



ROYAL INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

Just Environments

Politicising Sustainable Urban Development

KARIN BRADLEY

DOCTORAL THESIS
in Infrastructure with specialisation
in Planning and Implementation

KTH
School of Architecture and Built Environment

TRITA-SoM 2009-01
ISSN 1653-6126
ISRN KTH/SoM/-09/01-SE
ISBN 978-91-7415-228-9

Division of Urban and Regional Studies
Department of Urban Planning and Environment
School of Architecture and the Built Environment
Royal Institute of Technology
SE-100 44 Stockholm
Sweden

© Karin Bradley, 2009

Cover and layout: Staffan Lundgren, Axl Books
Cover photo: Karin Bradley

Printed by Universitetsservice AB, Stockholm.

Abstract

European cities are becoming increasingly multicultural and diverse in terms of lifestyles and socioeconomic conditions. However, in planning for sustainable urban development, implications of this increased diversity and possibly conflicting perspectives are seldom considered.

The aim of this thesis is to explore dimensions of justice and politics in sustainable urban development by studying inclusionary/exclusionary effects of discursive power of official strategies for eco-friendly living on the one hand and everyday lifestyles on the other, in ethnically and socially diverse areas.

Two case studies have been conducted, one in a city district of Stockholm, Sweden, and one in an area of Sheffield, England. The empirical material consists of interviews with residents, interviews with planners and officials and an analysis of strategic planning documents. The case study in Stockholm illustrated the prevalence of a dominant discourse among residents in which Swedishness is connected with environmental responsibility in the form of tidiness, recycling and familiarity with nature. In Sheffield there are more competing and parallel environmental discourses. The mainstream British environmental discourse and sustainability strategies are being criticised from Muslim as well as green radical perspectives. The mainstream discourse is criticised for being tokenistic in its focus on gardening, tidiness, recycling and eco-consumption, and hence ignoring deeper unsustainable societal structures. This can be interpreted as a postpolitical condition, in which there is a consensus around “what needs to be done,” such as more recycling, but in which difficult societal problems and conflicting perspectives on these are not highlighted.

In the thesis it is argued that the strategies for urban sustainability are underpinned by Swedish/British middle-class norms, entailing processes of (self-)disciplining and normalisation of the Other into well-behaving citizens. It is argued that an appreciation of the multiple and others' ways of saving natural resources would make the sustainability strategies more attuned to social and cultural diversity as well as more environmentally progressive. Finally, the importance of asserting the political in sustainability strategies is stressed, highlighting the organisation of society and possible alternative socioenvironmental futures.

KEYWORDS: Eco-friendly living, diversity, justice, sustainable urban development, postpolitics, discourse, normalisation, discipline, othering

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	7
PART I	
1 Introduction	9
1.1 Background	9
1.2 Aim	11
1.3 Research approach	13
1.4 Previous research	19
1.5 Structure of the thesis	22
2 Theoretical positions	23
2.1 On planning as power	23
2.2 On the environment as socially produced	30
2.3 On group identity	40
2.4 On justice	50
PART II	
3 Methodology	61
3.1 Choice of Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave	61
3.2 Material and method in the cases	62
3.3 Studying discourses	73
4 The Spånga-Tensta case	79
4.1 Background to Spånga-Tensta	79
4.2 Planning for eco-friendly living in Spånga-Tensta	84
4.3 Eco-friendly living among Spånga-Tensta residents	107
4.4 Figures, Spånga-Tensta	141
5 The Burngreave case	149
5.1 Background to Burngreave	149
5.2 Planning for eco-friendly living in Burngreave	153
5.3 Eco-friendly living among Burngreave residents	184
5.4 Figures, Burngreave	218
PART III	
6 Inclusion/exclusion in environmental discourses	227
6.1 Resident discourses of eco-friendly living: One in Spånga-Tensta, several in Burngreave	227
6.2 Assumptions in strategies in relation to diversity	234
6.3 Normalisation, inclusion/exclusion and justice	247
6.4 Main findings	260
7 Future alternatives for sustainability politics	263
7.1 Naming and framing of alternative futures	263
7.2 Scrutinising norms and symbols of eco-friendly living	265
7.3 Forming of new group identities for political action	266
7.4 Asserting the political in structural change and micropractices	267
<i>Appendices</i>	269
List of appendices	269
<i>References</i>	305

Acknowledgments

Having the role of a PhD student or researcher is, in my perspective, indeed a privileged position. One can devote one's time to study and reflect upon societal phenomena which is not only a great joy in itself but hopefully also something that others benefit from.

