a broader analysis and discuss ideas for development concerning, e.g., sustainability. Sustainability is already an important part of the comprehensive plan, and is deemed to get an enlarged role in the future due to the conclusions of the fresh recency examination. Thus, alternative perspectives on sustainability should in all reason form a possible contribution to the plan, with differing extents of direct or indirect applicability.

SITUATEDNESS

Other important factors informing the project design, content and direction of this thesis regard my personal basic assumptions that underpin this work. My main assumptions regarding the need for an environmentally and socially sustainable development where economy is a means rather than an aim in itself, are based in my recent studies on the master program Sustainable Urban Planning and Design as well as courses in gender studies a few years back. Participation in workshops, conferences and seminars on urban regeneration and growth in Berlin, Istanbul, Cairo and Stockholm over the past year have further strengthened the assumption that the environment and populations of named cities and other-places are not served by an urban development that puts economic growth as its first priority. Furthermore, globalization is a hard fact in today's societies, and the global inequalities in social and economic terms can not be assumed to be a consequence of local actions alone. The same goes for environmental deterioration, an increasingly pressing fact that current and future societies will be forced to address. This has inspired me to try to understand how the comprehensive plan of Stockholm supports a sustainable urban development or conversely unsustainable development in terms of environment and social equality, locally and globally.

It is also important to note what impact my personal background might have, being a Caucasian atheist woman in my early 30s, from a middle class background with an academic tradition, and with a just-above-moderate interest in nature generally. My own direct negative experiences of, e.g., social injustices are largely limited to gender and sexual preference, why my intuitive understanding for racialized, class-based, religious or other oppressions, not least in a global perspective, is largely limited to the unease of being given unjust privileges. While my aim is to move beyond these potential limitations, it is likely that they affect the conclusions I come to. Furthermore, it can be expected that the workshops will be somewhat affected by, e.g., my way of interacting and presenting, and leader capabilities.

2. ECOFEMINIST THEORY

Ecofeminist theory started in activist practice in women's movements, and grew out of separate practical insights into a cohesive academic theory of a global gendered capitalist oppression of nature, women and "foreign" peoples. It builds on experiences, perspectives and analyses shared across races, ethnicities, cultures and classes on a global scale. "Ecofeminists see the origins of the present ecological crisis as lying in the specific material and cultural developments of the North/West as reflected in its socioeconomic structures, science and technology, philosophy and religion." (Mellor, 2000, p. 110) Pointing out the inherent unsustainability of a system that takes the neoclassical concept of 'economic man' and ever-expanding markets as its starting point, ecofeminism is committed to social justice and an anti-colonial conviction. (McMahon, 1997, p. 163)

Analytical Categories of a Global Theory

Ecofeminism is concerned with structures of gendered colonial dominance that can be historically and contextually connected to the technological, industrial and capitalist development of the European Enlightenment. Gender in a materialist ecofeminist perspectives draws on social constructivist notions that all humans are embodied and sexed into "men" or "women" in a combination of biological and social factors. While ecofeminism recognizes the problems with such categories - the internal inconsistencies and instabilities of the positions "man"/"woman", the differing connotations that these categories bear, the differing experiences and privileges these positions uphold - the categories are still recognized as valuable for structural analysis in theory and practice. (Mellor, 2000) Similar problematics surround other constructed analytical categories, e.g., "nature", "Western"/"non-Western", "North"/"South". Mies & Shiva (2014, p. 2) defend the concept of a global ecofeminist theory, having experienced bottom-up movements world-wide expressing similar concerns about the current growth paradigm and its consequences for the planet, humans (particularly women and children) and other populations. The authors find the relevance of articulating these structural power relations according to lines of woman - man, non-western - western, nature - human to supersede the simultaneous risks of silencing and excluding, as they are grounded in activist practice globally. This is confirmed by practically all of the feminist futurists contributing to Hurley et al. (2008, p. 397-399), stating that the use of these concepts is important to clarify what challenges our current societies face. Salleh (2008, p. 201f) argues that postmodern feminist critique of the use of named categories sabotages "justice and sustainability as political goals", and in the end leads to political conservatism. She writes that the focus on words and ideas diffuses attention away from global processes and "the materiality of ecopolitical questions", in this way making a poor political force.

Ecofeminist theory has been subject to critique for essentializing tendencies, and there are indeed ecofeminists that present essentialist and spiritualist arguments concerning, e.g., women's relation to nature. These notions are however not a part of the theoretical framework of this thesis. Rather, a materialist approach will be favored, which recognizes women's stronger association with nature, but refuses to slip into essentializing or naturalizing. It argues that *all* humanity is inherently internal to and conditioned by nature, and that the association of women and nature resides in social circumstances and "their material conditions in relation to the materiality of human existence" (Mellor, 2000, p. 114).

Colonial Patriarchy from a Discursive Perspective

Ecofeminists and other feminists point out the fundamental binary, hierarchizing and dichotomizing way of thinking in the modern science paradigm deriving from the Enlightenment. (Salleh in Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. xi) Mellor (1995, p. 129f) presents the Greek dualist division of the free unlimited mind as opposed to the unfree death-limited body to describe the dualism between men and women of the Western society. Nature-culture, feminine-masculine, emotional-rational, backwards-modern,

local-global, colored-white, object-subject, production-consumption etc are typical divisions that has informed Western patriarchal knowledge production and its methodologies, where separation and division is integral. Science was thought of as a means to liberate humanity - Man - from ignorance and his inevitable boundedness to nature - and women. This liberation, not of humanity but of Western males in particular, required the subjugation of nature, women and "foreign" peoples, and would not have been possible without the fundamental division of man - nature, man - woman, Western - other. In this structure, the hierarchy both explains and justifies the domination of one over the other, relations that are then naturalized and understood as necessary. (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 5, 47)

This framework underpins the neoclassical economic theory of economic man. The core of the theory is the separate, autonomous, self-contained, self-interested individual who engages in trade with other individuals to achieve maximum utility on a market characterized by equality. McMahon (1997, p. 165) finds three main ways in which economic theory departs from reality: 1. it applies abstract models in decision-making as if they were proper reflections of reality, 2. economic theory promotes its own concept of market society and economic man through politics, and in this way helps to *produce* the supposedly independently given world it studies, 3. the empirical grounds of the neoclassical economic model only include certain people's experiences, while suppressing others. This leads to "knowledge" about economy that is only partial, and suppresses evidence against it - as opposed to its claimed universality and impartiality. McMahon (1997, p. 168) argues,

"[t]he [neoclassical] model [of the individual] is gender biased and anti-ecological because it is grounded in the denial of dependency and interdependency. That is, it disguises the ways in which the market and economic man are *dependent* on unsustainable transfers from nature and from unpaid work: they depend on expropriating and privatizing wealth from those parts of the social and natural world that lie outside the market sphere. Economic man and his markets rely on hidden subsidies."

Concluding, neoclassical economics build on a historically and contextually specific idea of the individual that refuses to recognize its gender, class, race and anti-naturism.

Colonial Patriarchy from a Materialist Perspective

Another analysis of the foundation and sustenance of our colonial and patriarchal economic relations refers to the sexual division of labor (Mellor, 1995; 2000). Writing from what she names a materialist ecofeminist perspective, Mellor (2000, p. 111) argues that our fundamental sex/gender dualism is a result of a relation of "(re)production", an organization that rather than a philosophical or cultural artifact has come about through material necessity. All human societies are bound by natural constraints, and are forced to find an organization within these constraints, and this organization has thereon been enforced by the sexist and dualist structures and discourses of the Western society. (ibid) Women's work functions as the mediator between the embodiedness of humanity and the socially constructed economic sphere. (Mellor, 1995, p. 131-136) The sex/gender division of labor has become one of the most important means for Western society to create itself *against* nature. Power is achieved through the autonomy that comes from transcending nature, embodiedness, ecological and biological time. This transcendence makes the sexual division of labor a crucial point: this labor is a necessary circumstance for human existence, and thus a fundamental material condition, but all the same needs to be transcended. Through the sexual division of labor, transcendence is mainly reserved to certain individuals or groups. For women to enter the same kind of individuality as men they need to achieve autonomy, but as male domination is created and sustained through women's function as mediators in human-nature relations this possibility is very limited. This has largely put women and men in different time cycles, and explains why the Western economic system leaves social and ecological consequences aside as "externalities": these simply belong to a system that *is* external to the Western economy, culture and time cycle. (Mellor, 2000, p. 111-113) The justification of this order rests on the assumed possibility to extend the transcendence of nature to all, while simultaneously such transcendence is made impossible because of ecological limitations. (ibid, p. 120) Women and nature suffer the same oppression, based on that both nature and women through the sexual division of labor

are put in "a material relation within male-dominated society", while still being kept external to its economic system. (Mellor, 1995, p. 131-136)

A Colonial Patriarchal Economic System

Both materialist and discursive analyses read the practical implementation of patriarchal and colonial orders of social, natural and economic relations in the current global capitalist economy. The very function of the Western industrial model of progress geared toward economic growth is the allocation of resources to some locations and poverty and environmental deterioration to others, through the conversion of social and environmental goods into commodities. (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 251) This allocation of resources happens to coincide with, and thus contributes to sustain, the historical colonial relations between countries along the rough division of North and South, leading Rosa Luxemburg to argue,

"colonialism is a constant, necessary condition for capitalist growth: without colonies, capital accumulation would grind to a halt" (ibid, p. 71).

This model is conditioned by the externalization of the social and environmental costs that result from the commoditization and redistribution of resources. It would be impossible to go forth with a system that is directly connected to such negative consequences, which is why these consequences need to be understood as separate entities without direct connection to the growth loop. It is a question of sustaining the model in itself. Following Mellor's (1995; 2000) and McMahon's (1997) arguments the separation of these costs from respectively the transcendence of nature and the concept of economic man is needed if individuality, autonomy and maximum utility is to be achieved. Only activities and processes that produce a surplus has a value, and places them *within* the transcended Western economy and market place, distinguished from the non-valued externalized costs. The externalizations are then needed as a negative to sustain a difference to the transcended, but furthermore, this kind of growth economy in certain parts of the world would not be possible if the costs were indeed internalized. The high living standards of the rich countries could never be maintained, based on the simple fact that proper prices on commodities (where externalities are internalized) would be afforded only by a small minority (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p 251).

The inability to appreciate work and processes beyond surplus production leads to the devaluation of the reproductive and sustenance work of subsistence economies, in nature's ecosystems, and among humans (mainly women, locally and globally). The lack of profit entails a deficiency from a market economic point of view. This leads to that this work is excluded from the general measurement of economic growth, GDP, and neglected when forced to compete with "profitable" economic activities aiming for expanding markets through increased production and extraction of resources. (ibid p. xv, 268f) With Mellor (1995; 2000), the transcendence of the boundedness to nature is the reason why subsistence economies are neglected. In order for transcendence to be possible it has to define itself against the immanence of nature, and consequently subsistence economies.

A practical example of how this logic materializes in the global economy, is that increased demand for resources and products in the rich world dispossesses and displaces people (mainly women) in poor parts of the world from their livelihoods through denied access to land, water, forest, seeds and biodiversity. (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. xvif) This creates a precarious situation for local populations, as subsistence economies are disrupted. Nature commoditized into resources leaves ecosystems altered, disrupts natural balances and exploits finite environmental goods. The destructive consequences of economic growth are excluded from GDP - the externalized costs - which are then bourn locally through poverty and deterioration of nature (ibid, p. 70ff).

The justification for the current economic system is a discursive somersault, where it is claimed that the level of development of the rich countries is possible to universalize. This is not the case, given the finite character of the planet, but is an important discursive support for the growth model. The World Bank, the Brundtland Report, Our Common Future and the UNCED all suggest to solve the problem of environmental destruction and poverty by engaging in technological, industrial

and economic development. The free market through globalization is assumed to produce global peace and universalize human rights, and thus claimed to be relevant for every person on this planet. What this calculation does not show is how today's exchange of goods and services leads to poverty and natural destruction because it moves beyond humans' and nature's boundaries - ecology and survival have been overtrumped by economic growth. (ibid, p. 268f) This system of production only ends when the environmental conditions are deteriorated enough to affect the production causing them negatively (Mellor, 1995, p. 131), which confirms McMahon's (1997, p. 167) claim that "[n]ature is the ultimate other", reduced to a mere tool for the subject to enrich himself.

Furthermore, expansion of markets often entails transformations of the local economy and democratic processes, which generally benefit the affluent at the expense of the less affluent. (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. xvi) To be neglected as an economic actor implies very limited power to voice one's needs based on practical experiences (Mellor, 1995, p. 130). This leads to what McMahon (1997, p. 165) names as the third faulty principle of the economic model, that the market remains reserved for certain actors that continue to enforce a model that excludes other voices.

Decolonizing Economy toward Ecofeminist Sustainability

Mies & Shiva (2014, p. 252) argue that the only way to move away from exploitation and inequality, poverty and ecological destruction, is to transcend the global industrial growth paradigm. This transcendence is inevitable, since the capitalist economy has proven unable and unfit to sustain humanity within the boundaries of the ecological system, and to fulfill its promise of happiness, freedom and peace through free trade - even to those that have benefitted the most (ibid, p. 322).

To move beyond the current growth model, and to appreciate the connectedness between humans and the natural world, it is necessary to overcome the conceptualization of self, society and nature provided by thoroughly anti-ecological and gender biased neoclassical economics (based on the autonomous individual). Transformation of the human-nature relation will not reach the target unless the foundation of these concepts is scrutinized. (McMahon, 1997, p. 163-172) Mellor (2000, p. 118f) assumes a similar approach, in her promotion of political action rooted in an analysis of the structures that have given rise to our current malfunctioning intra-human, and human-nature relations. In order to move toward sustainability for humans and nonhumans, she encourages an ecological holism in which "the *essentially* dialectical nature of the relation between hu(man)ity and the dynamic ecological whole" is recognized. The current organization in colonial, patriarchal patterns must be changed through a combination of ethical frameworks and material relations, since the basic Western dualism underpinning the organization combines the material with the cultural/ideological. (ibid, p. 120) Efforts to change this organization will have to engage in the three-way relationship that underpins this structure: human-human-nature.

Mellor (2000, p. 121) states that it makes political sense to start in the experience of women, since this is where much of the mediation work between humans and nature takes place, and where biological time is masked and made invisible to the benefitting dominant transcending individuals. This would aim to reconnect economic systems to "the physical reality of human existence", and to reestablish the embeddedness of humanity in nature (Mellor, 1995, p. 138). At the same time, an ecofeminist approach allows for the empowerment of the marginalized, according to McMahon,

"Ecofeminism proposes a *grounds up* approach to addressing environmental degradation; one that starts from lived experience rather than an abstract model. In a world of pre-existing systematic inequalities, it argues, the 'invisible hand' cannot work to achieve efficiency, equity, or sustainability. Ecofeminism's political centering of marginal voices and the 'other' allows it to theorize the social world from the ground up rather than the top down." (McMahon, 1997, p. 172)

The ecofeminist vision for a system that recognizes the interconnectedness of all life is called the subsistence perspective (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 257, 297, 319ff). It is a system where production is synchronized with consumption needs, with smaller and decentralized economic units combined with a decentralized bureaucracy, and a general focus on the creation and recreation of life. All intra-human and human-nature relations are characterized by equality, and the sexual division of labor abolished.

Everyone is made part of decisions concerning economy, technology and politics in a demilitarized grass-roots democracy. Self-reliance and self-sufficiency are underpinning concepts for the use - but not exploitation of local and regional resources. The interconnectedness of all life is respected. Commoditization and commercialization of commons is resisted, and a new paradigm of technology, science and knowledge will be established that is characterized by holistic knowledge, participatory methods and subsistence.

3. ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

3.1 Theory & Method for Environmental Discourse Analysis

Discourse can briefly be described as a set of requirements concerning ideas, concepts and categories that define and ascribe meaning to our world. These are produced and reproduced through social practices, including language, that as a means of making sense of the world will shape what is possible to think, our view of ourselves and the way in which we position ourselves. Discourse analysis takes an interest in understanding the underlying factors of a conception of reality, including historical, cultural, political and other factors. The way in which we choose to make sense of the world is focused rather than discovering the world in itself, and as part of a social constructionist tradition discourse analysis takes an interest in the instability of what we perceive as stable. It is anti-essentialist, meaning that it recognizes that there are several parallel socially constructed realities, and opposes the idea that discourses are the result of a natural evolution. (Dryzek 2012, p. 10f, Hajer & Versteeg 2005, p. 175)

The reason for analyzing discourses is that they provide a framework for human interaction, in society, economy, politics, nature etc. They can have direct effects, e.g., on our institutions, and can in themselves become institutions, thus constituting a kind of guiding informal rules for social interaction that can assume the same power as formal institutional rules. Discourses can also make up the backbone for individuals and collectives to organize around a common idea, such as separatist self-sufficient communities through green radicalism. Other effects of discourses can be social movements that target particular popular expressions of, e.g., inequalities, or general ideas belonging to environmentalism that has changed people's patterns of consumption, transportation and recycling. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 20)

Discourse analysis in environmental policy considers how environmental phenomena are made sense of by society, and is thus a feasible way to try to make sense of contested ideas like sustainability. Discourse analysis builds on the assumption that language in a fundamental way shapes our worlds and realities rather than just mirror them. Investigating metaphors is one way to try to disentangle how language ascribes meaning, and this is important, as discourses have material and factual consequences that shape our conditions, how we think of and position ourselves, what options we find available to us and what decisions we make. Language and its meanings are channelled through rules and norms, and relate to particular practices. The actors of discourses are also important in promoting certain discourses rather than others, and in that way exercise power. (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 175-179) When powerful actors see their discourse threatened by an opposing discourse, an effective strategy to go about business as usual is to assume the language of the other discourse. One example is the kind of "sustainable development" that is closely connected to economic growth. This connection makes "sustainable development" an easy concept to deploy and identify with - most businesses, and governments, do after all aim for economic growth - regardless of the extent of attention paid to environmental protection. In this way, discourse is also informed by and deployed according to interests and power. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 10) The effect of a discourse can be seen both in the work results of organizations, institutions, influential individuals or collectives that adopt its content, and in general changes in the language used by significant numbers of people. (ibid, p. 44f)

ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSES

Four Discursive Elements

In order to better grasp the content of the discourses Dryzek (2012, p. 17ff) has established four basic elements as a framework for the analysis.

1. *Basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed* refers to the ontology of a discourse, which has to do with what basic issues, subjects or objects, activities and actions are assumed to be of importance. Most discourses will for example regard "humans" as a useful category, some stating that further distinctions based on gender, race, religion, class or other are necessary. Humans can be understood as rational and egoistic, or altruistic and emotional in a discourse - or might only be considered as a "population". Some discourses reject natural systems, whereas others imagine a global eco-system with a form of spirit or intelligence.
2. *Assumptions about natural relationships* has to do with what is assumed to be natural in the relations between the issues of the discourse. This concerns fundamental assumptions about, e.g., human social systems, such as hierarchies and discriminatory systems (based on gender, expertise, political power, species, ecological sensibility, intellect, legal status, race, wealth etc), competition or cooperation between individuals, nature or markets etc.
3. *Agents and their motives* focus the agents of a discourse - mostly human (individuals, collectives or institutions) but also nonhuman (such as a Gaia, nature). It also looks into the motives for their actions, such as ignorance, egoism, shortsightedness, enlightenment, virtue, forgiveness, punishment etc.
4. *Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices*. Metaphors are crucial rhetorical tools for a discourse to be communicated efficiently. Examples are "spaceship Earth", "the tragedy of the commons", nature as a mechanical and predictable machine, war on nature, intelligence of humans and nonhuman (such as ecosystems), Mother Nature and other goddesses. Other tools are to relate the discourse to "widely accepted practices or institutions, such as established rights, freedoms, constitutions, and cultural traditions" (ibid, p. 19). Speciecism will, e.g., stretch human rights to the rights of other species. The references can be anchored in the present or history, dreamy or concrete, positive as well as negative.

In order to assess the impact, plausibility, and attractiveness of a discourse, Dryzek (2012, p. 21) is guided by six questions: 1. Politics associated with the discourse, 2. Effect on policies of governments, 3. Effect on institutions, 4. Social and cultural impact, 5. Arguments of critics, 6. Flaws revealed by evidence and argument.

A Selection

Dryzek points out nine main discourses: sustainable development, ecological modernization, administrative rationalism, democratic pragmatism, economic rationalism, limits and survivalism, promethean, green consciousness and green politics. Some of these discourses have already before hand been found to show greater similarities with the comprehensive plan than others. This has to do with, e.g., the kind of institutional setting the plan is produced in, what societal level it applies to, the process of creating the plan, what it aims to achieve, its fundamental assumptions, and what agents are of concern for the discourse.

Green radicalist discourses, green politics and green consciousness, are excluded on practically all accounts as they show too large differences along all four discursive elements. The comprehensive plan shares the Promethean attention to growth, but not at all as strongly or in the same simplistic manner. Limits and survival could potentially be read in the comprehensive plan through the public interests that the plan has to consider, and it could be argued that the plan then may be based on discourses that reflect ideas of the limits and survival discourse. However, it never assumes that framing itself, which is why the two limits and survival discourses are excluded as well. Lastly, the problem solving democratic pragmatism and economic rationalism are excluded. Economic rationalism has had some influence in Swedish environmental discourse, through a growing eco-

economy and green taxes. However, the discourse in its entirety has a too strong market oriented and individualistic approach, that excludes governmental management of environmental issues. This simply disagrees with the plan, which takes for granted certain governmental management. Democratic pragmatism mainly concerns the work carried out in environmental administrations, which would be what partly underpins the plan. It however means that democratic pragmatism mainly concerns another institutional setting and level of decision-making.

The three remaining discourses that are of particular interest are administrative rationalism, ecological modernization, and sustainable development due to the larger similarities in terms of Dryzek's four elements. Why this is the case will be discussed in further detail in the analysis in chapter 3.2. The following part describes the discursive elements of sustainable development, ecological modernization and administrative rationalism.

Greener Growth: Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is, as discussed in chapter 1, the currently dominant environmental discourse, that aims for a socially, environmentally and economically balanced development that considers the needs of both present and future generations. The fuzziness of the concept has allowed for multiple interpretations, but nevertheless contain certain aspects, presented according to Dryzek's four elements below.

1. *Basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed*

Sustainable development stretches from an analysis of the stress on global ecosystems down to regional and local levels to find solutions. It deals with nested systems, in both biological and social respects. Humanity exists *within* the natural systems, with the exception of some resources and systems. Limits are handled ambiguously: certain ecological constraints are recognized, but as long as they are respected there is no limit to growth. The capitalist economy is seen as given, while political systems are in need of adaptation to better answer to the challenge of sustainability. Enlarged international and grassroots influence is suggested.

2. *Assumptions about natural relationships*

The most important relation is that between economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice and longterm sustainability, which are seen as mutually reinforcing one another in a positive direction. Sustainable development is anthropocentric, where humans manage environmental protection. The hierarchical relation between humans and nature is complemented by intra-human relations based on cooperation. This cooperation is however broken by the faith in the capitalist economy.

3. *Agents and their motives*

National governments are slightly de-emphasized as agents, instead highlighting citizen participation and international cooperation. Other agents are NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), IGOs (intergovernmental organizations) and businesses. Relevant actors are thus found on several levels.

4. *Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices*

Sustainable development is thoroughly progress oriented. Its basic idea of growth concerns an increasingly "sensitive, caring, and intelligent political-economic system" with an open end. Improvement is essential, to be found in the very name of the concept - sustainable *development*. Nature in this discourse is mainly thought of in economic terms, and how it serves humans. There must however be a certain respect for nature, as it provides humanity with irreplaceable assets. Further, the discourse contains reassurance, as it confirms the possibility to have it all - perpetual social equality, economic growth and a clean environment. There is no threat of fundamental, potentially uncomfortable, changes. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 147-164)

<p>1. Basic entities recognized or constructed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nested and networked social and ecological systems - Capitalist economy - Ambiguity concerning existence of limits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice, and long-term sustainability go together
<p>2. Assumptions about natural relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperation - Nature subordinate 	<p>3. Agents and their motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many agents at different levels, transnational and local as well as the state; motivated by the public good
	<p>4. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organic growth

Figure 1. Discursive elements of sustainable development

Industrial Society and Beyond: Ecological Modernization

Ecological modernization is the second discourse that forms part of Dryzek’s sustainability cluster, and is a systems approach, which assumes that economic growth can be decoupled from environmental degradation, thus arguing that economic growth can be organized in such a way that it produces environmental protection. It is distinguished by its outspoken ideas of how the capitalist political economy needs to change, and has become an important approach to climate governance at the global level. “Green growth” through partnerships between governments, businesses and NGOs is an important part of the discourse.

1. *Basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed*

Ecological modernization starts from the system of the interrelated consumption, production, resource depletion and pollution, advocating for a proactive preventive approach to environmental problems. Natural systems are however limited to natural resources and how they can contribute to the human economy. The capitalist political economy is taken for granted, and growth is considered possible to perpetuate. In general, limits are ignored.

2. *Assumptions about natural relationships*

Partnership is the main relation between governments, businesses, some environmentalists and scientists, when engaging in the restructuring of the capitalist political economy. Some would want ecological modernization to assume a hierarchy in terms of who manages the restructuring, but there is however still room for more egalitarian political relationships. Ecological modernization is anthropocentric, as nature is clearly subordinate to humans. Another natural relationship is that between environmental protection and economic growth.

3. *Agents and their motives*

The partners in charge of the restructuring process, governments, businesses, environmentalists and scientists, aim for the common good or public interest - environmental conservation and a strong economy. However, in order to be implemented it requires a broad support.

4. *Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices*

Ecological modernization uses “the tidy household”, with references to the greek word oikos that is the foundation of the words ecology and economy, to promote the idea that a clean environment and economic growth go hand in hand. The word “modernization” is associated with the positively connoted progress, and gives the reassurance - just like sustainable development - that no difficult changes are needed, and that both a clean environment and perpetual growth are possible. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 165-183)

1. Basic entities recognized or constructed	- Environmental protection and economic prosperity go together
- Complex systems	3. Agents and their motives
- Nature as waste treatment plant	- Partners; motivated by public good
- Capitalist economy	4. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices
- The state	- Tidy household
2. Assumptions about natural relationships	- Connection to progress
- Partnership encompassing government, business, environmentalists, scientists	- Reassurance
- Subordination of nature	

Figure 2. Discursive elements of ecological modernization

Leave it to the Experts: Administrative Rationalism

”As a problem solving discourse, administrative rationalism takes the political-economic status quo of liberal capitalism as given. It then puts scientific and technical expertise, organized into bureaucratic hierarchy, motivated by the public interest, to use in solving environmental problems without changing the structural status quo.” (Dryzek, 2012, p. 90) Administrative rationalism is a reactive discourse of practical management that aims to prevent any further deterioration of the environment. It was quickly implemented in policies, institutions and methodologies, such as governmental resource management, pollution control agencies, environmental impact assessments, and strong top-down planning. Sweden was a pioneer by integrating ministers from areas with a great importance for the environment in the Delegation for Ecologically Sustainable Development.

1. *Basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed*

Focusing on problem solving, liberal capitalism is taken as given. The government is the administrative state, which makes governing a question of ”rational management in the service of a clearly defined public interest, informed by the best available expertise” without any involvement by the public (Dryzek, 2012, p. 88). The discourse lacks clear point of view on ecosystems, finite resources, population or energy.

2. *Assumptions about natural relationships*

Administrative rationalism subordinates nature to humans, and environmental problems to human problem solving. Human society has two main hierarchies according to the administrative rationalism: the people is subordinated to the state, and experts and managers assume dominant positions within the state based on their expertise. Politics are largely denied.

3. *Agents and their motives*

Agency pertains to both collectives and individuals, but the primary agent is the government. Above all technical experts and managers within the government are granted a large capacity to act. ”Motivations are treated as entirely public-spirited, and the public interest is conceptualized in unitary terms.” (Dryzek, 2012, p. 89) This means that what is considered public interest, and the application of which, is very much a technical procedure, why the experts through their analyses know what is in the public interest better than the public itself.

4. *Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices*

This discourse lacks vivid metaphors, but it could be said that the administrative state through its experts works as a ”unitary administrative mind” that is in control of the state. This idea assumes that appropriate steering will take society in the right direction away from environmental problems. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 75-95)

1. Basic entities recognized or constructed	- Experts and managers control state
- Liberal capitalism	3. Agents and their motives
- Administrative state	- Experts and managers
- Experts	- Motivated by public interests, defined in unitary terms
- Managers	
2. Assumptions about natural relationships	4. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices
- Nature subordinate to human problem solving	- The administrative mind
- People subordinate to state	- Navigating and steering

Figure 3. Discursive elements of administrative rationalism

3.2 Environmental Discourse Analysis of the Comprehensive Plan

Rather than applying Dryzek's method for discourse analysis this reading will deploy his discursive categories and their respective elements in the analysis of the environmental discourse/s present in the comprehensive plan. This analysis will not go as deeply or reach as far as a proper discourse analysis, but will nevertheless attempt at clarifying the content of the plan using Dryzek's discursive categories and elements as a backdrop. As previously mentioned, the focus will be on three discourses that have been found to share certain characteristics with the comprehensive plan. These are administrative rationalism, ecological modernization, and sustainable development. The analysis will look into in what ways they are particularly relevant, as well as when they depart from the plan. As a document that aims to bring together a number of national policies while still staying true to its locally rooted aim and conditions for implementation, the comprehensive plan can be expected to incorporate several kinds of environmental discourses.

While this analysis does not aspire or pretend to come to an exhaustive and complete final result, it attempts to shed light on what kind of approach to environmental issues is offered through the comprehensive plan, and some conditions and implications of the found model. Following Dryzek (2012, p. 12f) the analysis does not aim to prove the current discourse/s wrong - as discourses merely answer to issues found important within the limits of the discourse itself. Rather, it aims to confront a number of discourses with another, in order to contribute to an overall better understanding of the social and environmental issues at hand, as well as the potential to solve these within the discursive frames of the plan. Dryzek (2012, p. 21) notes that attention to comparison between opposing discourses is a good way to uncover their flaws, limitations and inconsistencies. Such clarification is what I hope to contribute to through this analysis.

All quotes and cited expressions are in my own translation.

SUMMARY OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

The population of Stockholm is growing with over 10,000 inhabitants a year due to an increase in child birth and national and international migrants. This growth is appreciated since it supports economic growth and gives the chance to increase welfare, and it is also expected to continue. The longterm planning aims to support this growth, and assess the needs of the growing population while the city develops in an economically, socially and environmentally longterm sustainable manner. The competition for land areas is deemed to become an important issue, as different interests such as infrastructure, play grounds, green areas, residential areas, and technical facilities, are likely to conflict. Another important matter is to enforce the region of Stockholm in the international competition, through inter-municipal cooperation and a mutual city branding strategy, as a globalizing economy means a larger dependence on other regions and also parts of the world. Good conditions for corporations must be supported for current and future establishment, in which an attractive city with good connections are important factors. (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 6f)

Global climate changes are confirmed as one of the greatest challenges of our time, and are since long addressed by reduction of green house gases. The city aims to be fossil free by 2050, and the most important means to get there are district heating and increased public transportation. This requires an increased accessibility in the transportation system combined with minimized effects on the climate. Technological development is integral, just like the access to alternative fuels, great expansion of the public transportation and the promotion of biking and walking in the urban environment. Other means to increase the energy efficiency of the city are smart urban planning and public procurement of services. (ibid, p. 7f)

Lastly, social inequalities is a big challenge in Stockholm, in which the city and region have proven less successful than others in creating an inclusive labor market. The general wealth has

increased simultaneously as social and economic differences. There are great differences between districts, and between the inner and outer city. The population is segregated in different residential areas and typologies based on education, income level and ethnicity. It has been found important to look into how the different parts of the city relate to one another, and how the labor market can become more integrated. (ibid, p. 8) It is mentioned that economically weak inhabitants are disadvantaged on the housing market, and it has proven difficult to push prices down on new apartments. Instead, chains of people moving houses are expected to be created through providing attractive new housing. (ibid, p. 23)

The comprehensive plan aims to achieve "a world class city" by means of "sustainable growth". "Longterm sustainable societal development" (ibid, p. 9) is found to have more to do with a process than a preferred end state, and aims for a strong cooperation between the city administrations, corporations and other actors. It appoints "the city" as the driver of this change, to be supported by the public. The plan however also shows more concrete efforts at implementing sustainability. Under the heading "a growing and sustainable city" (ibid, p. 5) it is said that

"an urban development of the central city and in centers in the outer city, connecting these with new public transportation, more coherent urban environments and more attractive park and green areas will lead to an in every respect sustainable city"

The main expression of a growing and sustainable city is "a more dense and more connected Stockholm" (ibid). As mentioned above, an efficient transportation system with minimal environmental effects is seen as integral to combatting global warming, and is named as a key to sustainable growth by the *Vision 2030*. It is concluded that there are great chances to encourage sustainable transportation habits in the dense city, and financial controls are seen as an important tool. (ibid, p. 20, 34) A rapid pace of housing production in order to accommodate the necessary workforce is another named condition for longterm sustainable growth. Good infrastructure for IT is another part, one of the reasons being decreasing need for transportation. In the increasing competition between cities and regions it is also found that the cultural historical values must be safeguarded, as they contribute to the identity and attraction of Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 22, 25, 26). The development of Norra Djurgårdsstaden and Västra Liljeholmen/Lövholmen, using the experiences from Hammarby Sjöstad, are important parts in building a sustainable city, and also function as testbeds for new technology, transportation, energy use, recycling and lifestyle issues (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 8, 34, 51, 58).

SHORT TEXT ANALYSIS

Before getting into the discursive elements of Dryzek, this part aims to clarify how the comprehensive plan is written in a brief text analysis, as the use of phrases is one aspect on the framing and content of the text. A quick word search of a pdf-format of the comprehensive plan has lead to the result in figure 4 below. Some of the phrases will be explained a bit more in detail.

Frequent Terminology

A frequent use of the word "development" is hardly surprising, given that the document specifically concerns how to handle the urban development of Stockholm. Consequently, the term is used in a number of different contexts, the most frequent being "urban development", referring to the strategies for development, to the particular areas to which the strategies apply, to potential for development in particular areas, and to urban development as a general process that concerns every part of the city and every stockholm.

"Attractiveness" among other things refers to the city's ability to attract immigrants and businesses, and compete internationally. It is a natural part of the aim of the comprehensive plan, in becoming a world class city (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 2), and it is assumed that "a larger and stronger region will increase the power of attraction of Stockholm" (ibid, p. 6). Another dimension concerns parks and green areas, in terms of their uses, accessibility, and quality. Attractiveness is also used to describe urban environments, boroughs, public transportation, roads, meeting places, recreation, housing, and is in general connected to a dense urban structure.

"Growth" is another frequent term in the plan, often used together with "sustainable", "economic" or "longterm". Sometimes exchanged for another most recurrent term, development, it generally refers to the growth of the population, the economy and business sector in general. Growth is consistently positively connoted, and in fact the most important task that the comprehensive planning faces. Population growth is named "a prerequisite for a positive economic development and increased welfare" (ibid, p. 6). Growth is the first condition when engaging in the urban development of the city, and accommodating a growing population and thus sustaining a continued economic growth is the basic underpinning argument.

"Future", just like "development" has a natural position in the document, as it quite simply is concerned with the future development of the city. It is used together with, e.g., "challenges", "development", "uncertainty", "images" and "need", or simply as another time and place that is yet to be known for us. "Vision" mainly refers to the vision document of the city and thus to the idea of Stockholm as a world class city, but also to more specific visions for certain areas that are pointed out in the comprehensive plan.

Term	Times used
Development: - urban development - development strategies - development areas	265 78 13 30
Environment: - urban environment - environmental quality standard - cultural environment - street environment - environmental problem	269 80 13 9 8 2
Attractive	67
Growth: - sustainable growth	39 21
Sustainable - sustainable traveling - socially, economically & environmentally sustainable	61 11 3
Future	90
Vision	42
A world class city/Stockholm	12
Social	25
Ecological	11
Equality / equal	0
Gender equality / equal	0
Justice / just	0

Figure 4. Word search

3.2.1 Basic Entities whose Existence is Recognized or Constructed

The Discursive Setting: A Public Policy for Sustainable Growth

This comprehensive plan, forming the synthesis of the Planning and Building Act, national strategies and targets for sustainable development, national public interests, and the political vision of the city, is in itself a public policy. It is directed toward all administrations and corporations of the city, and other actors involved in the development of Stockholm, as well as interested citizens. It was produced by the City Planning Administration, and is directly linked to detailed planning in Stockholm. (Stockholm, 2010)

The Capitalist Economy

The much appreciated population growth of Stockholm provides the city with the labor force needed for its economy to grow, but also to support the extension of the welfare. The comprehensive plan states (2010, p. 6), "[t]he tasks for the longterm planning of the city is to further a continued growth and to analyze how the needs of a rapidly growing population can best be met". This reflects an approach to urban development that is based on growth, a basic prerequisite that sorts the comprehensive plan into the prosaic group of discourses that take the capitalist political-economic conditions as given, whether to label it a capitalist political economy, or liberal capitalism (Dryzek, 2012, p. 14f).

Unlimited "Sustainable Growth"

The comprehensive plan emphasizes "sustainable growth" as the favored means of development for the city, which is based on the national strategy for sustainable development and on the political vision for the city, *Vision 2030 - A Guide to the Future*. While ascribing certain frames to how growth is supposed to come about, such as support of environmental technologies and renewable energy production, there is no notion on any upper limit to growth. Climate changes are confirmed, even named "one of the biggest challenges of our time" (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 7), and the plan thus admits that there are problems with our current society that need to be handled. However, the plan does not directly connect economic growth to environmental destruction, but rather intends that environmental problems can be solved within the growth paradigm. Typically, the plan refers to the successes Stockholm has seen in limiting the environmental impact when compared to other big European cities, with examples including district heating, "attractive public transportation", and "supporting efficient energy use through well thought through urban planning" (ibid, p. 8) Further encouraged action is directed toward continued investigation into how the technical systems of the city can be secured in case of, e.g., sea level rise, the management of gray water, energy potentiation, enlargement of the public transportation and the goal of a fossil fuel free city in 2050 (ibid, p. 7f, 24, 29). The new redevelopment areas with an environmental profile, Norra Djurgårdsstaden and Västra Liljeholmen, serve as proof of combined investments in urban growth and sustainability (ibid, p. 51). The investments might take on a slightly different form and shape in the named cases compared to traditional urban developments, but nonetheless supposedly show that environmental protection is indeed compatible with and can be included in capitalist economic growth.

"The City": Governing Administration vs Object for Development

"The city" figures, quite naturally, as a prominent basic entity in the plan. This entity bears a number of meanings. On page 79 (Stockholms stad, 2010) "the city" is referred to as a subject: "[t]he plan concurrently clarifies *the city's* view on the future development for stockholmers, agencies and other stakeholders. In this way, they can get an idea of where *the city* stands in future claims on change in the urban environment. [...] The experience of *the city*..." [italics added]. However, on the same page "the city" shifts into an object: "The comprehensive plan is a general policy document for the boards and corporations within the city of Stockholm, that are responsible for different parts of the development of *the city*." These quotes uncover the two main roles that "the city" is given: the

subjective agent, as the political and practical driver for the intended change and development of Stockholm; and the objective entity that is to be developed. "The city" does however not refer to the inhabitants of the city, as can be noted in the following quote: "[H]owever, substantial efforts are required from *the city* and from everyone that lives and operates in Stockholm, in order to reach the ambitious target of a fossil fuel free city until the year 2050" (ibid, p. 7f).

Diverse naming of people aggregates

The people that live in Stockholm are often referred to as "population", "inhabitants", "Stockholmers", "dwellers", different kinds of road-users, "different groups", "labor power", "consumers of dwellings", "clients" etc. A quick analysis would suggest that people are referred to according to their collective function for the particular topic, but there doesn't seem to be any cohesive point of view on definitions. It could be noted that "citizen" is used only once.

Furthermore, there are references to "kids", "youngsters", "women" and "elderly", but not one reference to "men". These labels are often referred to when describing certain experiences, problematics or needs, one example being, "[m]any, particularly elderly and women, worry about being exposed to crime or feel insecure after nightfall" (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 16). This potentially points toward normative assumptions in the plan, in four main ways: 1. it assumes that the label is functional and valid in itself, in terms of inner cohesion, 2. it assumes that a certain labeling is connected to particular experiences, needs or problematics, 3. it gives the impression that the labeled categories represent side interest, particularities, often implicitly understood as minority positions given the need to be distinguished from the unnamed normative position, and 4. it silences any similar experiences that arise in other categories since the focus is on the named category rather than on the experience regardless of by whom it is made. Given the general critique of male biases in futures studies, discussed in ch. 1.1, and the absence of "men" as a category, chances are there is a male bias in the comprehensive plan.

Regardless of potential bias however - the second labeling is based on assumed experiences, problematics and needs of a collective rather than the function this collective holds in a particular matter. In either way, the labels can be used for easy referencing in the comprehensive plan.

Nature as a resource at humans' disposal

Nature is present in the comprehensive plan in a number of different ways, referred to as "parks", "nature", "green areas", "flora and fauna", "beaches" and "water" etc. These expressions are often accompanied by references to its "value", "attractiveness", "accessibility" and "quality", how it can be developed, improved and managed (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 12f, 18f). It can be noted that nature is referred to as a collection of separate entities, rather than interconnected ecosystems with their own logic. There are expressions of appreciation of environmental values in the plan as it encourages some extent of environmental protection, e.g., actions to ensure improved conditions for the flora and fauna. The plan also notes that the environment of the green beaches "have a great value for the stockholmers and for the flora and fauna" (ibid, p. 12). This protection is often related to national interests (ibid, p. 18).

Among general references to the importance of protecting ecological values, such as clean water, ecologically sensitive areas, and the regional green wedges (ibid, p. 18f), the main way of addressing nature is in terms of how it can be useful to or used by the people of Stockholm as shown in the following quote: "[a] broad perspective is required if the urban development will be able to contribute to managing and developing the qualities of the water for dwellers, visitors and workers, not least when it comes to recreation." (ibid, p. 12) Apart from the momentary attention to environmental values, nature is rarely discussed as something with a value in and for itself, but is rather ascribed a value in terms of how it can be used as a resource for humans and urban development.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALISM OR ECOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION?