There are many persons I would like to thank for their role in this work. Firstly, Lars Orrskog, KTH, my main supervisor, for all the good discussions about research and everything else and for all your engagement, Steve Connelly, University of Sheffield, my second supervisor, for all valuable comments and not least your hospitality during my stays in Sheffield. Thank you my friend Moa Tunström, Örebro University, for the good discussions about this project, before it even began, and for your careful reading of drafts.

Persons that have furthermore been important to the development of this work are Tim Richardson, Aalborg University, who was the opponent at the final seminar, James Throgmorton, University of Iowa, who was the opponent at the mid-seminar and Katja Grillner, KTH, who has done the internal quality check for KTH. I am also thankful to Irene Molina, Uppsala University, Rolf Lidskog, Örebro University and Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi, at the Multicultural Centre, who have participated in the reference group of this PhD project.

I am also grateful to all present and former colleagues at the department who have been supportive in different ways and particularly to Karolina Isaksson, Ulrika Gunnarsson Östling, Bertil Malmström, Mats Johansson, Tigran Haas, Göran Cars, Ebba Högström, Kristina Grange, Bosse Bergman and Patrik Tornberg, who have read and commented on drafts.

My gratitude also to Karin Hagersten who has language checked the thesis, Staffan Lundgren, who has done the graphic layout, and Emma Byström and Luciane Borges who have transcribed some of the interviews. Also, thank you all interviewees who shared time and thoughts with me.

Formas – The Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning – also played an important role as the main funder of this thesis. Stiftelsen Lars Hiertas Minne should also be mentioned for its financial support. At last, thank you my small and big family, particularly Ola Broms Wessel, for having faith in me.

Stockholm, March, 2009

PART I

1 Introduction

I.1 BACKGROUND

How to transform society in a more ecological or sustainable direction has long been debated. Perspectives vary on what constitutes the main socioecological problems – diminishing of nonrenewable energy sources, deforestation, erosion, acidification and eutrophication of lakes, climate change, loss of biodiversity, etc. – how they are interrelated and how they are to be handled. Certain areas in the world have also experienced improved environmental quality during the last decades, not least due to conscious environmental policies and regulations, shifts to more postindustrial production and restoration projects. On a global scale, however, resource depletion and environmental degradation is an acute problem for large parts of the world's population.

A milestone in international efforts to counteract environmental degradation and to simultaneously address environmental concern and economic and social development was the work of the Brundtland commission and the WCED report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987. At the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 the concept of sustainable development – encompassing environmental concern, economic development and social justice – was agreed to be a common goal for human development, manifested in the Agenda 21 action programme.

However, the “we” rhetoric of this work at the UN level – citing *our* common future, that we are “one planet,” that we are now “all” in the same boat, facing the same environmental problems – has been criticised by voices from the global South (Di Chiro, 2003: 206-210). These voices point out that this rhetoric conceals unevenness in terms of who has caused the major environmental problems, who is affected by them and who is to be held responsible for “solving” them. In this instance it is important to point out that the usage of natural resources is profoundly unevenly distributed in the world: 20 percent of the population of the world consume 80 percent of the planet's natural resources.¹ In addition, the poorest people generally consume the least natural resources at the

1. Friends of the Earth International: www.foei.org, see Ecological Debt, accessed March 15, 2006.

same time as they are often the most negatively effected by environmental degradation.²

Highlighting (in)justice aspects of environmental problems and qualities takes place not only on the global level. In the US, and more recently also in the UK, there is a growing body of research and debate around environmental justice at local and regional levels, “just sustainability” and ecological democracy (Bullard, 1993, 2000; Faber, 1998; Dobson, 1998; Agyeman and Evans, 2004; Bulkeley and Walker, 2005; Scandrett et al., 2000; Agyeman et al., 2003). In this field, the focus is on how the current socioeconomic structures and “sustainability politics” benefit certain societal groups and marginalise others. Alternative organisations of society based on ecological citizenship are for instance discussed (Dobson, 2003).

This critical perspective stands in contrast to the managerialist approach to sustainable development and environmental protection, whereby environmental problems are seen as something that can be handled with new technology and smarter economic incentives within current societal structures (described for instance by Harvey, 1996: 366-402). Since 2006, public attention to environmental issues and specifically climate change has risen dramatically, partly in response to key persons and institutions highlighting the huge societal costs that the effects of climate change will have.³ In this renewed focus on sustainable development and climate change, the debate has, however, mainly been framed by a managerialist approach focusing on carbon trading schemes, taxation and ecological consumption.

Critics have highlighted how this current mainstream managerialist approach to sustainable development can be described as a “postpolitical” condition (e.g., Swyngedouw, 2007), whereby solutions are framed within the current (unsustainable) organisation of society and economy, largely relying on expert knowledge and deliberation among free individuals. In contrast to such a managerialist or postpolitical approach, political philosophers Slavoj Žižek (1999) and Chantal Mouffe (2005) argue that deep societal problems can never be handled without politics, conflicts over justice and efforts to try to think beyond the current organisation of society.

2. Friends of the Earth International, www.foei.org, accessed March 15, 2006.

3. Al Gore’s film *An inconvenient Truth* from 2006 and the report *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* by Nicholas Stern, Head of the Government Economic Service and Adviser to the Government on the economics of climate change and development. The report was presented in October 2006 to the British Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, see http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/independent_reviews/stern_review_economics_climate_change/sternreview_index.cfm, accessed Oct 2, 2008.

In the field of planning, the quests for sustainable development and more eco-friendly living have resulted in numerous guidebooks, policies and research reports, on the EU, national and local levels (European Commission, 1996; ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister), 2005a; Naturvårdsverket and Boverket, 2000 are a few examples). In the Swedish Planning and Building Act the overall goal is formulated in terms of promoting a *sustainable* living environment for current and future generations.⁴ In its national strategy for sustainable development, the Swedish Government has appointed urban planning as one of four strategic areas for action (Regeringskansliet, 2004) and a governmental Delegation for Sustainable Cities was appointed in 2008. Also the British Government has placed planning for sustainable development high on the agenda, which can be seen in the *Local Government Act of 2000*, the *Sustainable Communities Plan* (ODPM, 2003), the white paper on *Planning for Sustainable Future* (2007) and the planning policy statements on delivering sustainable development (2005b) and planning and climate change (2007).

Promoting “sustainable development” has become *the* ethical framework around which planning is centred; the concept is in the goals and headlines of most planning documents and strategies in the UK, Sweden and many other countries, sometimes with more emphasis on the environmental, social and/or economic aspects. However, what sustainable development means more specifically, in terms of behaviour in relation to environmental concerns and organisation of private and public life, is seldom discussed and scrutinised. One can indeed picture very different interpretations of sustainable lifestyles and sustainable urban development, particularly in cities and countries where the population is becoming increasingly multicultural and diverse in terms of lifestyles, socioeconomic conditions and gender roles. People are thus likely to have varied relations to and views of environmental matters that might coexist or come into conflict. Exploring different perspectives on how society and urban life is organised, and possibly reorganised, is thus crucial in order for sustainability strategies to be political, just and effectual.

I.2 AIM

The aim of this thesis is to explore dimensions of justice and politics in sustainable urban development by studying inclusionary/exclusionary effects of discursive power of official strategies for eco-friendly living

4. Chapter 2. 2 § PBL, Lag 1998:839.

on the one hand and everyday lifestyles on the other, in ethnically and socially diverse areas. More specifically, the research questions for the empirical work are:

- A. What discourses of eco-friendly living can be found among residents in multicultural and socially diverse areas? How do the residents reason about the environmental impacts that arise from their as well as others' ways of life, in terms of housing, transportation and practices in daily life? What perspectives on nature, the local environment and ways of gaining environmental awareness, can be found?
- B. In the rhetoric of current planning strategies promoting sustainable urban development, what types of lifestyles are being encouraged and discouraged? Upon which assumptions and pre-understandings of ecological transformation and the inception of environmental responsibility are these strategies based?
- C. How do the strategies for sustainable urban development and prevalent discourses of eco-friendly living coincide, reinforce or conflict with the daily lives and perspectives on nature and the local environment of different social groups (as described in A)?

Once these questions have been explored through the chosen methods and theoretical framework, I will analyse the empirical findings in terms of the following questions:

- I. How can the strategies being studied and prevalent resident discourses on green lifestyles be understood in terms of inclusionary/exclusionary effects of discursive power, normalisation, politics and justice – in terms of justice *within* the environment (i.e., among different groups, justice as respect of difference) and justice *to* the environment (i.e., to nonhumans and future generations)?
- II. And more normatively, what might be viable ways of making sustainable urban development more political and more just?