The Discursive Setting: A Public Policy

Administrative rationalism occurs mainly in environmental or resource management administrations, aiming to find solutions to particular environmental problems. The dominant way of countering the issues in question is from a natural science point of view, through expert driven problem solving. Planning is one of the means through which administrative rationalism has become known, however that is through a strongly top-down technicist kind of planning, in which environmental issues are often sidelined when colliding with economic interests. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 75-88) While several of the issues and the tools from administrative rationalism can be recognized in the planning of Stockholm, such as environmental impact assessment, there are differences in terms of its organizational setting and the level and content of policy making. The comprehensive plan is not limited to any environmental administration or pollution control agency, but rather that work is one of the aspects the plan needs to mediate. It then meets the political vision and a practical context, which are all part of the particular discourse of the plan. Thus, administrative rationalism will underpin the plan, but may not be the main discourse the plan follows.

Ecological modernization moves on a slightly different level, focusing broad cooperation between public and private stakeholders, aiming for the decoupling of environmental deterioration and economic growth. Ecological modernization does not favor governmental solutions or public policy, instead focusing market oriented solutions through business incentives and investments in environmentally sound practices. The comprehensive plan aims to find broad agreements across societal sectors, and pays a lot of attention to how the best possible conditions for the industry and commerce of the city can be created. Nevertheless, the plan *is* a public policy, but it has to be noted that it is one that emphasizes flexibility and simplified implementation.

Sustainable development figures far above and way below the comprehensive plan, as it attempts to stretch from global level down to the local community. With the aim of combining environmental protection, social justice and economic growth in a mutually reinforcing development process, its principle is unbound to contexts or institutions. Rather, it encourages experimentation and a multi-layered approach. As such, this discourse lacks an outspoken discursive setting, why the affiliation of the comprehensive plan with this discourse will have to be read through its content rather than its outer frames.

The Capitalist Economy

As the comprehensive plan accepts the general framework of our current society, however in need of some alterations, it agrees with Dryzek's reformist group of discourses, among which can be found administrative rationalism, ecological modernization and sustainable development (2012, p. 14f). While presenting differing ideas about how to handle environmental issues, all three discourses take the capitalist economy as a common point of departure.

Unlimited "Sustainable Growth"

The plan shows no sign of potential limitations to economic growth, beyond the sustainable manner in which it is supposed to take place. In terms of phrasing this agrees with ecological modernization, which assumes the possibility to perpetuate growth given that it occurs in a way that does not pose a threat to the environment, or that is simply based on environmental protection. Ecological modernization actively aims at a structural change of the economy away from environmentally degrading activities, the fulfillment of which allows for perpetual growth. While supporting the idea of "sustainable growth" the plan however does little to assure that unsustainable growth is hindered. Part of the argument for this lies in the very concept "sustainable growth", which rather than a restructuring in favor of environmental protection, concerns how to coordinate and streamline the implementation of the plan when there are many actors involved (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9). The economic and urban development of Stockholm is partly intended to follow environmentally benign tracks, by means of increased energy efficiency, limited pollution and emissions, cleaner water, investments in

environmental technologies, and a less energy intensive transportation system. The growth that the plan supports is however not conditioned by such factors, meaning that it does not exclude economic activity that is carried out in an unsustainable manner. It seems then that the plan assumes parts of the strategy of ecological modernization, without necessarily pulling it all the way through. Nevertheless, this is the discourse that bears most resemblances with the comprehensive plan in this respect.

Administrative rationalism does not deal with growth at all. Sustainable development is more ambiguous when it comes to growth, as some parts of the discourse denies the value of growth per se, while others encourage what is labeled "green growth", which sees no limit to growth given certain ecological constraints are respected. In terms of the latter, there are certainly parallels between sustainable development and the comprehensive plan. Generally however, growth is treated in a more complex manner in sustainable development than what can be found in the comprehensive plan, requiring a combined effort at economic growth, environmental protection and distributive justice. This idea of growth is mentioned in the plan, with references to social, ecological and economic factors (ibid, p. 9), but is not the prominent version of growth in the document.

"The City": Governing Administration vs Object for Development

In terms of basic entities that refer to governance, the state figures in both administrative rationalism and ecological modernization. This will be the main point of reference for analyzing the role of the city as a governing administration.

Administrative rationalism makes governance through the administrative state, and experts and managers an issue of "rational management in the service of a clearly defined public interest, informed by the best available expertise" (Dryzek, 2012, p. 88). This places the experts and managers on an equal level with the administrative state. The city, in the contexts mentioned above referring to the administrations that work on behalf of the municipal politicians, has an executive role to play, and thus are rather set to abide by top-down directions. The city however also holds a mediating task, navigating between politics, national interests and a practical context. In this respect, the city holds a certain level of expertise. The city however also opens up for cooperation with other actors, why all the while being a strong subject, it is certainly not the only one. The comprehensive plan thus barely resembles administrative rationalism in this respect.

The state in the view of ecological modernization is the representative of governmental politics and policy-making, which according to ecological modernization should be limited. As just discussed, the city works on behalf of the city's politicians, why it has to be understood as having more of a managing and executive role than one of political governance. Furthermore, the plan partly opens up this management to different city administrations, corporations and other actors with a role to play in urban development, in search for an efficient implementation. The role of the city then compares badly with the ecological modernization perspective on the state, but on the other hand could be related to the driver of cooperative processes that is indeed favored by ecological modernization. In this sense, the city assumes the leadership for the urban development of the city, while keeping good relations with its partners. Even though the institutional setting may conflict with the ecological modernization and its take on leadership, the role that the city assumes can still be related to its partnership with slight hierarchical ingredients. (More on this in 3.2.2.)

The sustainable development discourse lacks any particular notion on entities of this character, why it doesn't easily compare with the comprehensive plan.

Diverse naming of people aggregates

None of the three discourses has any particular notion on aggregates of people. Sustainable development ascribes significance to all members of society, down to collectives and individuals. While the whole population is included, there are descriptions or naming of particular parts of the population.

Ecological modernization promotes management with a broad support from the public, however without ascribing the public any particular role in management or further description in general. The discourse in this respect seems to describe a passively supportive population. The plan

does attend to the public support of the plan, through references to the dialogues with groups of stockholmers that informed the work with the comprehensive plan (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 78). Apart from this however, there is no particular importance paid to the public. It seems then as if the comprehensive plan largely agrees with ecological modernization on a general attitude toward the public.

Nature as a resource at humans' disposal

Nature acquires respect in the sense that it needs a certain protection, to safeguard some level of biodiversity and other ecological values. The protection is related to the national interest, which has contributed to the establishment of a number of natural reserves (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 18). These cases can be read as examples of an administrative rationalist approach to problem solving, where the city acts on the orders of the administrative state and experts. Administrative rationalism lacks a definition or valuation of nature, but concludes that it is in need of expert management. However, the attention to nature as a set of separate entities clearly points toward a problem solving approach, where nature is given the shape of well defined separate objects that inspire the idea that they can be handled independently of one another. Thus, the basic perspective on nature in the comprehensive plan is underpinned by the anthropocentric managerial approach of administrative rationalism.

The plan however goes further, presenting a perspective that largely agrees with ecological modernization, as it addresses nature mainly in terms of the values it supplies to the stockholmers. Just like ecological modernization, the wellbeing of nature is also given an overtly economic potential, in connecting a clean environment with happier and healthier workers and an improved attractiveness of the city, which in the long run may support the continued growth of the city. It could then be said that the comprehensive plan is based in notions on nature that belong to administrative rationalism through its executive function in the management of national interests, but develops an interpretation of its own that rather draws on ecological modernization.

The idea of complex ecosystems with their own internal logic that humans themselves are immersed in as in the sustainable development discourse is completely absent.

3.2.2 Assumptions About Natural Relationships

Hierarchical Cooperation

The comprehensive plan ultimately aims at establishing clarity around the central aim of developing Stockholm in the direction of "a world class city" and to coordinate the actors concerned with the urban development of Stockholm in a common effort. This is the road toward both urban development and sustainable growth. On several occasions the plan emphasizes the importance of a common approach to urban development of the city, in which all concerned actors move in the same direction. (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9) When discussing its conception of sustainable growth, it is repeated that cooperation is the key to a successful result and efficient implementation:

"[L]ongterm sustainable development to a large part concerns a process rather than a future desirable state. The ongoing cooperation between the administrations and corporations of the city, and many other actors gives a basis for long-sightedness and that different perspectives and interests can be satisfied and balanced against one another. The broad dialogue during the public consultation has also been valuable. This increases the possibilities to implement the intentions of the plan, and to deepen the dialogue" (ibid, p. 9).

Cooperation is a fundamental part of the relation between the actors concerned with urban development. It stands clear however that there is also a certain hierarchy, as "the city" is referred to as the main agent in urban development throughout the document (more about this in the following section 3.2.3). Thus, broad cooperations are sought and encouraged, but it remains clear that the city has a privileged position.

In terms of hierarchical, though cooperative, relations it can also be noted that the stockholmers remain a remote and slightly indefinite group (as discussed in the previous section). The participatory aspects of the planning process point toward the broad commitment to the plan that is sought through dialogues, a commitment that is required for the plan to be implemented in an efficient manner. It could be discussed what this participation means in practice. There is a great contrast between participation that aims to ease the implementation of already decided on proposals, or participation that aims to create optimal chances for the public opinion to influence the planning process. It could certainly be questioned what voice the stockholmers are in fact given in this plan. The previous section's attention to population aggregates holding different functions suggests an image of the stockholmers as passive masses, at the bottom of the hierarchy.

The plan is in itself a sign of the effort at extended cooperation. It is an attempt at a more flexible, less detailed plan, that eases implementation. The answer is a strategic plan that is coordinated with other policy documents, produced in a process of dialogue with a number of city administrations and corporations, the Stockholm County Council, and groups of stockholmers. (ibid, p. 2-11) "The city" mediates political and national against local and business interests, but sustains its rank.

Anthropocentrism

As discussed in the previous section, nature is often referred to in terms of how it can benefit the stockholmers, the urban development and sustainable growth. The sociotopic map of the stockholmers' estimation and use of the green areas around Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 18), which forms an important base to the planning of green areas, is one manifestation of this relation. In one section the plan reads:

"[T]he qualities and connections of the ecological infrastructure, in the shape of core areas, zones for reproduction and buffer zones, shall be protected and developed in such a way that the stockholmers' need of recreation filled with experiences is not compromised or that indispensable ecological values go to waste." (ibid, p. 19)

This phrasing relates to the national interests in the green wedges around Stockholm, and certainly attends to natural values and environmental protection. It is however paired with the recreational interest that stockholmers might have in these same areas. While the recreational functions of the green wedges do not at all have to conflict with the ecological values, it must still be noted that the phrasing contains an effort at balancing the recreational interests and the environmental. It means that in a potential conflict it is not necessarily the case that the environmental values will be seen as the most important to consider, which in a sense means that environmental protection at least to a certain extent depends on what kind of resource a particular area provides the stockholmers with. Another paragraph mentions the park program, stating that

"[i]n order to achieve the aims of the park program of the city while the city grows and gets denser, a good maintenance such as an active park planning to renew and recreate parks and nature, enhance the qualities and increase the accessibility is required. Park planning has a great impact on whether the urban development will be longterm sustainable or not." (ibid, p. 19)

This case points toward how a particularly shaped nature is considered to be a valuable resource to the urban development of Stockholm, and maybe even deciding its very potential to achieve longterm sustainability. Furthermore, the quote contains a description of the interaction between humans and nature. As if the establishment of nature as a resource at the disposal of humans wasn't enough, the quote in fact describes the very recreation of nature. This displays in a very efficient way the anthropocentricity that characterizes the relation between humans and nature, where humans are in effect placed outside of and even turned into the creators of nature.

"The Good City", Environmental Values and Growth

Some basic concepts with naturalized interrelations are population growth, economic growth and increased welfare. Concerning the starting point for the situation of the city and its planners, the plan states, that

"[t]he starting point is that population growth constitutes a basic condition for a positive economic development and increased welfare." (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 6)

As mentioned previously, this population growth is considered one of the main task of planners to accommodate, in order for the economy and welfare of the city to keep on growing. In terms of the ongoing globalization process the plan argues, that

"[t]he most important issues are to satisfy the needs of competent labor power of the industry and commerce and improved communications. Another prioritized task is to brand and develop the good city with a high quality of life so that the labor power of the future will want to live and work in Stockholm." (ibid, p. 7)

In this quote, an urban development that promotes the idea of "the good city" in a global context will be an integral part in attracting the new population that is needed to sustain the growth of the population, and consequently of the economy and welfare. Drawing on the quote used above to describe the relation between humans and nature, it can be concluded that nature is seen as an important resource to the urban development. With the comprehensive plan's understanding of sustainability it can be deduced that nature and parks of a high quality, maintenance and accessibility directly affect the economic growth and urban development of the city, and are therefore highly estimated. In this way, there are intimate relations between "the good city", environmental values, population growth, economic growth, and increased welfare.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALISM OR ECOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION?

Hierarchical Cooperation

Ecological modernization clearly highlights the cooperative relations between the actors of the discourse, where broad partnership is seen as a given. Some hierarchy is accepted in this relation concerning the management of the process, since this is to the benefit of all involved. It makes sense that the public is given a limited role, as its main contribution is to support rather than to contribute to the process. The relations between the actors of ecological modernization completely reflect those of the comprehensive plan.

Administrative rationalism has less parallels to the comprehensive plan, as it emphasizes completely hierarchical relations between the administrative state, experts and managers, and the people, without any form interdependency. While it can be discussed what room for disagreements on the part of the public that the plan allows for, it is still clear that the support of the public is an important dimension in the comprehensive plan. This is not recognized by administrative rationalism, why the plan cannot be seen as reflecting this discourse in this regard.

Sustainable development, finally, largely assumes equal relations between the agents of the discourse. This discourse operates on several levels, from global to local, and requires multi-layered actions and broad participation in order to be fulfilled, and favors relations that are based on broad cooperation. Sustainable development, then, ascribes a much larger role to the public than the previous two discourses, and furthermore denies the hierarchical relation character of ecological modernization and administrative rationalism. The resemblance between sustainable development and the comprehensive plan is in this respect very small.

Anthropocentrism

Dryzek finds nature to be put in a subordinate position to humans in the major part of his named discourses, i.e., in all of the problem solving and sustainability discourses. The distinction between nature and humanity is strong in the comprehensive plan, largely placing humans outside of natural ecosystems and turning nature into a resource. Administrative rationalism displays a clearcut idea of nature's subordination to humans, recognizable also in the comprehensive plan. Administrative rationalism does not ascribe any particular value to nature, but rather reduces it to a problem with clear contours for experts to solve. While it can be recognized that the comprehensive plan as well cuts nature into well defined pieces, it does ascribe a considerable value to nature.

In this aspect, the plan has more in common with ecological modernization, where nature is thought of as an important resource that can serve humans and by extension the economy in a positive manner. However, as ecological modernization argues for a wholesale restructuring of the economy that aims to make environmental protection the source of economic growth, it definitely ascribes a higher value to nature than the comprehensive plan. The comprehensive plan sees nature as a great asset for the development of the city, but without it being an underpinning condition. Nevertheless, the attitude is clearly anthropocentric.

The disconnection of humans from the ecosystems means the comprehensive plan has even less in common with sustainable development than the other discourses. Sustainable development does contain an element of anthropocentrism, due to a partial subordination of nature. At the same time however, there is a strong emphasis on the interconnectedness of social and natural system, which largely places humanity *within* nature.

"The Good City", Environmental Values and Growth

Ecological modernization draws strong connections between environmental protection and economic growth where the current capitalist economy is seen as missing out on potential profits that could be made from environmental protection, both by means of new technologies, products and processes, and that a clean environment produces happier workers. The discourse argues that the decoupling of environmental degradation and economic growth is both possible and desirable, why environmental protection is intimately connected to growth. While the comprehensive plan does appreciate the value

of nature in terms of creating an attractive city, and thus contributing to the growth of the population and economy, it does not share the ambition of ecological modernization. The plan does not intend any wholesale reorientation of the urban economy, even though there is certain encouragement of the development of environmental technologies, energy efficiency and improved transportation.

Apart from connecting environmental protection to economic growth, sustainable development adds distributive justice and longterm sustainability to the equation. These four concepts are seen as mutually enforcing one another. Since the World Bank formulated the solution to sustainable development as "green growth" this discourse has become more prominent on national levels. This kind of growth focuses on the "eco-economy", thus showing resemblances with ecological modernization. The green growth rhetoric can be noted in the comprehensive plan's attention to "sustainable growth". However, in spite of the use of the term "sustainability", with some references to its ecological, social and economic dimensions (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9), the plan in general pays little attention to matters of distributive justice, locally or globally. The interconnectedness that characterizes sustainable development is simply absent.

Administrative rationalism lacks any connection between environmental protection and growth, why this discourse in this matter is disqualified.

3.2.3 Agents & Their Motives

The City and its Partners

The main actor or agent that is recurrently referred to in the comprehensive plan is "the city". Other actors that are mentioned throughout the document are the city administrations and corporations, and sometimes also actors affiliated with urban development generally. (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9) Apart from a few exceptional cases, e.g., when referring to how "everyone that lives and operates in Stockholm" must make an effort if the aim of a fossil free city in 2050 is to be achieved (ibid, p. 7f), actors such as citizens or the public are barely mentioned. This does not mean that the stockholmers do not have any agency to act, in fact they do have a responsibility in, e.g., their choice of transportation as shown above. However, they are not counted as any main actor for the implementation of the comprehensive plan. It is hardly surprising that this kind of document targets "the city" as the main agent, as it is concerned with the longterm and detailed planning on which the municipality has the monopoly. Assuming a strategy that encourages strong cooperation across administrations, public corporations, and all actors that are engaged in urban development is likewise logical.

The Public Interest

The comprehensive plan is obliged to account for a number of public interests that are derived from the Planning and Building Act (Plan- och Bygglagen). These encompass, among others, economic growth, natural and cultural values, good environmental conditions, and communication routes. (Stockholms stad, 2010, p 11) Out of these a selection and evaluation has been made, that is based on which interests are the most relevant to address in the plan when considering the vision document and the contemporary challenges that face the urban development of Stockholm. The selection is summarized in a number of focus areas in the plan that are to guide the following planning of Stockholm. These focus areas, together with the vision document, *Vision 2030*, lay out the foundation for the urban planning strategy of the city: "a more dense and more connected Stockholm". (ibid, p. 2, 5) The plan is thus intended to safeguard matters of national interest to the extent possible, while however not being legally binding. The public interest is then one out of two main motives for setting up the plan.

A World Class City through Sustainable Growth

The aim of the strategy proposed by the comprehensive plan is established on page one (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 1), that Stockholm is to become "a world class city":

"Stockholm today faces the challenge to grow in a wise manner where more inhabitants than ever before in history will live and prosper in a city with new attractive dwellings, a dynamic industry and commerce, a knowledge focused education system, qualitative welfare, a rich offering of experiences and an exceptionally good environment. In short, a world class Stockholm."

This aim derives from the vision document, *Vision 2030 - A Guide to the Future*, which the plan is set to follow and concretize (ibid, p. 2, 9). Population growth is named "a precondition for a positive economic development and increased welfare" (ibid, p. 6) in Stockholm. The plan goes on to state that

"[t]he tasks for the longterm urban planning of the city is to promote a continued growth and analyze how the needs of a rapidly growing population can best be met" (ibid).

As discussed previously, the population growth is intimately connected to the economic growth of the city, meaning that an increasing population entails a chance at continued economic growth. Thus, the aim of becoming a world class city is synonymous to the furthering of a city that will continue to attract new inhabitants - and continue to grow economically. This then forms the second out of two

main motives of the plan, and concerns in what direction to take the urban development of Stockholm: to sustain and increase the growth in the population and simultaneously the economy.

Agents in Environmental Management

The comprehensive plan contains a few different approaches to how environmental issues should be handled. "Sustainable growth" is named the general frame for how the urban development and economic growth of the city is to take place. This largely refers to a cooperative process of implementation of the plan, where a number of actors are involved. Recognizing the fuzziness of "sustainability" generally, the plan aims for an interpretation that goes along with the political definition, and national strategy for sustainability. (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9)

Referring to "sustainable growth", or "sustainable development" the plan addresses particular areas of importance. One such issue is environmental quality standards:

"Actions in order to fulfill the environmental quality standards for particles and nitrogen dioxide should above all have a general character and be directed toward limiting the pollution at the source. Improved exhaust emission control and decreased use of studded tires are important measures, but which the city has little chances at influencing. The planning can further a land use and a traffic system that lowers the need for car transports. The shaping of the built environment affects the local air quality to some extent, but has a very limited effect on the situation in the city as a whole." (ibid, p. 28f)

The environment is also met through attention to national interests in, e.g., protection of the green wedges, or of areas important to secure good conditions for the flora and fauna (ibid, p. 18f).

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALISM OR ECOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION?

The City and its Partners

At a quick glance the comprehensive plan could potentially fulfill all three discourses, ecological modernization, administrative rationalism and sustainable development, in terms of agents.

Administrative rationalism aims for expert driven solutions when facing environmental problems. It speaks from a natural science point of view, in a clearly top-down manner. It is clear that "the city" through its planners, other administrations and corporations, assumes some kind of expertise. "The city" is the mediator between national interests, political vision and a practical context, the initiator of urban development, the driver of the change process. "The city" also makes the priority of public interests, and decides on a strategy for how to fulfill them. This could be said to agree with how administrative rationalism defines their experts and managers.

The plan however mentions other agents as well, which leads attention away from the strongly top-down structured administrative rationalism. Ecological modernization emphasizes broad cooperation between public and private spheres, which based on governmental standards and incentives move toward a common goal. This is an orientation that is easily recognized in the plan. As discussed in chapter 3.2.2, the plan seeks a certain approval for its implementation from the public, which can again be related to ecological modernization.

Sustainable development has a much less hierarchical take on the agents of urban development, as the initiative for change can erupt on any societal level - from the global to the local. The city and its partners are then highly relevant agents, but no more so than any other. There is then no set order of command, but a broad networked cooperative governance in which all have agency. All are able to take part and also encouraged to take part, regardless of positions or levels of society. This is a completely different understanding of cooperation in comparison to the comprehensive plan, which is directed toward a minor group of managers as agents with a hierarchical relation to the supporting public. The exclusion of the stockholmers as agents in the comprehensive plan does not agree well with sustainable development. Likewise, the effort to streamline one concept for development, to be supported by all involved actors, infringes on the idea of letting agents act

according to their own understanding of how sustainability should best be practiced. Sustainable development thus seems to have less in common with the comprehensive plan in this respect than the other discourses.

The Public Interest

As with the initial correspondence across discourses in the case of agents, the public interest or the public good figures as an important motive in all three discourses.

The public good in the interpretation of administrative rationalism has to do with expert analyses, the result of which is assumed to be generalized as a unitary public interest. The expert is supposedly motivated by the common good, and knows what is in the public interest better than the public itself. This practically altruistic and self-evident reasoning may be recognized in certain parts of the plan, maybe most spelled out in efforts at environmental protection (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 18). The strong connection between the expert as decision-maker concerning the particular relevance of certain public interests over others means that the comprehensive plan certainly resembles administrative rationalism in this respect.

Ecological modernization aims for a common good that is defined by the decoupling of environmental destruction from economic growth - the public interest is economic growth through environmental conservation. While the plan shows strands of this way of thinking, it is still far from as ambitious as ecological modernization. Rather, if environmental protection and economic growth *would* in fact coincide, then this is highly favorable. It must also be said that the plan's take on public interests supersedes that of ecological modernization, as it is not defined in such a unitary manner. In that sense, the comprehensive plan is closer to administrative rationalism.

The public good in the interpretation of sustainable development again refers to the experimental approach to sustainability. Motivations exist on multiple levels, and are ultimately connected to the common good residing in a socially, environmentally and economically balanced world. The public good informs anyone who feels urged to take action. This perspective does not have much in common with the comprehensive plan, partly due to the plan's exclusion of a broad range of agents in the first place, and partly due to the formulation of a motive that does not apply to the broad range of agents that figures in sustainable development. Furthermore, the plan's understanding of sustainability is far too limited.

A World Class city through Sustainable Growth

Sustainable growth in the direction of a world class city as a motive does not necessarily go that well together with any of the named discourses. Ecological modernization has similarities in terms of both rhetorics and concrete solutions, while the extent of the ambition differs considerably. The favored means of growth, "sustainable growth", may give the impression of firm limits to how growth is to take place, but does in fact not have that much to do with either sustainability or environmentally benign growth at all. The parallels are then limited to use of language, and a number of suggested direct interventions toward increased energy efficiency, promotion of environmental technologies, improved public transportation etc.

Administrative rationalism lacks any clear notion on growth, not to speak of "a world class city". "Sustainable development" does make up a national strategy for development, why "sustainable growth" could hold some relevance as a form of public interest. This would definitely be the case if related to the discourse sustainable development, but would then have to consider what understanding of sustainability the plan carries. Such an inquiry would most likely result in disappointment, since the comprehensive plan does not live up to the mutually reinforcing social justice, environmental protection and economic growth of sustainable development.

Concluding, the "world class city through sustainable growth" would hold the greatest relevance to administrative rationalism, if seen as a public interest in line with the national strategy. The relevance from an ecological modernization point of view would mainly be partial, while in the case of sustainable development it is likely to be a disappointment.

Agents in Environmental Management

Ecological modernization, aiming for environmental protection paired with economic growth, emphasizes the market forces together with the government as the main agents of change, but also includes their dependence on the public. In fact, there needs to be a wholesale understanding in every part of society if the intended adjustments are to happen. Administrative rationalism on the other hand rests on a hierarchical structure where experts and an administrative state, driven by the public interest, governs. In this setting, environmental issues are approached in terms of well defined problems, which the experts, managers and the state are responsible of finding solutions to. (Dryzek, 2012, p. 75-88, 165-183) Both of these patterns can be read in the comprehensive plan, in slightly different ways. The problem solving approach to environmental issues of the plan can be noted in its particular interventions into issues of, e.g., limiting emissions and pollution. Some of these issues rest on national interests or environmental quality standards. In these cases the structure of governance largely resembles that of administrative rationalism, as neither the city nor inhabitants have any influence on the issue. These issues form a part of the plan not because the city has made the decision to regulate air quality, but because the city is obliged by the state to include the regulation. The city above all bears responsibility for the execution of the already decided agenda in these cases, and thus puts the administrative state and experts at the top of the hierarchy with no notion of the people.

However, in the case of the new development areas or in the strive toward sustainable growth of the city according to the strategy set by the city it is possible to read the plan according to another discursive structure. In Norra Djurgårdsstaden the city intends to test methods for lifestyle changes (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 34), requiring a wholesale support by all engaged agents if it is to be implemented, and furthermore engages the inhabitants themselves to become personally involved in the implementation. This clearly resembles ecological modernization, in which a wholesale commitment from the entire society is required to achieve the aim. Thus, the plan opens up for other important actors beyond the state to take part in the common strive. It should however be noted that while the public support is considered important for the implementation, the plan generally pays little attention to the people of Stockholm, which again is typical for ecological modernization.

Sustainable development adopts a holistic approach to environmental problems. Sustainable development attends to ecosystems, and thus assumes a structural approach to environmental problem solving, where humanity is seen as immersed into the natural systems. This discourse ascribes the ability to act in favor of a sustainable development to all, regardless of positions, hierarchies or societal levels. It could be said that traces of this approach can be read in the above mentioned development project, where the full implementation in fact does depend on the individual effort. However, the incentive to carry out the needed efforts is top-down oriented, which opposes the equal relations and free initiative of sustainable development. Furthermore, sustainable development assumes that a joint multi-layered effort from local to global level is necessary. While the comprehensive plan tries to bring the national, regional and local efforts in the same direction, sustainable development's networked systems for action as governing principle, which includes every individual that is intent to act, is completely absent.

3.2.4 Key Metaphors & Other Rhetorical Devices

Progress & Reassurance

As noted in the introductory text analysis in this chapter, the comprehensive plan recurrently uses phrases such as "attractiveness", "growth", and "development". Other concepts with a high rate are "future" and "vision". These are all positively connoted terms, related to an overarching idea of progress and of moving from the current state into a future better one. "Vision" and "future" are likewise positively connoted, as they look forward, to something partly unknown, but anticipated and exciting.

It could be said that the comprehensive plan in its full implementation suggests quite a few, and large, changes to Stockholm. This could to some parts of the population come across as less desirable or even unwanted. The suggested developments are however presented in a manner and in a language that gives a certain sense of security. The aim and strategy of the comprehensive plan does not come across as extreme or very different from the current track of Stockholm, and when dressed in the kind of language discussed above, the picture that is painted of the future of the city seems quite positive. The fact that the plan stays away from major systematic changes, while giving reasonable descriptions and arguments concerning the possible consequences of the changes, gives little reason to fear unforeseen negative consequences of its implementation. Concerning the development of a lively urban environment in the whole city, the plan notes, that:

"A step-by-step development of the built environment always brings consequences for the ones that live and work in the area in question. These consequences are normally increased traffic, an altered parking situation, the claiming of spaces that are not developed, new light conditions and changed views in the nearby area. In a growing city this type of changes for the local area normally need to be accepted if the orientation toward a safe and lively urban environment is to be reached." (Stockholm, 2010, p. 45)

Thus, any changes in the stockholmers' local communities that can be perceived as negative are also in the end said to bring positive changes. The quote also simultaneously establishes the goal of the city as a higher priority than the individual stockholmer's love for their closest home environment, and that living in a city by force entails to have to put up with top-down controlled interventions.

A World Class City

The image of the vision for the city, derived from *Vision 2030* is Stockholm as "a world class city", which aims to describe what the efforts in urban development lead up to. "A world class city" concerns a city that is "manifold and rich in experiences, innovative and growing, and a city for the citizens" (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 9). As discussed in chapters 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, the image of this city is closely connected to attractiveness, growth in the population and economy, a strong force in the international competition - shortly, an economically strong and internationally renowned city offering a high quality of life.

Sustainability & Sustainable Growth

"Sustainable" is of course another important rhetorical device, a label with positive connotations generally associated with building a society that combines economic growth with environmental preservation and social equality. A closer reading of the plan shows that the actual perspective on sustainability is another, but nevertheless, the plan can benefit from using the term. "Sustainable" is rarely used without connections to growth, but in the cases where this is done relates to, e.g., park planning (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 18f), cultural historical values (ibid, p. 26), environmental quality standards (ibid, p. 28f), urban density (ibid, p. 34ff), sustainable integrated urban environments (ibid, p. 41), sustainable urban development (ibid, p. 34, 51), sustainable urban construction (ibid, p. 60), sustainable transportation or traveling (ibid, p. 20, 34, 42, 70), a longterm sustainable layout of the

railroad (ibid, p. 85). "Sustainable transportation/traveling" is the major part of these examples. It can be noted that the use of "a socially, ecologically and economically sustainable development" is quite limited.

The shape the growth of the city is supposed to assume is "sustainable growth" (ibid, p. 9), and this concept largely frames all the measures the plan encourages. "Sustainable growth" is thus an important part of both the aim and the main strategy of the plan. The concept is derived from the political vision document for the future of Stockholm, *Vision 2030*, and also relates to the national strategy for sustainable development. It is noted that "sustainable growth" or "sustainable development" are disputed concepts, with fuzzy definitions and conflicting targets, but that do nonetheless intend to achieve an ecologically, socially and economically benevolent development. (ibid, p. 9) The implication of "sustainable growth" however has more ingredients. The comprehensive plan finds that "longterm sustainable societal development" (ibid, p. 9) has more to do with a process than a preferred end state, and thus directs attention to the path and organization of this process. Strong collaboration between the city administrations and corporations and other actors is found to be integral, in order to ease implementation and to support a dialogue that is open to new perspectives and interests. This ends up shaping the very meaning of "sustainable growth":

"A sustainable growth and development toward a world class Stockholm is based on a holistic perspective and that the strategic decisions that are taken by the city council, the boards of the city and boards of governors do not depart from one another. Thus, the comprehensive plan must be coordinated with the general governance and monitoring within the city and give a comprehensive foundation for the short term priorities of the city council." (ibid)

"Sustainable growth" in this sense refers to a process of unison decision making and cooperation toward a mutual aim, in which the comprehensive plan is the common point of departure, and an important guide to *how* this sustainable growth is to be achieved.

Apart from the accounts on strategy, "sustainable growth" is referred to when describing why a good maintenance and planning of green areas and parks is important (ibid p. 18), the relevance of a modern transportation system (ibid, p. 20), serves as an argument for intensified housing construction (ibid, p. 22), and preserving cultural historical values as a part of increasing the attractiveness of the city in the international competition (ibid, p. 26).

The plan does not point out any particular threats in search for its justification. It does however express an urgency to engage in the suggested development.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALISM OR ECOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION?

Progress & Reassurance

The use of a terminology that relates to progress in the comprehensive plan follows certain parts of sustainable development and ecological modernization. Both discourses are devoted to progress, and development as a move toward improvement. The confirmation of this lies in the very labels of the discourses, "modernization" and "development", which both lead the thought to a promising open-ended future. The comprehensive plan shows a vivid use of concepts alluding to progress, such as "attractiveness" and "development", and in particular the aim to become "a world class city" through "sustainable growth. The way this progress is described however differs slightly. Sustainable development refers to a "sensitive, caring, and intelligent political-economic system", whereas the ecological modernization has to be seen as more pragmatic and straight-forward - as long as the fundamental conditions of decoupled environmental destruction from growth is fulfilled then all is well. The comprehensive plan shows a basic pragmatic attitude in its attention to easing the implementation process, and keeping the plan flexible in order to better respond to the needs of different actors. This progress is however, as has been discussed previously, less circumscribed than the one promoted through ecological modernization.

Just like the two mentioned discourses, the comprehensive plan also contains an element of reassurance, through which the stockholmers can be assured that whatever development needs to be carried out does not have to be painful. Rather, the plan describes the intended changes in positive words, improvements. If it ends up inflicting trouble, then the stockholmers can rest assured that it is all done in their best interest. In this latter sense, it could be argued that there are some similarities with administrative rationalism's idea of "an administrative mind" that steers society in the best direction, guided by public interests. Generally, there are however few similarities with the rhetorical devices of administrative rationalism.

A World Class City

The world class city as the label on the vision for Stockholm alludes to above mentioned progress and reassurance, and provides a concept that is more easily grasped than a comprehensive plan in its entirety. It could be understood as a kind of metaphor, to ease the communication of the aim of the development. With its pertaining positive connotations it is also a concept that might not be easily criticized for the average reader. In this way, it provides the comprehensive plan with an efficient concept for the communication of the plan. This concept is too particular, reflecting a certain context with its own conditions, to be related directly to any of the three discourses.

Sustainability & Sustainable Growth

As has been discussed at several points throughout this analysis, sustainability is in the interpretation of the comprehensive plan intimately connected to growth, more so than anything else. Its connection to the sustainable development discourse, regardless of the use of terminology, is therefore weak, as it presents a version that practically lacks the balance that is fundamental for the sustainable development discourse. The plan has similar problems in relation to ecological modernization, as it does not prescribe any certain conditions to growth. While there are some notions on how environmental protection can serve the urban economy, the plan remains flexible in relation to growth potentials. Again, administrative rationalism is largely lacking any input in this respect. Out of the three discourses, ecological modernization nevertheless comes across as the discourse bearing the most similarities with the comprehensive plan.

3.2.5 Summary

Basic Entities whose Existence is Recognized or Constructed

In short, the comprehensive plan shows strands of mainly administrative rationalism and ecological modernization in terms of basic entities, but in different ways. As a document that combines national public interests with a local political agenda for sustainable growth it includes both binding state orders and a cooperative strategy for development. The analysis above has found that those parts that are related to the national level show traces of an administrative rationalist discourse, while the plan as a local strategy bears a resemblance with ecological modernization. The capitalist economy as a starting point is something the plan has in common with all the three discourses, sustainable development, ecological modernization and administrative rationalism. In terms of how growth and nature are handled the plan mainly agrees with ecological modernization. Generally, in this section the plan shows the least similarities with sustainable development.

Assumptions about Natural Relationships

The relational character between the agents of the comprehensive plan is close to that of ecological modernization. It combines hierarchy and cooperation, as the plan seeks broad coordinated common efforts while maintaining the city as the driver of the process. The stockholmers provide support, but are largely sidelined. The relation to nature in the comprehensive plan is thoroughly anthropocentric, where humans are placed outside of natural ecosystems, and made into managers of separated entities of nature. This agrees with both administrative rationalism and ecological modernization. The value that is ascribed to nature places the plan closer to ecological modernization, however also accompanied by administrative rationalism concerning national interests in environmental protection. The strong connection between growth in the population and the economy, the attractive city and environmental values is not mirrored completely by any of the three discourses. The closest is ecological modernization, making a strong connection between environmental protection and economic growth. The equality that characterizes the relations of sustainable development does not exist.

Agents & Their Motives

The investigations into the comprehensive plan's agents and their underpinning motives lead to a somewhat incoherent result. The way in which "the City" is named the main agent of the plan agrees with both administrative rationalism and ecological modernization, for its role as an expert and for leading a process of broad cooperation supported by the public. From a sustainability perspective the city can surely be understood as an agent, but its exclusion of the stockholmers and streamlined concept for development rhymes badly with this discourse. The public interest is a general motive for the three discourses and for the comprehensive plan, in which it is found that the plan's superior positioning as the work of experts places it close to administrative rationalism. Its attention to "sustainable growth" has some parallels with ecological modernization, but maybe even more with administrative rationalism if it is seen as related to the national interest of sustainable development. Regardless of the use of the word "sustainable" the plan in this respect has little in common with sustainable development, as the content of the idea differs considerably.

Key Metaphors & Other Rhetorical Devices

The plan deploys a terminology that has strong positive connotations of progress and development, a forward-looking way of describing how to best move toward the vision of "a world class city". While this bright future may result in unease for some during the implementation phase, the plan largely assures the stockholmers of the simultaneous necessity and high value of the development. This focus relates to both sustainable development and ecological modernization, but not to administrative rationalism. "A world class city" is an important metaphor for the communication of the plan, but is not recognized in the three discourses. Sustainability and sustainable development are ascribed

meanings in the plan that disagree in several or all respects compared to ecological modernization and sustainable development, and it could be argued that a better definition of the means of development would be "sustained growth, and a bit of environmental protection".

Conclusions

Given the kind of document a comprehensive plan represents, it seems logical that several discourses - even within the particular frame of environmentalism - are represented. As discussed, the plan weights national interests to political visions and a practical context, and it makes sense that a wholesale dedication to one concept is difficult - or maybe not even desirable. The comprehensive plan *has* to be a kind of a compromise, not least given the sometimes conflicting wishes and needs it must consider. Mediating and finding compromises becomes a basic task of comprehensive planning, which will then also be reflected in what discourses it relates to. It is then not surprising that the analysis shows a mixture of three discourses, and even moments where none of the three discourses match the comprehensive plan.

In terms of dominance of discourses the overall emphasis leans toward administrative rationalism and ecological modernization, in some main respects. The plan shows characteristics of administrative rationalism in its attention to certain public interests, where it is as if the discourse has been inherited from other institutions in the administrative hierarchy. The plan adopts the supposedly neutral expert's position when managing public interests, and thus not only makes space for top-down directives to be immediately implemented, but in itself acts in line with an administrative rationalist approach. An impression is that the administrative rationalism above all figures in formulating the foundation of the plan, referring to the weighting of public interests, politics and practical context.

Regarding the aim of the plan and how it is to come about, the main reference is ecological modernization. This has to do with the favored "sustainable growth", the agents that are pointed out by the plan, and the emphasis on cooperative relations with the city as the leading subject. While being underpinned by administrative rationalism, and in certain ways also showing strong resemblance with the discourse, ecological modernization arises as the plan's own discourse, due to its political aim, and to the effort at easing implementation and partnerships in line with the aim. The relation to nature is informed by a mixture of administrative rationalism and ecological modernization, where the former represents the approach to problem solving, and the latter to the valuing of nature as a resource for economic growth. It must however be said that the comprehensive plan lacks the fundamental effort at a restructuring of the economy, which is an integral part of ecological modernization.

Apart from rhetorical similarities, the plan is generally far from the discourse sustainable development. The strategy "sustainable growth" does not do much to advance sustainable development in line with the definition of the discourse.

4. WORKSHOP IN ECOFEMINIST SCENARIO GENERATION

4.1 Workshop Method for Participatory Generation of Feminist Futures

Workshop methods aim at creating a platform where invited participants are able to speak freely and discuss the issues at hand. The idea is to open up for dialogues, thoughts and opinions, preferably in an allowing setting that encourages creative expression, where multiple interests and experiences can be voiced. Accordingly, it is common to strive for participants with different backgrounds, professions, genders, age etc to support a manifold discussion. This open climate can potentially increase the acceptance among the participants for out-of-the-box-reasoning and decision-making, thus making it a good way to collect information, data and ideas to inform further work. (Börjesson et al., p. 731; Carlsson-Kanyama et al., 2003) Other benefits are a process of mutual learning and negotiations, a chance to create knowledge that is socially robust and connected to a concrete reality, and a support for democratic principles. The manifold discussions and topics a successful workshop can contain also points to the imperative that there is not one perspective, experience or interpretation that out-rules another. Instead, plurality can be encouraged among participants as well as in results. In terms of images of the future this emphasizes the value of having several images, as only one vision can hardly answer to the experiences, needs and aspirations of all. (Gunnarsson-Östling et al., 2012, p. 915) It also deals with the power aspect in the privilege of shaping images of the future.

The workshop method that will be deployed in this work has been developed by Gunnarsson-Östling et al. (2012), and particularly concerns participatory generation of feminist futures. The workshop includes a number of exercises, to be carried out individually, in small groups, and all together, with the aim to create comprehensive images of the future in a long term perspective. Usually lasting one day, the workshops will in this case stretch two to three hours. The relation between the workshop leader and participants is intended to be largely equalized, striving for mutual sharing of knowledge.

There will be two slightly different setups for the workshops that fit the exercises into different time frames. Early on there were indications from the invited institution the City Planning Administration that a workshop exceeding two hours would have difficulties recruiting participants. This has influenced the setup time wise, while the content of the workshop remains the same.

The workshops will not engage in analysis of the present state of urban development in Stockholm or in the comprehensive plan. The particular interest is instead what aspects are considered important to reach the set target of an ecofeminist future, and what this future might look like or function. The focus is thus on the future society - though naturally starting in the current situation - as this is where the workshops can contribute the most to this thesis.