In terms of the theoretical framework, the objectives are, firstly, to formulate an understanding of the concept of discourse and, secondly, to explore inclusionary and exclusionary aspects of discourse formation and how this relates to the exercise of power and to justice. Thirdly, I will develop a theoretical understanding of how group identities are formed and reshaped and the power relations between different groups. As the concepts of “environment,” “nature,” “sustainable development,” and “planning” are central, I will discuss different interpretations of these

concepts and describe in what ways they will be used in this thesis. I will finally explore notions of justice and politics, particularly environmental justice and radical political ecology, in order to develop an understanding of justice and politics that I will argue is constructive in the further development of sustainability strategies.

Furthermore, in order to situate the research and explain how I arrived at its aim and research questions, I will describe and comment on previous research within the field of planning for sustainable development and, specifically, studies that have focused on discursive power, normalisation and/or how social diversity relates to environmental concerns.

The findings of this thesis are addressed both to the research community – planning researchers and other social science researchers dealing with environmental change and politics – and to planners, policy makers and politicians dealing with sustainable development. My foremost intent is that the thesis contributes to an understanding of sustainable urban development in terms of theories of normalisation through discourse, discursive forms of (in)justice and postpolitical conditions. However, to a reader familiar with the analysis of discourse, normalisation and postpolitics, the thesis may be seen as an illustration and development of these perspectives on the project of sustainable urban development.

1.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

1.3.1 On the role of research

A central point of departure for this study is that knowledge and what we see as “real” or “valid” are constructed through social processes. In a specific context and worldview, certain actions and ways of thinking are seen as reasonable and others unthinkable. To try to depict such common worldviews or discourses, and to understand the rules for what is seen as reasonable or not, is a central task of the researcher (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000: 19). A difficult but also important role of the researcher is to try to think beyond the dominant discourses, to question dominant understandings and interpretations of concepts, or “read against the grain.” More concretely, this can mean highlighting the stories of marginalised groups or trying to theoretically frame perspectives and histories that have not previously been framed. Here I find Leonie Sandercock’s work inspiring. She has been working to frame the untold and insurgent stories of planning (1998a; 1998b) and quotes bell hooks (1994):

Subversive historiography connects practises from the past

and forms of resistance in the present, thus creating spaces of possibility where the future can be imagined differently – imagined in such a way that we can witness ourselves dreaming, moving forward and beyond the limits of confines of fixed locations. (hooks quoted in Sandercock, 1998a: 1)

In line with this perspective, the goal of this research is not to conclude which are true or false statements concerning environment and sustainable lifestyles, or to provide “evidence” of a certain fact. Rather, the important thing is to try to depict patterns in what has been said or written and analyse which social consequences these patterns of reasoning might generate, and more specifically which power relations might be associated with the reasoning. Thus, the study can be placed in a critical studies tradition of putting power relations in focus and, as it attempts to see how more just ways of reasoning could be formed, has an emancipatory approach (Simons, 2004).

As perhaps primarily Michel Foucault (1993[1971]) has pointed out, the development of knowledge is intimately connected with the exercise of power. When one describes, categorises and delimits a phenomenon in order to reach an understanding of it, one also controls it and is at risk of decreasing or distorting it. The researcher will contribute with certain understandings of the world, laden with possible social consequences. In this way, research is never innocent or objective. However, as pointed out by hooks (1994) and Sandercock (1998a), describing and categorising phenomena can also be seen as enabling, rather than diminishing, making stories heard and theoretically framed. If the goal of this research is then to contribute to a foundation of planning for just environments, it is necessary to study the exclusionary and inclusionary effects of current (and possibly past) planning. And in order to be able to highlight and frame insurgent stories, the dominant stories need to be pinned down as well.

The research and researcher are however also part of the discourse and the formation of discourse. For instance, writing about “planning for eco-friendly living” is done *within* a discourse and contributes to a certain understanding of the world. For instance, the phrase carries the assumptions that there is some ecological problem, that there is eco-hostile living, and that this can be steered in one way or another. Furthermore, the preunderstandings of the researcher on what to include and exclude in the interpretation of “eco-friendly living” and his/her perspectives on how the world is constructed and perhaps ought to be changed are of course also influential in the design and results of the research.

When I study how different social groups, as class and ethnicity, relate to the environment and eco-friendly living, one may wonder if I will

not reinforce the idea that the categories of ethnicity and class permeate society. If I as a researcher adhere to the idea that the differences attached to such dichotomies as man-woman, worker-elite, native-foreigner are in fact delimited descriptions and not always very relevant, would it not be wiser *not* to focus on these categories? In highlighting the (possibly) different situations for these different societal groups, however, I do not intend to essentialise the (possible) differences – rather, the intention is to overcome unjust practices relating to these differences.