The questions in the exercises of the workshop are all closely tied to ecofeminist theory, which is expected to steer the results in a certain direction. This limitation is supported by the outspoken aim of the thesis, but could mean a conflict in terms of how other feminist perspectives can fit into the workshop. One way of opening for other perspectives would be to include intra-feminist critique of ecofeminism in the initial presentation. There is however support for introducing a particular framework when engaging participants in a workshop. The elaboration on workshop methods by Gunnarsson-Östling et al. (2012) contained an effort to guide the workshop groups in a few different particular feminist theoretical directions. Furthermore, in Bradley & Hedrén (2014, p. 110) Gunnarsson-Östling draws on experiences of workshops where the participants had difficulties putting together images of the future when there was no clear starting point, whereas a solid framework facilitated to develop more detailed images. She also notes that there is no direct connection between a

future scenario from a particular perspective and aim, and a desired scenario. Rather, using a particular framework can help clarify what would *not* be desirable with that theoretical basis.

WORKSHOP SETUP & EXERCISES

The workshops will be carried out according to the following steps:

1. *Short presentation*: thesis, ecofeminism and workshop method
2. *Time travel*: creativity enhancing exercise where the participants are given time for silent personal reflection and optional pottering on an ecofeminist Stockholm in 2050. A small text to spark ideas and images will be read.
3. *Brainstorm of aspects*: short individual brainstorming session starting from the question "What aspects are important in order to achieve a sustainable and ecofeminist future?" Aspects are to be written on individual post-its.
4. *Cluster aspects*: the post-its are collected and clustered by the workshop leader together with the participants. There will be room for explanations, and new aspects can be added.
5. *Generation of images of the future* answering the questions:
Q1: "How can an ecofeminist future be reached *within* the current system?"
Q2: "How can an ecofeminist future be reached *beyond* the current system?"
The participants are divided into groups, and work with the clusters to fulfill the targets of the guiding questions. Each group gets a table to fill out with the clusters and the way they need to be altered in order to achieve the aim. Halfway through the exercise the groups will be asked to move over to the second question.
6. *Presentation* of the generated ideas, to be recorded.
7. *Evaluation*: individual note with three short questions ("What did I learn?", "What was good?", "What was bad?")

SCENARIO TYPES & TECHNIQUES

Börjesson et al. (2006) write that before engaging in scenario creation it is useful to consider what type of scenario the expected outcome might belong to. Clarifying the worldview of me as the one deciding the direction of the study, the character of the study and its aim can support the forthcoming work with scenarios when it comes to methods, framing of the study (time perspective, involved participants, the approach to and content of workshop), expected outcomes and how to optimize the very work. The very possibility of predicting the future also influences the feasibility of the scenario, and thus what kind of scenario type might be appropriate to engage in.

Considering there is a predefined goal in the scenario generation of this thesis (i.e., how to achieve an ecofeminist future in a longterm perspective) these scenarios will be of a normative kind, according to the scenario descriptions provided by Börjesson et al. (2006). Reaching the goal "within the current system" would imply a preserving scenario, i.e., a scenario that aims to optimize the prevailing system structure in order to reach a target. However, to move "beyond the current system" would imply a transformative scenario, by which is intended a scenario that looks to achieve a target beyond prevailing structures since the structures themselves make necessary changes impossible. (ibid, p 728f)

The scenario generation techniques that are advised for normative scenarios are surveys and workshops, and in the transformative scenario also the backcasting Delphi method. The authors note a tendency to involve stakeholders in the process of scenario generation, which is the main reason for choosing the workshop method (ibid, p.731ff). The Delphi method could have been applied, had this thesis been planned differently. For reasons of limited time and feasibility, aim and content, this method was never considered. Surveys could have been a part of the project. However, the aim was for the participants themselves to both find important factors and create images of the future starting

from named factors, rather than contributing with information that would then be put together separate from the participants. As previously mentioned, the benefit of workshops lie in the possibility to find several parallel ideas, images or interpretations rather than one single version, worked out by one person. In this way a richer material can be collected, while at the same time engaging in a mutual process of exchange and dialogue with the potential to enrich all involved. Furthermore, the workshop format is very feasible, as it does not require a long list of contacts to be taken, broad or deep knowledge in particular issues among the participants, and can be managed within a short timeframe.

As for the advises by Börjesson et al. (2006) concerning integration techniques and consistency analysis, these are simply found irrelevant to this thesis. Modeling as a way of testing the outcomes of a large and varied input of hard data simply does not apply to either the potentially too limited amount of information or the kind of qualitative rather than quantitative results the workshops may result in. Further, the time frame and resources of this thesis are estimated to be insufficient, and it is also assumed that complying with the suggested techniques would have implied another layout of the thesis and would thus have been too big an influence on the intentions of this project.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS

The results of the workshop will depend heavily on the background and knowledge of the participants, why the selection of participants is of great importance. The selection followed three main principles according to the types of participants suggested in Gunnarsson-Östling et al. (2012): partisan, non-partisan and expert. People organized in activist, political or other groups are by the authors described as partisans, defending a particular point of view, sets of values or core issues, while the students would represent non-partisans, lacking an outspoken motive or a deep knowledge in the matters of concern. The last group, the planners of the strategic section of the Stockholm City Planning Administration, would represent experts in the sense that they are the ones working with the comprehensive plan that this thesis relates to.

The three categories of invited participants according to the definition above:

1. *Partisans*: Persons involved in some kind of feminist analysis, discussion, politics, work or activism related to questions of the built environment, invited through the organizations: Megafonen, Alby är inte till salu (campaign rather than organization: the initiators were invited), Linje 17, Kulturhuset Cyklopen, Konsthall C, Kvinnors Byggforum and Feministiskt Initiativ (f!)
2. *Non-partisans*: Students of the master program Sustainable Urban Planning and Design at KTH, and members of the study circle "Feminist Utopias" at ABF Stockholm.
3. *Experts*: Strategic planners at the Stockholm City Planning Administration.

However questionable the representation might be when based on outer attributes or belonging to certain groups, the intention with this selection is to get a broad range of participants within the framework that is relevant for this workshop: ecofeminist utopianism.

Inviting partisans is an effort to engage people that already have some knowledge or experience of feminist analyses and/or critical perspectives on the urban development of Stockholm. Some of the invited persons engage actively in feminist utopianism, while others are official members of the political party Feministiskt Initiativ (f!), which is working actively to promote a feminist society. While the main framework of this work is ecofeminist, other feminisms would and could enrich the discussion and point at other solutions, inconsistencies or insufficiencies. As mentioned before, while having chosen a particular feminist framework for this work, there is a need for multiple images of the future. As feminist perspectives differ both in objectives, analysis and methods a variety in this sense could potentially be very enriching for the outcomes of the workshops. Further, a number of students from respectively KTH and ABF were invited as non-partisans, the reasons for which being a certain level of knowledge in sustainable longterm planning and future studies or feminist utopian thinking respectively. An early idea was that students would be easier to engage in a process

that would last slightly longer than what can be asked of neither professionals nor volunteering activists. Further, the experience expressed by Gunnarsson-Östling et al. (2012) about achieving particularly vivid results when working with students certainly informed this selection. The ambition of this thesis to assess the current comprehensive plan supports the idea to involve the very planners that are working with the plan. These persons would be invited as experts, based on their expertise in strategic comprehensive planning in Stockholm.

Whether these categorizations are valid or applicable can be discussed, as the workshop is a voluntary activity outside of any curriculum, with a particular topic which altogether can be expected to lead to some kind of selection based on personal preference. It might well be that the labeling of categories based on groups proves faulty, particularly concerning students. The ABF group can be expected to show a big interest in feminism in general, and as such likely to represent certain opinions and perspectives. Thus, they could be sliding toward the partisan label. The students of SUPD would in some cases be expected to choose to participate based on personal convictions, which might mean their participation would have more of a partisan than non-partisan character. However, when not having an outspoken agenda they can still be considered non-partisan, which obviously applies to all the students. While the labeling of the groups might not be correct it is still likely that the individual participants will be both partisan and non-partisan.

4.2 Workshop Results

THREE WORKSHOPS

Workshop 1

This first workshop was directed only to the planners at the City Planning Administration of Stockholm, and also took place at the office in question in order to facilitate their engagement. It gathered eight participants, out of which half work in strategic planning, three in detailed planning, and one intern. As can be seen in figure 1 the age distribution was even between 23-65, whereas the gender distribution was 75% women and 25% men. All the participants were employees. In the scenario generation the participants formed two groups, groups 1 and 2.

Gender	Age	Postal address	Occupation
F	40	Svedmyra	strategic planner
M	32	Stockholm	strategic planner
F	53	Hägersten	strategic planner
M	46	Stockholm	strategic planner
F	65	Björkhagen	urban planner
F	62	Bromma	urban planner
F	23	Bromma	intern
F	35-40	Unknown	urban planner

Figure 5. Participants workshop 1

The outcomes of the workshop were very broad. With a great knowledge in strategic and comprehensive planning, the group navigated on systematic and structural level down to the personal and how to handle everyday life issues - from global to local, covering politics, economics, organizational issues, production and consumption, and basic ethics and morals. When working with the clusters, sufficiency was found as an important key to some comprehensive changes needed in order to alter the current global and local condition. The tools were a more responsible financial system, shaping consumption and life patterns, education, a new common ethics, equality, distribution of power, access to resources etc. In a Stockholm perspective the group discussed the role of institutions and how to organize, e.g., collective transportation, food production and resources. "The local" covered how to create local neighborhoods with integrated food production and services, and how to localize democratic processes. "The social network" was related to the local, and dealt with the imperative of integration and exchange of experiences across ages. What set this group aside from the other ones was their attention to "The network society", in terms of the use of technique, communication systems and digital tools. While emphasizing the need for "correct" use of technique, they also brought up "a renaissance for the knowledge of the hand".

Workshop 2

The second workshop assembled participants from the master program Sustainable Urban Planning and Design at The Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), students from the study circle "Feminist Utopias" at ABF, members of Kvinnors Byggforum, and members of the political party Feministiskt Initiativ (F!). As can be seen in **figure 2** the participants were quite young, between 25-34, with a majority of women, students, and residents of Stockholm. The workshop took place at the KTH campus. In the scenario generation the participants formed three groups, groups 3-5.

Gender	Age	Postal address	Invited through	Occupation
F	25	Skärholmen	SUPD / ABF	student (SUPD)
F	29	Farsta	SUPD	student (SUPD)
M	32	Stockholm	SUPD	student (SUPD)
M	25	Stockholm	F!	student (architecture)
K	26	Stockholm	SUPD / Kvinnors Byggforum	student (SUPD)
K	31	Stockholm	Kvinnors Byggforum	architect
O	26	Stockholm	ABF	unemployed
K	34	Stockholm	Kvinnors Byggforum	architect

Figure 6. Participants workshop 2

The participants showed differing knowledge in planning, architecture and/or feminist perspectives, some of which in one and others in several areas. This might have affected the quite disparate strands of thought that came up during the workshop. The clusters concerned overarching principles of a holistic thinking and a reorganized system of production and consumption, equality locally and globally, stronger local communities and local food production, and changes in physical infrastructure. Ideologically, the group suggested a faith in collectivism, communication and cooperation paired with individual responsibility, attention to situated knowledge and encouragement of personal freedom of expression. The responsibility of bearing the consequences of our societal organization must be balanced, and the use of technique should start from "the heart". Structurally, there was a plea for leaving the growth paradigm behind, to overturn the idea of success = money, to find a new organization of labor and ownership, to limit working hours, achieve a more equal use of resources, and equality across ages. On a local level, democratization of public and private spaces, local production of food and energy, and a larger variety in residency was voiced. Infrastructure changes were suggested, with more meeting places and an equal transportation system for both humans and goods.

Workshop 3

The last workshop ended up being quite intimate, with only three participants due to last minute cancellations. The group was quite homogeneous (see figure 3), as the participants were all women from Kvinnors Byggforum, all architects (practicing or students) and close to 30. The exercises were carried out individually and all together, referred to as group 6 in the scenarios.

Gender	Age	Postal address	Invited through	Occupation
F	35	Stockholm	Kvinnors Byggforum	architect
F	28	Hägersten	Kvinnors Byggforum	student (architecture), intern
F	31	Stockholm	Kvinnors Byggforum	architect

Figure 7. Participants workshop 3

What distinguished this group from the others was a more local and practical approach, while still relating to the structures of global reach that the local is inscribed in. A core strand in their discussions was the importance of making working life, and life in general, less fragmented and move towards a greater richness and diversity in possibilities and responsibilities in a holistic manner. Another main strand was localization and collectivization: of production, reproduction and democracy. Thirdly, education and awareness - both through knowledge and in our built environments - was emphasized. The built environment was discussed in terms of sustained biodiversity, meeting places, human scale and public transportation. Lastly, use of resources has to be smarter, and working days should be shortened.



Figures 8-9. Pictures from workshop 3

WITHIN SCENARIOS

Group 1

Group 1 suggested comprehensive changes starting from the concept of "sufficiency". For starters a tax switching policy was suggested, where energy and resources become more expensive, while the subsidies for unsustainable activities and products are removed. Basic income is to be implemented, and the working life needs to become more just. Politics should be used to actively steer consumption patterns toward sustainable consumption, and unsustainable activities should be made illegal. A question is how politics can influence TNC's and MNC's, and what actors might be able to exert that influence.

In terms of institutions and organizations the group stated the need to disrupt segregation, through removal of the school election system and a powerful extension of the public transportation network. They pointed out some different sides to segregation, e.g., class, ethnicity and age. Through schools and preschools children will early on learn another take on gender and global justice than the current.

Further, the social network and urban spaces and places need to be developed to support integration across ages. Concerning "the local" the group discussed local food production, and the need for municipalities to better steer their own consumption patterns in terms of food.

On a personal level parental leave is to be split between the caregivers, and a generally altered use of time and limited working hours in particular.

Group 2

Group 2 emphasized changes in the current economic system, e.g., that environmental and social values must be given an economic value and be included in all calculations. Giving a product or service its actual price will contribute to a responsible growth beyond exploitation. The individual responsibility stretches from the personal level, such as identities built on environmental awareness and responsibility, to political responsibility to force large companies to change their ways of business. Like the first group, removed subsidies on unsustainable production and consumption was suggested. The group further suggested smaller economic systems and actors on the market. This would contribute to a better understanding and survey of processes of production that today have become too large and simultaneously obscure. The consequences of the activities of companies need to be made visible.

Existing local organizations and associations are to be supported, and cooperation in between these needs to increase. Local production of food was suggested, just like the right use of new technique. Micro-credits are seen as a good way of supporting self-sufficiency in poor countries.

Group 3

Group 3 pointed out "doing together", collaboration and humbleness as integral to changing our current system in a ecofeminist direction. A basic issue is to take society as a starting point rather than individuals striving to fulfill their separate needs. The common good and the "we" out-rules the "ego". A large part of this is that the privileged need to give up some of their benefits, according to the idea that short term losses will benefit the long term development. Meeting places are seen as important arenas for sharing knowledge and resources, dialogue and mediation. This also means that current patterns of consumption need to change.

Group 4

Group 4 emphasized the great chances of altering the current system, as it is a structure that is produced and reproduced by us ourselves. The Swedish society has created a lot of tools to achieve change, such as tax regulations and laws. New visions can be included, and trickle down to practice. In order for this to work it would be necessary to reevaluate current tools and how they are used. This goes for infrastructure, organization etc. There would also be a chance to punish actors that claim to work towards the said goal but in fact fail or ignore it. Accordingly, political decision-making is an

important tool. The vision must be present in all decision-making, and in the final stage it is important that it is materialized. On an individual level popular adult education, citizen engagement and active (conscious) consumerism is suggested. A personal responsibility is required.

Group 5

Group 5 suggested tax-switching policies to support "climate smart" solutions, and raised the importance of paying the proper price for products. However, the power of the consumer is limited, since it disappears when the consumer stops consuming. Thus, in order to achieve change political governance should support new legislation and policies that aim for a sustainable society. Inequalities should be met by another organization of work, including shorter working days, equal accessibility through developed infrastructure, and rental apartments should be subsidized through taxes. Last but not least, the group emphasized the importance of including the "non-normative" in planning processes in order to make our physical environments more inclusive.

Group 6

The group pointed out how education must be used to increase the knowledge of sustainability and equality early on, as an important part in raising awareness. Segregation in schools must be fought since it contributes to homogenization and inequalities, and teaching pedagogy and material must be permeated by basic human rights such as democracy and equality. Visual display of sustainably built structures or activities are positive for raising awareness.

A shift in basic attitudes from the individual to the collective "we" is needed in order to make it less interesting to earn at someone else's expense. This concerns the use and distribution of resources. Collectivism needs to be supported in, i.a., the offer of apartments, why the city needs to build bigger apartments, the politics surrounding rental apartments need to change, and forms of ownership and tenure rethought. The city as landowner needs to be better at using its power to steer the urban development. The city's biodiversity needs to be protected. "The local", is an important focus for local food production, an enlarged offer of services and public non-commercial meeting places, e.g., green spaces. Limited transportation has to be combined with good local accessibility to goods and services. An enforced "locality" would also support the local social network.

A limitation to working hours is needed in order to make time for other activities and break off from a system of increasing unemployment where fragmented specialized individuals have no insight in the larger processes they are inscribed. Efficiency is over-valued. The conclusion is that less work -> less money -> less consumption -> more time for other things. This opens up for the individual to engage in other activities and to become more complex but at the same time more complete persons.



Figure 10. Picture from workshop 2.

BEYOND SCENARIOS

Group 1

Group 1 turned their attention to the implications of a developed network society, and how the extremely global meets the extremely local. One conclusion was that an appropriate survey of the traffic in this system is integral to its development, uses and potentials. Overall, how to manage the very local with the very global was an issue that the group dealt with in several aspects, promoting a democratic system with a localized democracy (which itself needs to be developed through an increased local democracy) combined with a "wise" and democratic global community. The network society offers possibilities in information sharing, and the question is what the most sustainable solution will be. "Sufficiency" must be the new aim for both living and production, which would imply a very big change. "Rewards" such as salaries against a working effort will have to be rethought, and basic income is suggested. Working life needs a structural change.

Group 2

Group 2 thought it difficult to imagine a system beyond the current, but concluded that the survival of the earth and humans will be integral. Today global growth can be seen as the main principle that influences all decisions, and the group considered what would happen if the survival of the earth and the wellbeing of all humans would replace this aim. They pointed out that "bloody revolutions" would not be the way to come about change, but that it needs to come about in a more sensible and conscious way.

Group 3

In the next task group 3 pointed out wide ranging conditions in order to achieve an ecofeminist future. The group suggested new forms of organization, such as a kind of global governance that is stronger than the UN and free from overt or secret manipulation by financial powers. There should be some kind of representative global democracy, despite its inherent problems. Local sustainability was thought of as a way to counter, e.g., economic crashes, in an organization that is more adaptable to such major changes. The imperative of the collective instead of the ego was repeated in the phrases "stop the blaming game". Instead of fighting against one another there is a need for cooperation and solidarity. There is a need to relieve people around the world from stress, anxiety and oppression by making sure every human being is kept safe from homelessness and starvation. A democratic society and the ability to speak one's mind starts with eliminating anxieties concerning basic human needs. Connected to this is a need for "real" education that is separated from propaganda. The group raised that politics and democracy have been commercialized and thus lost its idealist and visionary potential. Further, corporate social responsibility (CSR) was seen as a borderline area with potential for working within and beyond the current system.

Group 4

"It is so difficult not to have anything to start from." Group 4 had difficulties engaging in the second scenario development, and ended up talking about basic values in which the group refrained from hierarchies and structures and looked toward equal distribution of power. Organizationally society should be less hierarchical and more accessible. "Love" was found to be the core value and starting point for the development of all areas of society.

Group 5

Group 5 returned to their principle of inclusion of the non-normative in planning, with the aim of being reflected everywhere in our built environment, from highways to dwellings. There needs to be (physical) space for everyone. Organizationally, resources should be seen as collectively owned, whereby access to resources must relate to a need. The system where a few owns the most, which the others have to pay for is not sustainable. Further, resources must be valued higher. The global economy needs to be altered in such a way that colonialism is put to a halt. This does not imply any

complete stop to global exchange of goods, but rather refers to equal terms in trade and production where local adequacy meets global justice. This also concerns the national scale.

Group 6

Group 6 focused a lot on collective organization of labor, through a mandatory society service, and collectively managed reproductive labor. Shorter working days should be combined with a larger variation in tasks and activities, and strive for gender equality. The capitalist focus on labor leads to severe consequences over time for those unable to work, thus an unsustainable organization.

The global capitalism contributes to cultural imperialism, why local knowledge, history and tradition based on local particular conditions must be revalued. Valuing the specific and local identities contributes to pride, and this to protection of the specific.

Education should work critically with norms and attitudes concerning gender roles. Consumption and sustainability must be dealt with in several stages: 1. ecological consumption, 2. critique of the inadequacy of ecological consumption, 3. ecologically and socially ecofeminist sustainable consumption. Resource is to be characterized by equality locally and globally, with an extraction of resources beyond patriarchy and colonialism. Food production and trade need to be localized, and respect seasons and limits, to reestablish actually existing limits. Global exchange of goods is good within reasonable limits, but global supply mustn't be taken for granted in a local context. This will lead to a larger respect for what we have, appreciation for what we get, and a better way of living. Consumer power is useful in minor fast changes but limited to active consumption. Slower and big political processes are integral for thorough changes.

Information technology could work as a democratic tool through knowledge exchange and global social networks. This is connected to the elimination of property rights, where the societal good is seen as a greater benefit than individual gain. Sharing is more practical, with more and better results. We need new forms of organization to benefit everyone rather than limit and exclude through price tags on goods and services. Collective responsibility in society is imperative. Public transportation should be free for everyone. Architects have a great responsibility in creating good conditions in the physical environment for other life styles. Build less, refraining to build and reuse!



Figure 11-12. Pictures from workshop 1.

4.3 Summary

Within Scenarios

The workshop results for the within scenarios display certain main similarities and differences in between themselves. Most of the groups deployed a generally structural and top-down perspective in their suggestions for change. Groups 1, 2, 4 and 5 all paid a great deal of attention to national levels of governance, politics and policy-making. Group 4 and 5 mainly moved within a national framework, whereas groups 1 and in particular group 2 suggested changes stretching to include the global network the city is inscribed in through addressing the actions of multinational corporations. Group 1 and 2 simultaneously handled the local and personal levels. The wide scope that characterized their work in particular may be related to the fact that the groups consisted of the planners from the City Planning Administration. Group 6 mainly focused the city, institutional and local level, and in this sense might have been the group that came closest to handling the context of relevance for the comprehensive plan specifically. All the participants of this group were architects, which may have been a reason for the slight difference in perspective, as the other groups engaged at least one planner. Group 3 had a thorough "speaking from the margins" perspective, drawing attention to the elimination of unjust privileges. What separates this group from the others was their attention to basic values, with the collective "we" as the highest organizational level. This group involved the only participant out of all the workshops that had no connection to planning or architecture.

Beyond Scenarios

The beyond scenarios show a larger range in their focus, as the suggestions range from a planetary level to the local community, and "love" as a driving force. All groups but number 4 discuss global levels of governance, economy and use of resources. Groups 5 and 6 specifically point out resource use beyond colonialism and exploitation. Group 1 and 3 attend to global democratic governance combined with a localized democracy. Group 1 and 6 look into how the growing network society will bring the local and the global closer together, as a tool to move toward increased democracy, at the same time suggesting the need for monitoring. Group 2 was the only group to focus nature and the planet, setting the survival of the planet and the wellbeing of all humans as the ultimate goal to influence all decision-making on all levels. Group 6 attended to the strengthening of the local as a means of improving global relations. Group 4 talked of how love should be the starting point for development toward a society characterized by equality in power. Group 5 pinpointed that the non-normative must be given physical space in every part of society. It seems the more imaginative scenario opened up for other possibilities than the first one, as it can be seen how the range of suggestions reach further, both spatially and conceptually, than the within scenarios.

5. ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN USING THE WORKSHOP RESULTS

Workshops are a way to collect information on an issue, in an effort to engage in cooperative processes that broaden the scope and focus in a way that benefits from the participants' own experiences and knowledge. The scope of the workshops that were carried out as part of this thesis was to generate future visions of an ecofeminist Stockholm in 2050. The workshop outcomes will now be used to assess the current comprehensive plan, to clarify in what main respects they agree with and differ from one another in order to find out how the workshop results could contribute to the comprehensive plan. The analysis will partly rest on the discursive categories by Dryzek that were deployed in the discourse analysis in chapter 3.2. The workshop results will be related to the plan in two steps, the first one following the "within" scenarios, and the second one following the "beyond" scenarios. It is expected that the within scenarios will prove easier to incorporate into the plan in its current form, while the beyond scenarios require more thorough changes.

5.1 Within Scenarios

I. BASIC ENTITIES WHOSE EXISTENCE IS RECOGNIZED OR CONSTRUCTED

The Capitalist Economy & Growth

Generally, the within scenarios take the current capitalist political economy as given. This is an important basic starting point, in terms of the possibility to relate the workshop results to the comprehensive plan. The workshops then direct attention toward certain changes to the capitalist system that are assumed to be needed if an ecofeminist reality is to be fulfilled. Largely relating to ecological modernization the comprehensive plan could potentially stretch to contain such changes, in particular if the aim is to combine environmental protection with economic growth. This is not the primary aim of the workshop scenarios, and growth named a main task for planners, such as the "sustainable growth" of the comprehensive plan, cannot be found in the workshop visions. However, this does not mean that growth in itself is fundamentally opposed in the workshops, but rather that the scenarios look into *how* that growth shall be managed, in the sense that growth needs to follow other needs rather than being the primary task. As will be discussed below, there are possibilities to insert the suggested changes into the comprehensive plan without major changes, in spite of these somewhat conflicting aims.

Nature

Nature is largely handled in a similar way in the workshops as in the comprehensive plan. It is rarely specifically addressed, other than in terms of the opportunity to increase local food production (Groups 1, 2, 6), and a certain notion on the need for the protection of biodiversity and enhanced local green spaces (group 6). Thus, the most common way of approaching nature is as a resource at human disposal, alternatively as an entity to be managed by humans.

Governance

Differing from the plan, the workshop results attend to individuals and collectives as an important level for political, social, economic and organizational change. The plan mainly addresses

stockholmers in terms of their function for particular subject areas in an urban development managed by the city, where they largely lack any role in or agency for change. The workshops however point toward on the one hand strong top-down governance, and on the other development from the grassroots with the support of the authorities. This means a partial devaluation of those market forces as important agents for change that are prominent in the comprehensive plan, and certainly lending an added value to the stockholmers. However, the workshops emphasizes political power and decision-making, on local, national and international levels. Thus they overstep the borders of both comprehensive planning, and of the discourse the plan largely deploys - rather relating to the discourse of sustainable development. The attention to both higher and lower of governance than the city also implies that the city as such assumes a smaller importance than in the comprehensive plan.

2. ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NATURAL RELATIONSHIPS

The City as Mediator between Top-Down Politics & Strong Citizenry

By putting their trust in a combination of multi-layered top-down politics and grassroots driven development the workshop outcomes partly disrupts the clearly hierarchical relational structure derived from the comprehensive plan. While keeping with a strong state there is confidence that individuals and collectives have an important role to play. Within these collectives and individuals cooperation, sharing and exchange is clearly favored. The relation between the local and, e.g., the city level needs to be characterized by respect and support, but at the same time politics are exercised in a most top-down fashion. Thus, what is seen is strong politics combined with a strong citizenry. This potentially emphasizes the city as the mediator, in a more direct and participatory manner than the current. The attention to multi-layered governance clearly resembles sustainable development. The city as a mediator is partly practical reality in today's comprehensive planning, however lacking the strong emphasis on individuals and collectives as important actors. On the whole, the parallels between the workshop scenarios and the comprehensive plan are limited in this respect.

Anthropocentrism

The relation to nature is basically the same in the workshop scenarios and the comprehensive plan. Nature is largely seen as a resource at human disposal, alternatively as an entity to be managed by humans. This points toward a clear anthropocentric relation. However, pertaining to the encouraged increase in urban farming for social purposes, as well as the encouragement of local systems of production for better insight into the cycle of production and consumption, is an effort to learn from the cyclical character of nature. Thus, there is a certain recognition of the nested character of social and ecological systems, to be found in sustainable development. This notion is absent in the comprehensive plan. The attention to protection of biodiversity is however a reflection of the existing intentions of the comprehensive plan.

3. AGENTS & THEIR MOTIVES

Broad Range of Agents

In terms of agents, the workshop results show a broader range than the comprehensive plan's focus on the city's administrations and corporations, and others concerned with urban development. This has to do with a broader scope in terms of how the problem our society is facing is conceived of, and the aims and means suggested in the workshops. To the workshops, it is natural to work on numerous layers simultaneously, with a great emphasis on both a strong government, and local democracy and collectives. The agency is thus redistributed from the city, partly upwards in the decision-making hierarchy, and partly downwards to local communities. Furthermore, the workshops speak of democratic assemblies on global levels, and MNC's and TNC's as important agents given the extent of their influence that often surpasses that of national governments. As already mentioned, this

organization has more to do with sustainable development than any other discourse, and bears very limited resemblance with the comprehensive plan.

Integration, Equality & Justice

The agents in the workshop results are motivated by quite different objectives than the comprehensive plan. The workshops emphasize integration, intersectional equality and justice. There is an outspoken aim to end the capitalist exploitation of social and environmental goods, to fight unsustainable production and consumption, and to strive for "sufficiency" instead of "sustainable growth". Collectivity is emphasized both as a value and as a way of living. There is also a notion of humbleness, referring to intra-human relations, and indicating an emotional connection.

These ideas are not excluded from the plan, rather there is - as previously mentioned - attention to social and economic inequalities, and an effort to achieve a more integrated society, socially and spatially. The main motivation for the comprehensive plan however remains a combination of public interests (i.a., land use and environmental quality standards) and the political vision of a world class Stockholm through "sustainable growth". The difference to the workshops is that they put equality and integration as their first goals, just as uncompromising as sustainable growth.

The previously referred notions on solving the lack of affordable dwellings, and economic disparities in the population point out this difference. In the first case it is noted that poorer households have a weak position on the housing market. It is also noted that it has proved difficult to obtain low prices on newly built rental housing, why the solution that is found is to build for more affluent groups with the hope that they will leave more affordable housing available for the poorer groups (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 23). As much as this may be a difficult case to solve on the level of comprehensive planning (maybe on, e.g., a state level the chances would have been better), it shows how projects that will primarily contribute to the growth of the city and its more affluent parts of the population are seen as a solution to the lack of affordable dwellings. This equation depends on, and takes for granted, that the ones leaving their affordable apartments 1. have the means to move to more expensive housing, 2. think it is worth paying more for their housing than they previously have, 3. ignores the fact that cheap housing will always be attractive and thus meet a large interest, 4. takes for granted that the ones with the least means will automatically get access to the cheapest housing - there are other circumstances that affect this as well, e.g., time in the rental housing queue, personal connections, or mutually enforcing discriminating systems (e.g., a person who is discriminated on the labor market will not have enough money to be allowed to even apply for apartments). Lastly, it assumes that the large increase in the population will not affect the conditions of the existing poor inhabitants.

In the second case the argument starts in the failure to achieve equal chances in life for all inhabitants, particularly on the labor market:

"Alike other big city regions there are substantial social and economic inequalities in the Stockholm-Mälardalen Region. The wealth has increased during many years, but so have the differences between different groups of society too. One of the biggest challenges of the region is to give all stockholmers equal life chances, not least on the labor market where Stockholm and Sweden has had less of success than many other regions. Everything points toward that it will be completely necessary to use this labor power resource better in order to achieve a longterm sustainable growth." (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 8)

In this paragraph the perspective quickly shifts, where marginalized groups is turned into mere resource for economic growth, pointing out the importance of deploying this resource in a better way for longterm sustainable growth to be achieved - not for the social inequalities to be diminished. The fundamental reason for addressing economic inequalities is not mainly that inequalities are considered to be bad from a social point of view, but because they hamper economic growth. Addressing economic inequalities thus aims to increase economic growth, while the simultaneous potential of easing social inequalities is reduced to a positive side effect. This differs considerably from addressing

economic inequalities as an important part of social inequalities, or from addressing social inequalities using the economy as a tool for leveling, which would be the focus of the workshops. This shows that there are great contrasts in the underpinning motives for the comprehensive plan and the workshop scenarios.

Sustainable development's attention to balanced intersecting systems of environmental protection, distributive justice and economic growth lands closer to the idea of the workshops, in particular if this concerns the very first notion on sustainability where growth was largely excluded, originating in Third World countries (Dryzek, 2012, p. 148).

4. KEY METAPHORS AND OTHER RHETORICAL DEVICES

Sufficiency

It should be noted that the workshop scenarios were created during a short period of time, and thus that any rhetorical devices or key metaphors may be more limited than those of the comprehensive plan. There are however a few examples worth mentioning. "Sufficiency" is such a concept, intending an alternative direction to growth, by which production and consumption must aim to satisfy what we *need* rather than what we *wish* or are led to believe that we need. The "collective", the "local" and the "social network" are key concepts to the scenarios of the workshops.

These concepts barely exist in the comprehensive plan. With the key to the plan residing in continued growth, without any particular limitations, sufficiency is simply not relevant. Collectives, or local networks are likewise irrelevant, as these levels of society are not seen as having any bearing on the growth of the economy or the city.

COMPATIBILITY OF THE WITHIN SCENARIOS & THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

Context & Levels of Governance

A general note in matters of governance is the limited direct reach of the comprehensive plan. The workshop results show numerous examples of how to steer the use of resources, production and consumption in a direction toward proper pricing, consumer awareness, and an active encouragement of a more sustainable production and consumption overall. Some of these suggestions fall within the frames and reach of the comprehensive plan, while others have larger implications, making the direct insertion into the comprehensive plan more difficult, as they would rather be a concern of corporate, national or international levels of governance. One group (group 4) notes the great chances of changing society if we want to, given the vast amount of tools at our disposal. What is needed is a vision, that can trickle down through institutions and different societal levels. This pinpoints the problem, namely the direct ability of the comprehensive plan to be that change. In several of the cases an active comprehensive planning could be a good support of a move in a certain direction, if the political support for that move exists. The problem is when it doesn't.

"Sustainable growth" from the comprehensive plan can serve as an example. When the plan focuses the "sustainable growth" of Stockholm per se, in competition with other urban regions in the world, the workshops look toward the local and global repercussions that growth entangles. In this sense, the workshops lean toward a larger change than the comprehensive plan, as they encourage structural and organizational changes way beyond the urban region of Stockholm.

Supporting a more Sustainable Economy

There are however other proposals from the workshops that are closer to the level of the comprehensive plan, and also proposals that would not necessarily contradict the plan in its current form. One such potential is the idea of "sustainable growth". While the idea of "sustainable growth" represented in the plan focuses a smooth implementation process rather than the way social, ecological and economic resources are handled (see chapter 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.4), it could potentially be deployed

in a more proactive manner, where sustainable production, consumption, use of resources and other activities are actively - rather than passively - supported. As an example, the comprehensive plan recurrently writes about Stockholm as internationally strong in the business of environmental technologies. The aim is to encourage continued development in this area, and it would seem logical if a wholesale support of businesses that aim at sustainability - not only in the technological sector - would be supported in their entirety. The plan also mentions that the procurement of goods and services should encourage "environmentally efficient technology" (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 8). The effort to promote certain forms of economic activities would imply a disadvantage for those that do not follow, which could push the corporate development in whatever favored direction.

Still complying to the idea of growth, group 2 suggested the inclusion of environmental and social costs into pricing in the public procurement of goods and services, for the market to be adjusted to real values, and in the end to support a non-exploitative market economy. Another suggestion was to actively steer the consumption patterns of the municipality itself (group 1). Given the existing management of procurement of goods and services, this suggestion should seemingly easily be possible to include.

In all, this would thus mean a large-scale form of consumer power, which in combination with the support of actors that aim at sustainable methods and goods could become a force to reckon with. The implication would be that the plan takes a clearer stand for supporting sustainable production and consumption, both in the city's dependency on other parts of the world, and locally in terms of local businesses. Local food production could form a natural part of this strategy, suggested by groups 2 and 6. The localization of food production, and the open support of small-scale market actors could contribute to a better understanding and monitoring of production processes (group 2), while simultaneously providing more sustainable products on the market. By setting this as a top-down standard the city could also provide support for individuals in engaging in urban farming, and in taking their own consumption in a more sustainable direction.

A Localized Society

Just like the food production many of the workshop suggestions aim toward a more localized society, where the local social network, local meeting places for exchange of knowledge and resources, and local provision of good and services are emphasized (groups 1, 3, 6). This is supported by the plan, through attention to how to sustain local centers and service provision, local accessibility to good public spaces, schools and culture, and to "enforce the social perspective in planning" (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 17). It is however important to note that there may be a difference in the approaches to local development of the comprehensive plan and the workshops respectively. The workshop results favor local developments that start from the grassroots with the support of the city, while the city seemingly intends a top-down approach to local developments, seeking support for its proposals. It has to do with what comes first: the development proposal, or the local dialogue.

Furthermore, the workshops have a number of suggestions that concern the individual level, such as active and conscious consumption (groups 2, 3, 4), a personal political responsibility (group 2), and identity formation that is based on respect for nature (group 2). There was also an emphasis on the collective level, where the social network (groups 1, 2), "doing together" (groups 3, 6), sharing of knowledge and resources in open dialogue and mediation (group 3), and collective housing (group 6) was brought up. While the very personal level is difficult to target in comprehensive planning, it would still be possible to support a move in this direction, mentioned in the previous section.

Equality & Integration in Practice

The workshops also focus a great deal of attention on public goods, such as public transportation (groups 1, 5), schools (1, 6) and cheap rental apartments (5). Enforcement of public transportation is supported in the plan, the difference in this matter would probably fall on the extension of this enforcement. Schools are addressed for extended education in equality, global justice and sustainability, and the elimination of the school election system. Another issue that is brought attention to is a basic income for all (group 1). Several groups encourage limited working hours (groups 1, 5, 6).

Group 3 points toward an evening out of privileges, and the sharing of knowledge and resources. Group 6 discusses the relation between shorter working hours resulting in diminished means for consumption while gaining time for personal development as a way of moving away from the fragmented individualism of today's society. While expressed in different ways, it seems these suggestion point in a similar direction: toward decreased economic and social inequalities and segregation, and relations that are characterized by collectivism and cooperation. Some of the suggestions hold high relevance for comprehensive planning, whereas others concern other societal levels for decision-making.

The comprehensive plan confirms large social and economic divides as a big challenge to the city (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 8) and does present efforts directed toward this goal, often focusing how to create urban environments, connections, transportation and public spaces that bring people together rather than separate (ibid, p. 16f). However, concerning the likewise concrete issue of cheap rental dwellings, indirectly relating to economic disparities, the plan is vague. As discussed above, the solution to cheap dwellings is to create more opportunities for richer stockholmers to move houses, thus leaving cheaper dwellings for others to occupy (ibid, p. 23). In short, it seems the efforts of the plan could be much more ambitious in its concrete measures to lay the ground for a more equal city.

Human-nature Interaction

The workshops deal with nature in a similar manner as the comprehensive plan, and the suggestions are also largely compatible. Protection of biodiversity as well as enhancing local green spaces are already present in the comprehensive plan, while local food production on the other hand could be incorporated more clearly. The urban farming is in the workshops seen as a way to increase self-sufficiency, but also as a means to enforce the local social network. It is thus a proposal that more than nature has to do with local social organization. However, the plan's effort to develop local cores, and to enhance the urban environments throughout the whole city, could potentially benefit from using urban farming as a tool.

Challenges

The suggestion to limit production and consumption in order to provide time and space for personal and collective development would theoretically speak against the plan's aim, sustainable growth, and would thus be impossible to implement. A limit on working hours falls into the same category, even if the implementation of the idea is possible independently of the comprehensive plan. Generally, the implementation of these ideas is not impossible given our current reality, but it also cannot receive direct support in the current form of the comprehensive plan.

Using the power of collectivism in local development could very well serve the purposes of the comprehensive plan to develop local cores, but it would potentially conflict with how this development takes place. As mentioned before, the local development of the workshops suggest a grassroots driven development that has the steady support of the city, whereas the city rather seems to favor a top-down driven process.

The Stockholmers

The workshops point toward something that goes beyond separate interventions, displaying a fundamental contrast to the comprehensive plan. This regards *how* the stockholmers are being described and what they are assumed to be capable of. The workshop scenarios assume but also require the inhabitants of the city to be capable, active and responsible in the coordinated development of the city. As discussed in the discursive analysis of the comprehensive plan (chapter 3.2), it does not picture the stockholmers as agents in the development of the city. Rather, they are described as functions adjusting to the contexts in which they are mentioned. The workshops however specifically point out every stockholmer as an agent, and incorporates values and view of man focusing collectivism, grassroots development, local communities and democracy.

One reason for this may be that it belongs to another level of conversation - the political - and a different political framework than the plan. Thus, any easy insertion of this perspective into the plan

cannot be expected. However, it points toward a potential for development of the plan. The influence could be twofold: first, the very inclusion of the public as capable agents into processes of urban development, and second, the basic idea of cooperation in collectives instead of parallel individuals, which has great implications for what kind of city we are trying to create and how we attempt to get there. This inclusion would however require a redefinition of agents, of the process of urban development, and of the relation between the city and its inhabitants.

5.2 Beyond Scenarios

I. BASIC ENTITIES WHOSE EXISTENCE IS RECOGNIZED OR CONSTRUCTED

The Capitalist Economy & Growth

The beyond scenarios of the workshops have different ways of handling the capitalist economy, where most depart from it while group 5 and 6 look into ideas on how to alter the current economy. Both the latter groups look toward production and consumption beyond exploitative structures, not necessarily beyond the capitalist economy. (However, an ecofeminist analysis would likely conclude that growth will be impossible if exploitation of humanity and nature is eliminated.) Group 5 considers the possibility to limit extraction of resources to mere need, which would abolish the opportunity to use it as a source to create surplus, which would lead to a fundamental change in the economic system that would potentially imply an end to surplus production. Eliminating exploitation implies to move beyond colonialism, not as an end to trade, but an effort to combine local adequacy and global justice, locally and globally. It must be concluded however, that the imaginative (beyond) workshop scenarios largely depart from the capitalist economy, as they do not take it as a given organization. This also applies to growth, which is even more down-prioritized than in the reformist (within) scenarios.

The Global & the Local

The relation between the global and the local arises as a core issue in the workshop results, when the world is seen as becoming simultaneously more global and more local through increasing IT communication and growing needs for global governance (groups 1, 3, 6). The context of relevance thus expands relative to the within scenarios, as the global dependence and repercussions and of our current societies is discussed. In search of a decolonized world the responsibility of the local reaches a global level, thus making the global integral to the beyond scenarios.

The Local

The attention to the local can also be noted in the attention to revaluation of local knowledge, history and tradition, and local identities, all based on local conditions, in an effort to move toward decolonized relations and identities (group 6). The comprehensive plan also attends to strengthening local identities, but in a slightly different manner. In the plan the identity of an area is often connected to its attractiveness (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 12, 26, 34, 39f). This applies both to certain areas in Stockholm, but also to the whole city, and partly concerns the stockholmers' well-being but above all how this attractiveness contributes to the sustainable growth of the city. The strengthening of local identities is then first and foremost directed to others than the inhabitants themselves, as the stronger identities above all aim to contribute to attracting new people and businesses.

The Collective

The beyond scenarios of the workshops keep the collective as an important principle and entity in societal development. The collective is an integral part of the local, and that having been ascribed maybe an even larger importance in these results puts a great emphasis on the collective. Beyond a localized democracy (group1) shared resources, information and knowledge, and labor (group6), the collective in these scenarios becomes the manager of natural resources and knowledge or resources previously controlled through property rights (group 6). It is found that sharing will in every case be more practical and lead to better results, which is why knowledge and resources that are managed through another kind of organization would benefit everyone (group 6). The collective is thus established as owner, manager, organizer, institution, political entity, and principle for the interaction between people in a local setting. This kind of collective would be completely new to the plan.

Nature

Nature is thought of in two main ways in the scenarios: the planet as the ultimate entity that we all depend on (group 2), or as a set of resources with the planetary limits as its ultimate boundaries (group 5). In either case our relation to nature has to become more respectful. Nature as a resource must be assigned a more appropriate value, it should be collectively owned, and must only be used in a sustainable manner that considers both local and global equality. Nature as a planet assumes a much larger importance however, forming the very basis of any decision-making or actions on all levels of all human societies.

2. ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NATURAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Global & the Local

The connection between the global and the local is a core issue generally (groups 1,2,3,5,6). It is concluded that the global to an even larger extent than today becomes local and the other way around, that the borders of our respective contexts become blurred. This new world will need other forms of management - monitoring of information exchange, but above all new forms of democracy. The local democracy is extended to the global, and vice versa, a global influence on the local is expected. New global forms of governance beyond the relatively weak UN are needed, ones that are free from manipulation by financial powers (group 3). The relation between the local and the global is thus expected to become much closer, characterized by a mutual interdependency in a political and economic equality beyond normative systems, colonial and other discriminatory structures (group 4, 5, 6). The equality ideal can also be recognized in the intra-human relations on the local level within collectives, which also rest on a great share of cooperation and shared responsibilities.

Anthropocentrism & Survivalism

The relation to nature has two main strands, that are at the same time very different and quite similar. The idea of nature as a resource stays true to an anthropocentric approach where nature is to be managed and distributed by and among humans. The planet as a starting point for all human activities assumes that humanity is a part of and inherently dependent on nature, why "the survival planet" needs to replace "growth" as the foundation of all human actions. The placing of humans in a subordinate position to the planet - frankly, humanity depends on the planet, but the planet will most likely continue to exist beyond humanity - does not necessarily disrupt the anthropocentric perspective. Admitting to the impact of humans on the well-being of the planet, the responsible response would be a change in management - thus the suggestion to make the survival of the planet the aim of all human activity. This however still confirms an anthropocentric idea of humanity as managers of the entity the planet, making humanity superior. As a comparison, other discourses would ascribe agency to the planet itself, or that all activities of the planet cannot be perfectly predicted. Rockström (Dryzek, 2012, p. 34, Gunnarsson-Östling, 2014, p. 101) confirms the troublesome trespassing of planetary boundaries, but all the same point out that there is no knowing what the exact consequences will be, which implies that the earth's processes stand beyond human management. Such notions are excluded in named workshop scenarios.

3. AGENTS & THEIR MOTIVES

The Global Institutions & Local Collectives

The named agents of the workshops focus on global and local levels, practically leaving a large chunk of the agents in between out of the picture. The new global-local reality will be in need of another kind of governance, according to group 3 something in line with but more powerful than the UN. While likely still relying on and using existing unions and organizations, this likely suggests the need for new kinds of global institutions in order to uphold this kind of extended democracy. On the local level there

is a big emphasis on collectives, which are given both political, economic and organizational responsibilities. The suggested interventions then largely put other agents in charge than the ones approached in the comprehensive plan, going simultaneously more global and more local. Thus, the city practically disappears, as does national governments. CSR is mentioned as a possible tool in the process (group3), as are equal trade partners (group 5), pointing toward some - though limited - role for corporations to play in these new scenarios. This could be a bit surprising, given the large influence corporations have today, but maybe this is rather the point to remember that the scenarios have an imaginary character. Concluding, it must be said that the comprehensive plan and the workshops have little in common when it comes to agents that are concerned with the implementation of the respective scenarios.

Sufficiency & Human Rights

Rather than growth or a capitalist economy, the workshop groups unanimously talk about a globalized local reality where equality, cooperation, solidarity and sustainability are the main objectives. "Sufficiency" figures as an aim in group 1, and group 4 mentions "love" as the fundamental common denominator. These ideals are reflected throughout the proposals, and largely consist of more or less straightforward human rights (United Nations, 2014). Apart from the basic ideals two practical examples are housing provision and food for all of humanity (group 3). Thus, the motives in these scenarios are human rights and sustainability (based on social and environmental limits).

4. KEY METAPHORS AND OTHER RHETORICAL DEVICES

The Survival of the Planet, Global Limits & Sufficiency

Two particular metaphors arose in this part of the workshops, the survival of the planet and global limits (groups 2, 6). These are related to ecofeminist theorizing that emphasizes planetary boundaries as the limits for the survival of both natural ecosystems and humanity. Survival depends on the respect for these boundaries, why a consciously longterm sustainable human society must form within them. It is thus not surprising that these metaphors are brought up in the generation of future scenarios that move beyond our current (unsustainable) reality. The metaphors are also prominent in the discourse concerning limits and survival, where the surpassing of boundaries is expected to result in planetary collapse. Ecofeminist theory rather focuses the destructive relations between humans and nature based on hierarchy and exploitation, which are the reason for the disrupted organic balance. While planetary boundaries and tipping points are a current and influential area through, i.a., Rockström, the general discourse has changed, and the talk of a threatening collapse is maybe not as prominent as in the early 1970's.

Just like in the previous (within) scenarios sufficiency remains an important metaphor or rhetorical device, which can be related to the comprehensive plan's sustainable growth. The implications for the idea of sufficiency remain the same in these scenarios, if anything stretched to include every part of the production chain, and life itself (group 1).

COMPATIBILITY OF THE BEYOND SCENARIOS & THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

As a general note it must be said that the beyond scenarios of the workshops do not easily combine well with the comprehensive plan, as their starting points are very far apart. It must also be said that the workshop scenarios provide images that are not necessarily anchored in a world that looks like our current one. Rather, the very point with these scenarios is to look toward images of the future that are radically different than the ones that will be associated with our current situation. Thus, the compatibility of the workshop scenarios with the comprehensive plan is relatively low. However, there are general strands of thought in the workshop scenarios that could definitely serve a redevelopment of

the plan, or a future comprehensive plan, well - if the aim were to move toward a more sustainable city in general, or an ecofeminist one in particular.

The Global & The Local

The global in the comprehensive plan above all refers to the global interconnectedness of the economy, and the power of attraction of Stockholm in the international competition. However, it does not pay much attention to the city's global dependence in terms of resource use, direct or indirect environmental effects or how the city by extension approaches social justice in other parts of the world. The approach to environmental changes is clearly local, all the while recognizing the global impact of climate changes (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 7f). Global governance in a local context can impossibly be dealt with exclusively on the level of a particular urban region. In this respect the comprehensive plan has its clear limits. However, looking into the global effects of Stockholm and its process of urban development in terms of environmental impact and effect on global in/equalities could certainly be a major point of development of the comprehensive plan. It could also form an important tool to scrutinize the local consequences of the plan using the same framework. Such an investigation would most likely have large implications for both strategies and how the public interests of the plan are met.

Another point with potential for development would be to enforce the local, in a manifold manner. As discussed above, this may conflict with the comprehensive plan, as the local aspirations do not necessarily coincide with the city's. However, providing space for the local to develop would be one of the first steps to an increased interaction between the local and the global according to the intentions of the workshops. A proper anchoring in the local is one of the first conditions for this to come about, in which the comprehensive plan would be a possible level to provide a better starting point.

The strengthening of local identities could be an important discussion to conduct in areas that are considered for renewal. Stockholm has seen several examples of great conflicts following intentions and proposals to redevelop existing areas. The strengthening of the local in line with the workshops, focusing on re-evaluation based on local experiences and identities, could be one starting point for this kind of discussion.

Nature

The comprehensive plan and the workshops display a large gap in their view on nature, while all still keeping to an anthropocentric perspective. The fundamental approach to nature, and our materialization of nature into resources, could nonetheless be benefitted by a rethinking starting from the perspectives of the workshops. This would however risk complicating the city's possibilities to sustain its economic growth, as another take on nature would not allow for the kind of exploitation that the city most likely benefits from. Thus, a redefinition in this respect is not easy, and in fact conflicts with the fundamental strategy of the comprehensive plan - sustainable growth.

Sufficiency & Human Rights

The attention to human rights that has been voiced in the workshops may come across as lame, unprovocative and of disputed relevance. A general idea of the Swedish society is that it is largely equal, based on high results in international rankings concerning, e.g., gender equality, and having ratified the Declaration of Human Rights apart from only a few protocols (Regeringskansliet, 2014). As already mentioned, the comprehensive plan admits to social and economic differences in Stockholm, and discrimination in general is a known fact in the Swedish society. Thus, this area is still relevant, and could contribute to the comprehensive plan.

Several of the suggestions of the workshops have both a local and global dimension in this respect. As mentioned in connection to the within scenarios, the comprehensive plan should to some extent be able to look into its effects in terms of environmental deterioration and social injustices locally as well as globally, and find strategies toward sustainable local and global relations. In a more far-reaching ambition the human rights would be set as the ultimate aim of the plan.

Sufficiency as an aim moves beyond the capitalist economy in search for what could largely be understood as subsistence. This disrupts the whole idea not only of sustainable growth, but of growth. Any compatibility with the current comprehensive plan is then out-ruled. Any development of the plan in this direction would require a wholesale change in the approach to politics, economy and society, on all levels.

5.3 Summary

Compatibility of the Within Scenarios & the Comprehensive Plan

The context and level of governance the within scenarios apply to in several aspects surpass that of the comprehensive plan, which regardless of differences concerning aims and incitements complicates the relating or adoption of the workshop suggestions into the plan. Even within the frame of the comprehensive plan there are a number of contradictions, which will be discussed further on. However, many of the workshop suggestions are largely feasible to implement in the comprehensive plan in its current state. It needs to be noted however, that the workshop results in several cases suggest another basic approach than what is implied in the comprehensive plan.

Growth per se is not an expressed aim in the workshops. Rather, growth can be used as a tool that can be directed in different ways depending on the aim. It must also be noted that several of the suggested changes of the workshops are likely to result in a move away from consumerism, and thus also from economic growth. But rather than an outright aim, this is due to among other things a limit on working hours implying less money to spend (group 6) in combination with more conscious consumption (groups 2, 3, 4), in an overall movement toward an enlarged subsistence economy.

The workshop results intend a development of the industry and commerce that is more circumscribed than the current. Not just any kind of business development is favored, rather there is a preference that aims for higher ambitions in terms of environmental protection and social equality than that displayed in the comprehensive plan. In line with this, the strategy "sustainable growth" could potentially be reformulated and implemented in a more ambitious and proactive way, where sustainable production, consumption, use of resources and other activities are actively - rather than passively - supported.

There is a fundamental difference in how local development is to come about. When the workshops favor a bottom-up approach, that of the comprehensive plan must largely be understood as top-down driven. Several areas in and around Stockholm have seen conflicts erupting following plans on redevelopment and renewal. It could be that the workshop results provide important input in this respect.

The view on the stockholmers displays an area of conflict between the workshop results and the comprehensive plan, but also a potential for development. While a thorough discursive change may be difficult, it should be possible to ascribe more agency to the stockholmers in processes of urban development, and to support cooperation through collectives.

Compatibility of the Beyond Scenarios & the Comprehensive Plan

The very idea with the beyond scenarios is that they look beyond the direct conditions of our current society, why the compatibility between the present plan and the scenarios is limited. It can however provide valuable input in a redevelopment of the plan, or a future plan, that aims to move toward a sustainable or ecofeminist future.

The workshops direct attention to an increasing interconnectedness between the local and the global. While issues of global governance are out of reach for the comprehensive plan alone, attention to its repercussions concerning environmental deterioration and social inequalities both locally and globally could certainly serve the plan. This would have large implications for the whole plan, from analysis of public interests, overarching aim and strategies.

The strengthening of local communities could benefit local development, but also be a good way to avoid later years' conflicts following intentions and proposals to redevelop existing boroughs. (A re-evaluation based on local experiences and identities could be one starting point for this kind of discussion.)

While maintaining an anthropocentric relation to nature, the workshop scenarios suggest taking the planetary boundaries as the starting point for all decision-making. This conflicts with sustained economic growth, and not even thinkable in the present shape of the plan. The suggestion of

a subsistence economy to replace our current growth orientation meets the same problem, and would require a complete reorientation of politics, economics and society generally on all levels.

The workshops make references to human rights as the ultimate aim of our societies, to be reflected in the proposals. This is not irrelevant, given the inequalities that characterize the Swedish and likely most societies. Making human rights the aim of the comprehensive plan would have large effects on all its parts, and is not feasible in its current form, but nonetheless a potential for development.

Conclusions

The compatibility of the workshop scenarios and the comprehensive plan is obviously shifting, where a general circumstance is that the workshop results move beyond the context of the comprehensive plan. In general, it can be seen that the workshops attend a lot to social values centered around equality and collectivism, which arise as an end in itself that replaces the current focus on economic growth. The economy is instead reshaped into a tool that can be applied to achieve the aim. This change can be applied with different reach, ranging from public procurement of goods that supports ecological products, to practically making economic growth impossible. This means that while several suggestions can be directly incorporated into the plan in its current state, others require a reorganization of politics, economy and society. Without doubt, there are contributions to be made to the plan starting in the workshop results, centered around an increased social justice in Stockholm and elsewhere, and in increased sustainability. More on this in the following chapter.

6. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

HOW DO THE WORKSHOP SCENARIOS RELATE TO ECOFEMINIST UTOPIANISM?

General Similarities

A first general thought on the result is how close a lot of the material in the groups' scenarios was to the theories of ecofeminism in terms of utopian thinking. This is interesting to note, since the short presentation of ecofeminism did not cover the specifically utopian side of the theory.

Among other things can be noted the concept "sufficiency" that was brought forth in the first workshop. Sufficiency would refer to a production and consumption that is limited to covering our needs, rather than striving to produce a surplus and accumulated resources. This can be related to the ecofeminist idea of "subsistence", by which is intended a system of synchronized production and consumption beyond exploitative structures that is driven by reproductive needs and self-sustenance. While the aim for "sufficiency" does not necessarily entail that the aims for equality and environmental protection that are outspoken parts of subsistence are met, but there are certainly parallels to be drawn.

The dedication to social justice and intersectional equality locally and globally has a strong presence in the workshop results. Furthermore, the workshops generally express a need for localization and collectivization, in broad terms. Inherent to this is an understanding of how our current society separates us into independent individuals, which blurs our nonetheless existing interrelations and contributed to sustained hierarchies, and that this supports the mere possibility to exploit other people/s and nature. A part of this is the collectivization of currently privately owned property. This increased emphasis on the local and the collective also goes for a new form of democracy, where everyone becomes involved in and responsible for decisions in politics, economy etc. Again, this relates strongly to ecofeminism.

Problem of Context and Application

An obvious problematic in the workshop scenarios is the levels of governance they apply to. In many cases, the suggested solutions are not entirely relevant for the comprehensive plan as an instrument for change, but rather apply to other societal institutions, to politics or beyond the national borders. As half of the scenarios have the direct intention of moving beyond the constraints of our current society, this concern mainly applies to the within scenarios, which are intended to look into changes of our current reality. There may be several reasons for this, but one in particular is worth mentioning - for the sake of the ethics of this thesis. Being myself involved in planning, having participants that were all but one more or less affiliated with urban construction, a basic level of knowledge of the comprehensive plan was taken for granted. A general idea of the workshops was *not* to focus unnecessary attention on the comprehensive plan, but rather make use of the time during the scenario generation. It may be however that the plan's content, conditions and task was handled too swiftly in the introductory presentation to the workshops.

This sliding context impedes the possibility to relate the workshop results to the comprehensive plan. Now, the suggestions from the workshops can be seen in several ways, as discussed in ch. 5 many of them could indeed be compatible with the plan regardless of level of governance. However, an appropriate level as the starting point of the scenario generation would likely have resulted in a larger number of relevant ideas.

Ending Patriarchal Colonial Oppression, or Ending Growth?

There are a few important divergences from the ecofeminist framework that need to be pointed out. How attention is directed toward different forms of oppression is one such area. It has been seen that the workshop groups suggest that action is taken to limit inequalities based on gender. There is also

some notion on including non-normative perspectives generally. However, there is no particular attention paid to inequalities based on race, in spite of the fact that inequalities following a colonial pattern is an integral part of the intersectional analysis of ecofeminism.

Moreover, in spite of the motive for action of the workshops to move toward a world that is more equal socially, economically and environmentally, it could be questioned whether the solutions indeed are directed toward specific equality enhancing interventions based in a critique of patriarchal and colonial structures, or if the main topic is rather how to restructure the political economy. Naturally, the economic system is, next to knowledge production, in ecofeminist theory seen as one of the greatest tools through which patriarchal and colonial patterns are sustained. One can not be easily separated from another, and thus there is also some truth to that confronting the economic structure will also mean to confront structures of oppression. However, the difference in where the incentive to act comes from has consequences for its potential for success. The strong connection that is made between economic and technological development, and peace, freedom and equality has been proved wrong by Mies & Shiva (2014, p. 268f). In fact, it is one of the reasons ecofeminism as a perspective even exists, as experience has shown that this connection is faulty. Even though a move away from the capitalist economy toward another kind of organization may lead to a greater economic equality, it does not necessarily entail an enforced equality in terms of gender, race, and other aspects. Thus, it could be argued that a stronger foundation in what oppressions are to be met through the economic restructuring would have been needed in the workshops. To spell it out: in the same way that economic growth is removed as a target, the new target has to be something beyond economic de-growth, where the economy *is* in fact converted into a tool to achieve change. This complicates the discussion of equality, as it asks in *which* aspects equality is supposed to be achieved, and in this respect it would potentially have been possible to find more precise suggestions, immediately directed to limiting patriarchal and colonial structures, in the workshops.

However, it could also be argued that it is the very limitation of the present reality that puts the focus on economy, as it is such a dominant topic in today's general discourse. Another reason could be, again my own influence through the presentation of ecofeminist theory. The beyond scenarios however serve as proof of what the moving beyond economy opens up imagination to, where especially group 2 can be used as an example. It must be noted that there is more attention to matters of equality in the beyond scenarios than the within scenarios.

Anthropocentric Relation to Nature

It must also be noted that the connotations the workshops ascribe to nature do not measure up to ecofeminist theory. The workshop results largely display an anthropocentric attitude to nature, where humans are made into managers to dispose over nature as a resource. Ecofeminism has an altogether much more ambitious approach, where nature is in some cases even ascribed agency itself. It disagrees with the idea that humans can be managers of something they are inherently part of themselves, and returns to the fact that the planet will manage very well even without humans, a relation which cannot be inverted.

The anthropocentrism of the workshop results could have some main reasons. It may be that our current discourses are so anthropocentric that it becomes difficult for us to step out of them. Another reason would be that our effect is too big for another perspective than the anthropocentric to be even possible - no matter how we think about our effect on and relation to nature, the situation today is such that the human impact is global and a change thus requires global efforts. In this line of thinking, global management of the planet becomes necessary regardless of parallel perspectives on the immersion of humans into nature's ecosystems. The third reason would, again, be my own effect on the workshops through the initial presentation of ecofeminist theory. It may be that my own understanding of the ecofeminist perspective on nature is insufficient, or that I did not manage to convey its content in a correct manner. Whatever the reasons, if the plan is to be assessed from an ecofeminist point of view, some additional notes must be made in this matter, since the workshop results quite frankly did not measure up to the task in this respect.

HOW DOES PARTICIPATORY SCENARIO GENERATION APPLY TO COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING?

Conflictual Aspects of Planning

A question that has been circulating during the work with this thesis is how pluralistic utopian thought connects to comprehensive planning. The comprehensive plan is a strategic document that is based on a political vision, and must remain politically relevant. The work of the planners is however also informed by the national public interests and the specific conditions of the local context. This makes the planner at once a generalist, mediator and expert, whose task it is to find a way to balance these interests, in a future image that touches ground and becomes tangible.

This process is inevitably characterized by conflict. The comprehensive plan in its current form accordingly points toward areas of conflict when striving to fulfill different public interests. The conflicts are described in connection to the four sub-strategies (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 36, 40, 43, 46, 80). These descriptions sometimes imply a favored prioritization of targets, but generally lack any outspoken notion on what should guide the decision-making for the urban development in these issues, or any evaluation of what target may be particularly important to reach - and why. In its last chapter, the plan concludes regarding conflicting interests and targets (ibid, p. 80):

”[f]or the aims and the strategies of the [comprehensive plan to be carried through, detailed geographical studies, program work and detailed planning must be based on a holistic approach. The comprehensive plan sets out a position on fundamental conflicts between objectives and conflicts of interest regarding sustainable growth at the overall level. It is therefore important that the continuing process of balancing different interests and objectives is specified in more detailed planning.”

It can thus be assumed that the guiding principle for decision-making in conflicts will be ”sustainable growth”. As has been argued before in this thesis, the concept of ”sustainable growth” carries an inherent contradiction, if the ecofeminist, and other, analyses are trusted. This is another area of contestation, which presents the planners with a tricky task. How can the expert/generalist longterm planners engage in the implementation of an aim that they know contains a fundamental conflict?

Furthermore, as many futurists have reacted to, futures studies and utopianism have more often than not been characterized by a fundamental male bias. This bias would most likely be extended to other areas if aspects of other discriminatory systems were added to the chart. While the analysis of the comprehensive plan has not attended particularly to potential biases, it has nevertheless been noted in ch. 3.2.1 that the plan contains a use of categories that may be problematic from a feminist perspective. Drawing on Albrechts (2010, p. 1120), the planner can never be neutral, but is rather permeated by positions of gender, class, age, race, ethnicity, religion etc. The decisions the planners take are informed by values, of a practical reality that is characterized by a range of different structures of oppression, of humans, and of nature. This is logical, after all planners are humans like all of us, with physical and emotional experiences, feelings and understandings, immersed in a particular context that carries particular political, economic, cultural and social ideas and performances. The likelihood of incorporating, and furthermore enforce the structures of this context is strong, why any pertaining patterns of inequality are likely to be continued if they are not made aware. It could maybe even be said that this incorporation is part of the task, as this is what the practical reality in this particular context is. However, when the structures we live in conflict with the society we have decided to move toward, then what social, economic, political relations of discursive and practical power and exploitation informs the plan needs to be brought up.

Regardless of the swiftness of this analysis of conflicts in the plan, these conflicts are most likely present. This has nothing to do with debating the eventual quality or success of the plan, rather, the particular form of the comprehensive plan is *bound* to display this kind of conflicts, as it attempts to find one balanced solution to all its aspects of consideration. Opposing this effort, Gunder (2006, p. 214) argues that ”universal acceptance of meaningful goals” is nothing but a chimera, as ”[t]he urban problematic is constructed of conflicting positions and desires, where one’s gain is another’s loss”. This points out that forming *one* single plan that answers to all public interests, political aims and

contextual problematics will be difficult, even illusory. It is very much made aware that the comprehensive plan cannot be all-inclusive, but all the while the plan is still presented in a singular all-inclusive version. But if it isn't possible to have it all, then what do we choose, and how do we best display our alternatives?

Toward a Pluralist Planning

This is where working with multiple scenarios becomes interesting, as it allows for considering a limited range of parameters at a time in parallel scenarios, meaning that conflicting interests are allowed to exist side by side. Next to the compromise, an important task of the planner could be to expose the unresolvable conflicts. The different images of the future in this case form a chance to see what happens when the conflicts step out of abstract politics and regulations, and reach practice. Scenario generating workshops with stakeholders show how multiple scenarios can assist in questioning, providing other perspectives than the ones directly available, allow for more detailed analyses, and be used as a way to further discussions on preferable futures (Montgomery, 2008). Multiple scenarios could potentially form part of the generation of new comprehensive plans, but also when redevelopments of the plans are needed, where attention could be directed toward particular issues or more broadly. Participatory scenario generation could then be a method that strategic planners engage in, in order to investigate the public experience and opinion. The scenarios generated in the workshops of this thesis are to be understood as ecofeminist scenarios that attempt to challenge the currently dominant image of Stockholm's future. Ecofeminism is only one possible framework, to be met by other frameworks that are found relevant for planning to address. Ecofeminism may, as this thesis has attempted to show, be relevant in order to develop how sustainability is to be thought of and met, but it may well be that other perspectives would be found equally or more interesting. What perspectives that have a bearing would of course be based on, i.e., the issues that are to be addressed, recent political majority, the conditions of society and urban development, dominant discourses, national and international agreements.

Working with several perspectives would re-politicize urban development and open it up as just the arena for contestation and confrontation that it in fact already is, and make it broadly available. The comprehensive plan has a special potential in this respect: being the level where the conflicting interests are mediated, it could very well be used as an arena for debate over futures, as a platform for multiple conversations. As the comprehensive plan in its current form clearly refrains from defining ultimate answers or exact implementations, while however staying close to the strategy "sustainable growth", the first step toward being this platform has already been taken. As has been noted in the analyses in chapter 3 and 4, the comprehensive plan does already in its current form open up for broad cooperations between different public administrations, corporations and other actors. The comprehensive plan in a strategic, partly abstract form is a useful orientation in order to keep the discussion concerning our future and the roads toward it open, as it requires constant reevaluation and interpretation. The sections describing conflicting targets discussed above, which are also guided by sustainable growth, can likewise be understood from this perspective. The conflicts in themselves is a chance to open up for a discussion that embraces pluralistic perspectives to try to answer to what development is really desirable.

The challenge however is to find a middle ground between the need for a clearly formulated comprehensive plan, while still maintaining the debate. The scenario generation of this thesis showed how political discrepancy can be a great obstacle to the implementation of ideas. Just like any results of political processes, the comprehensive plan is shaped and adopted in a political climate that may not last longer than four years, while its validity is substantially longer. There is a need for flexibility in the plan, room for reinterpretations, in order to be able to address changing conditions. Simultaneously it is also required that the plan is clear enough to be able to form just that foundation for societal development that is intended. It is argued above that the plan leaves space for the interpretation of sustainable growth, which keeps close to the political aim, but is flexible in terms of exact solution. A question that arises is what would happen if the flexibility concerned the political direction, while resting heavier on national public interests, and the conditions and needs of the local context,

potentially leaving more space for bottom-up initiatives. Would it be possible to shape the plan in a way that allows for a larger openness in terms of political perspectives, while at the same time managing to keep a line that is steady enough to allow for a functioning urban development? If following the ideas of the workshops it could be suggested that a change of how planning works is needed, with a larger emphasis put on the local, including the citizens as actors in urban development. This would in all reason give comprehensive planning an altered role, that while still keeping an overarching responsibility and perspective would have to open up to locally developed ideas and forces. The top-down form of planning that we see today would shift partly, meaning that the comprehensive plan may not be able to present such a clear and comprehensive image of the urban future as the current. This potentially more flexible form of planning may benefit from working with several scenarios, as a way of containing and being prepared for larger contrasts across localities. In the practical planning document this might take the shape of an appendix to complete a dominant scenario, or as alternatives existing within an overarching outspoken direction to be weighted against one another.

There is naturally a risk of enforced antagonism if opposing perspectives are given a larger space, and furthermore it can be assumed that a change in line with the speculations above would inhibit large-scale development projects. On the other hand one must also recognize that we already experience antagonism in planning, expressed by, e.g., conflicting targets and interests in the plan, and citizens that experience a lack of communication with the municipality and its planners. Would an open debate be able to serve as a way of channeling the conflicting positions - through, e.g., a multitude of scenarios, participatory planning or bottom-up driven development? *How* can antagonism in planning be allowed space, and where does it go if it is not allowed space? The conflicts today that erupt around issues of urban development nonetheless show that the discrepancies of the plan are real and unavoidable. Whether a larger space would result in greater conflicts alone, or improved dialogues locally and in the relation between citizens and institutions is a question that remains open.

Empowerment & Participation

While public support is sought to a certain degree in the plan, I would argue - in line with the analysis in chapter 5 - that the plan could be opened up to include the stockholmers as partners in this discussion, as agents in the urban development. Scenario generating workshops is one tool to do so, that also points toward the initial notions on utopias as plural, and as a process rather than an end state. This effort has many dimensions, and refers both to the form, content, and the practices of the plan. The attention to social justice in its various forms in the workshops must be seen as an effort at empowerment of the stockholmers, and of people that are affected by the developments in Stockholm through the global network the city is inscribed in. The workshop results describe several suggestions to move toward an increased democracy in society in general, with a greater opportunity but also responsibility to engage in decision-making. How our societies are to be shaped physically is a natural part of this.

As has been noted already previously in the plan, Stockholm has the past ten years seen a number of conflicts of differing proportion arising in areas that have been considered for redevelopment, and it is generally relatively common that urban renewal spurs conflicts. Naturally there are several sides to this. The conflicts differ in character, background, aims, and sometimes the proposal for redevelopment may just amount to the factor that makes conflict erupt rather than being the main object for the protests. Regardless of this, it can be noted that some of the development projects invoke emotions in the local inhabitants of being neglected, devalued in relation to potential new inhabitants, and ultimately ignored. This split between urban developers and local populations will not decrease by excluding the stockholmers as potential agents in urban development, by limiting their ability to express themselves in planning matters, by neglecting them through objectifying descriptions, or by an urban development that rather considers how to create an attractive city for the new immigrating population than the local inhabitants that are already there. This leads to the inevitable question of *who* the city is to be developed for, and *why*, if it isn't for the people who inhabit it.

It makes sense that the ones that are directly affected by their local environments should in all reason be included in the process of shaping them, and as subjects with experiences and needs rather than as abstract resources or functions. To move toward futures that are desirable to a majority of the stockholmers, independent of current political majority, I would argue that the inclusion of the stockholmers themselves into both the plan and process of urban development is needed. This also requires a good look into *how* the plan is written, as it is simply not good enough to reduce local inhabitants to a resource to be deployed by market forces in order to produce economic growth (discussed on p. 41, 72f).

POTENTIALS TO CONSIDER FOR FURTHERING THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

The main points of interest for this discussion, in line with the quote on the very first page of this thesis, is how the comprehensive plan can be developed toward increased social justice and sustainability. While in the original definition of "sustainability" social justice would be seen as an integral part, this discussion will be directed toward environmental issues on the one hand and social issues on the other. This split does not intend to undermine the interconnectedness of the two, but is merely done to facilitate the discussion.

Sustainability

The comprehensive plan is an important document to guide the development of Stockholm in a coordinated manner toward a common goal. As a broad strategy, it will in its full reach include all actors in urban development. With this reach comes a great opportunity regarding sustainability.

The first step toward sustainability has to be to find a clear definition of what sustainability entails. The comprehensive plan, as has been mentioned before, expresses the fuzziness that often characterizes sustainability, and after referring to the social, ecological and economic dimensions settles with the definition of sustainable growth. As stated in the analysis in chapter 3.2.5, it would be more honest to define the favored means of development as "*sustained* growth, and a bit of environmental protection", given the very limited similarities between the plan's version of "sustainability" and its original meaning.

Approaching Ecofeminist Sustainability

As noted previously, there are several ideas on what sustainability entails, and different environmental discourses will point in different directions concerning problem formulation, what the aim is and how to reach it. There are obviously many options to choose from here, where the ecofeminist take represents one dimension. It is a dimension that considers the social and environmental consequences of a growth oriented development that claims that growth in itself is a problem as it is thoroughly dependent on patriarchal and colonial oppression. Thus, reoriented growth, such as ecological modernization's decoupling of growth and environmental destruction, will not be able to solve the problem, as colonial exploitation of both human and natural resources will be sustained. To provide some examples, the shift toward ecological consumption of coffee in the Western world will still maintain colonial relations, as it means a continuation of a system of production that takes for granted that the land use and economic structure in the non-Western world should be adjusted to a Western demand. It does not end the use of previous rainforest land for (ecologically sound) plantations, or the displacement of local populations from their sustenance economies, which means that ecological modernization still risks producing both environmental degradation and poverty as externalized effects. A sustainable consumption would in this case rather be connected to, e.g., an in general decreased consumption of goods, or an adjustment of the consumption to the offer of a locally just and sustainable production, traded on a market characterized by equal relations and environmental consideration, where all social and environmental costs are internalized. In a national perspective, the ecofeminist eye could turn toward how the relation between Norrland and the rest of the country is characterized by a similar kind of colonialism, used as a resource by the rest of the country while

largely not benefitting. Ecofeminist analysis in a local context could, e.g., resemble the analysis of the Dennis Package by Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling & Isaksson (2008, p. 73), where the negative consequences of the Package were found to hit those parts of the population hardest that were already underprivileged, and also unable to enjoy the project's benefits.

A basic part of moving toward ecofeminist sustainability is a redefined relation between humans and nature, in discourse and practice. This redefinition depends on the revaluing of nature, and on the understanding that human societies are ultimately conditioned by nature. Regardless of the global effect humans now have on nature's ecosystems, there is no getting away from our ultimate dependence on nature. This dependence also points toward the interconnectedness of environmental and social issues. The ignorance of this dependence makes it possible to disconnect the interrelation between environmental deterioration and increasing social injustices and poverty. It is therefore integral to reestablish this connection, if social justice and environmental protection is to be met. One of the implications of this is that it would become impossible to treat nature as a mere resource in the plan, void of agency, for humans to manage and even create. Rather, the plan would have to adopt a perspective that is characterized by respect for natural processes that cannot be fully comprehended by humans, humility in terms of humanity's inferiority, in search for a cyclical relation based on cooperation.

It stands quite clear that a change in discourse according to an ecofeminist perspective requires massive efforts, and implies a change that in our current society is largely unthinkable. One of the reasons this change seems so insurmountable is of course that we are protected from seeing the actual consequences of our current reality. In practice, our society is greatly indebted to other parts of the world in order to sustain our wealth, standard and level of "development". Folke & Rockström's (2009) attention to how the spatial distance means that we lose sight of short term environmental feedback is one explanation to this, which is connected to Dryzek's (2012, p. 27) notion that we tend to compensate for what the planetary ecosystem cannot support, through trade and aid. Mies & Shiva's (2014, p 268f) emphasize how economic, industrial and technological development is discursively connected to peace, freedom and affluence, while its externalized social and environmental costs are obscured. Quite simply, it is possible to sustain our current disconnected societies because we are not confronted with its actual effects. This disconnection does however not remove our responsibility for the exploitation of environmental and social values. Thus, the relevance of a changed relation still stands.

How this change should come about remains to figure out. As the workshop results did not address this issue in its full significance, this thesis in this respect partly falls short. This however also depends on how thorough a change we are aiming for. There is, e.g., a certain strive toward gender equality going on within the frames of our current societies. While ecofeminism, and many other feminisms with it, would argue that this change will not change the fundamental problem, a discourse that separates and hierarchizes, there are still efforts at quantitative equality. The same goes for environmental issues, as sustainability in fact *is* in its basis an effort to move toward diminished environmental degradation. Thus, the issue could be confronted on several levels. In terms of the within-approach, the workshop results still have some suggestions for an increased environmental protection, which also goes for increased equality.

Apart from the workshop suggestions, a few obvious efforts to take in order to move toward increased environmental protection and equality will be mentioned below.

Mandatory Environmental Quality Standards

One very concrete effort that could be taken is to make the fulfillment of the environmental quality standards mandatory. These standards belong to the national public interests and are a concretization of the environmental objectives, which "describe what quality and state of the environment are sustainable in the long term" (Naturvårdsverket, 2014) The environmental quality standards form the indicators that are set "to clarify the environmental dimension of the concept sustainable development" (ibid). The municipalities have a great responsibility and possibility to contribute to reaching these standards. Consequently, they are a part of the basis of the plan. However, already upon

the adoption of the plan, concerns were expressed as to whether the plan would indeed pay enough consideration to the environmental quality standards. The audit opinion from the Stockholm County Council reads (Stockholms stad, 2010, p. 86),

”According to chapter 4, §1 of the Planning and Building Act, the comprehensive plan shall express how the municipality intends to follow the operative environmental quality standards. The proposal for the comprehensive plan does not express this. The County Council is of the opinion that the comprehensive plan needs to be supplemented with the operative environmental quality standards and how they are followed.”

As a matter of fact, the municipalities are obliged to fulfill certain tasks in their planning, and the environmental quality standards is one of these. The County Council even has the right to annul the decisions of the municipality if these tasks are left behind. An obvious suggestion for a first general effort at approaching sustainability would be to make the environmental quality standards mandatory, and a main priority in conflict-ridden decision-making processes.

Human Rights

The second part of moving toward ecofeminist sustainability, which has already been mentioned in the previous paragraph is a redefined take on social values, and a strive toward equality in a broad sense of the word. In this respect the workshop results provided greater guidance for particular directions to take. A considerable attention was directed toward aims that draw on human rights in the workshops. Apart from a few protocols Sweden has ratified the Declaration of Human Rights (Regeringskansliet, 2014). This means that:

”States must take positive action to facilitate the enjoyment of basic human rights. Through ratification of international human rights treaties, Governments undertake to put into place domestic measures and legislation compatible with their treaty obligations and duties. The domestic legal system, therefore, provides the principal legal protection of human rights guaranteed under international law.” (United Nations, 2014)

The attention to human rights in the workshops could be said to be practically unprovocative, as few would argue against it. From the City Planning Administration it would also likely be argued that the comprehensive plan supports and aims to fulfill the human rights. The Swedish Government (ibid) states, that:

”the task of strengthening human rights and respect for them has high priority. It is a task we pursue both in our political endeavours in Sweden and in our foreign policy. Human rights issues pervade most of our policy areas.”

However, violations of human rights in Sweden have been well documented, in terms of, e.g., discrimination and violence based on gender, sexual preference, ethnicity, age, religion, class, able-bodiedness (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2012). As noted previously, the social and economic inequalities of Stockholm are confirmed by the comprehensive plan. Relying on ecofeminist theory concerning the relations between the global North and the global South would lead one to think that there may be problems in the Swedish foreign relations when seen from a human rights’ point of view. In this sense, the attention to human rights that has been voiced in the workshops still holds significance. As discussed above, the focus of the workshops has both a local and a global side. They aim for fulfillment of ideals of equality on all levels, from the local to the global through the links that tie the different levels together. This aim is easily recognized in the however summary description from the Swedish Government as well, and is also to be reflected in policy-making. Human rights should then in all reason be present in the comprehensive plan as well. It is often argued that free market forces will take us closer to equality in an automatic manner. Ecofeminist and other theory, next to experience, shows that this is not the case. (Mies & Shiva, 2014, p. 268f) Thus, not addressing inequalities in the comprehensive plan means that there is a risk that these issues will be forgotten and

potentially worsened in the process. So all the while the attention to human rights might come off as lame, they do have real importance, and could certainly contribute to the comprehensive plan.

Equality Objectives

As part of a national regulation, Sweden has adopted a number of objectives that aim to fulfill equality across genders and sexuality in a number of different aspects. The equality objectives were adopted in 2006, through proposition 2005/06:155 (Sverige, Regeringen, 2006) with the intention to follow up the work by creating a number of indicators that would concretize the aims and thus take them closer to implementation. Coinciding with a governmental shift, the indicators were never worked out, but there are independent examples of efforts at implementation. One such example is the project Jämställdhetskartan (2014), which aims to connect municipalities that are working to implement the equality objectives. One of the aspects that is being mapped is gender equality in the built environment. As has been noted throughout this thesis, in the workshops and the plan, drawing on the conclusions of the recency report, there is a strong possibility to handle this issue on the level of the comprehensive plan.

Unlike the environmental quality standards, the equality objectives have not been turned into mandatory public interests for the comprehensive planning to consider. As with the environmental quality standards however, it remains clear that the formulation of an outspoken target is more likely to be achieved. Naming the equality standards as a specific target would force planning to attend to inequalities, as opposed to the otherwise immediate risk that they are de-prioritized or even forgotten when confronted by other, allegedly more pressing, matters. However, the statistics of gender inequalities are solid (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2012), meaning we already have the knowledge about how things look. What is yet to be done is to do something about it.

The targets in this perspective contain a potential. Regardless of their not yet being made an official public interest to fulfill in comprehensive planning, they have still been adopted by the government, which means that Sweden has bound itself to fulfilling them. There shouldn't be any formal obstacles stopping the City Planning Administration to work proactively in this matter. The equality objectives in their current form can certainly be discussed, and furthermore are limited to equality concerning particular factors. Fulfillment of these alone will not rid us of inequalities broadly, which is why there needs to be an intersectional analysis of oppressive structures that manages to consider the aggregate effects of oppressions along different lines. From an ecofeminist perspective, race and ethnicity would be considered particularly pressing. Nevertheless, the equality objectives can still serve as a tool to bring attention to gender inequalities in comprehensive planning.

Ending Notes

The attention to governmentally decided objectives for the environment and gender equality discussed above does not make any illusions that their fulfillment will solve all our problems of this sort. It has to be noted that turning these objectives into mandatory parts of planning is not necessarily connected to their success, and furthermore, there is a critique toward at least the equality objectives regarding how they are formulated which would argue that they are in themselves counterproductive. It must also be said that their implementation would occur within the frames of our present society, meaning that interconnected structures of unjust dominance may not necessarily be addressed. It is, put shortly, a problem solving approach that does not address the problem in its entire complexity. To find a holistic approach would however require another thesis to be written.

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