How is it then possible to handle the difficult task of doing balanced, critical and just empirical research on discourses in which one is more or less inscribed? In the research process and writing it is important to be transparent with one's points of departure and preunderstandings, the methods and theoretical perspectives deployed and how the conclusions have been drawn so that the reader can follow and evaluate the process and the researcher's interpretations (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000: 123). When working with interviews, displaying fairly raw material through extensive quotes is important, as is considering which voices and perspectives have been included in the research and which have been excluded, and how this might impact results. Furthermore, to consider the social, political and linguistic dimensions of all the research phases is crucial (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000: 5) and to be attentive to the intertextuality, or, how a text or statement in an interview relates to other discourses (Fairclough, 1992). This can be particularly difficult in cases where one is part of or close to the discourse being studied. One can also try to distance oneself from the material by assuming different positions, such as active discussant or observer, and different geographical, cultural and linguistic positions. In section 3.3.1, I discuss how I have handled my positionality in this research.

1.3.2 Use of a discursive case study approach

As my aim is to understand discourses of planning for eco-friendly living and discourses among different societal groups, I have chosen to conduct case studies and primarily use face-to-face interviews with inhabitants and professionals. The intention is thus not to map indicators of resource use, types of accessible green space and frequency of visits, pollution or car ownership levels, or to give empirical evidence of the most frequent types of environmental attitudes. In planning practice such information is typically gathered and used as a foundation for plans and strategies. Thus, the focus has rather been on capturing the experiences and stories of residents. My intent is to give glimpses of different ways of relating to

the environment and eco-friendliness and in this way open up for new perspectives and deeper analysis of the research and planning practice for eco-friendly living. In terms of the planning strategies, I study the *rhetoric of practice*, not the practice itself. I will not make observational analyses of the built environment or of how it enables or disables certain behaviour. However, I will tell the stories of the interviewees about how they perceive the local environment or wider societal infrastructure as enabling or disabling different forms of behaviour. The study is hence on a *representational level* and a form of discourse analysis. The reasoning about justice, power and environment are consequently also on a representational level. My intent is consequently not to make any final and indisputable judgments about (in)justice, but rather to say something about justice in terms of the inclusionary/exclusionary/normalisation effects of the current discourses in planning and everyday life. A criticism of this approach could be to question the importance of studying discourses of eco-friendly living instead of how people in fact act and how the physical environment actually is constructed to enable or disable eco-friendly living. In relation to this I would argue that the discourses frame how people act and how the physical environment is constructed. Moreover, the effects in terms of inclusion/exclusion and normalisation matter and are felt irrespective of their correspondence with practical action. Or more specifically: discourse, in the form of text or speech, cannot be separated from actions (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987).

Two city districts were chosen as case studies, one in Stockholm, Sweden, and one in Sheffield, UK. The idea is that this Sweden-UK combination can be interesting in the sense that Sweden is often seen as a forerunner in planning for environmental and egalitarian concerns, while the UK has a longer history of cultural and socioeconomic diversity that practitioners and researchers have faced and to which they have supposedly developed approaches. By using these two case study countries, the results can hopefully be of interest in a wider international debate on planning for eco-friendly living in cities of diversity.

The two case studies are given equal weight and room in terms of empirical material and analysis. My intent is to analyse the cases in the light of the other, to highlight similarities and differences and primarily see if there are findings in one of the case studies that can enrich and deepen the analysis of the other and vice versa. Thus, my intent is not to compare the two cases in the sense of delimiting certain aspects that could be comparable, such as frequency of certain attitudes. The conditions, history, language and local specificities are unique and make it difficult to delimit aspects that are in fact comparable. The case study approach used here is not intended to form a basis for statistical generalisation or

to argue that the discourses and patterns of inclusion/exclusion apply to such and such similar areas as well. In line with Bent Flyvbjerg (2001), my intent is rather that this case study approach should contribute to a deeper understanding, and thus a form of generalisation of theory. Case studies can illustrate and make us better understand phenomena that have been theorised about and described in previous research. In this instance, these two cases may help planners and policy makers to see the project of sustainable urban development in terms of theories of normalisation through discourse, discursive forms of (in)justice and postpolitical conditions. As mentioned in the Aim (section 1.2), in this way these cases contribute on the one hand to a form of understanding of sustainable urban development that has not been very well illustrated previously *and* on the other an illustration and development of the theories of normalisation and postpolitics. Furthermore, looking for similarities and differences between two apparently different cases can contribute to a more robust theorising and understanding of what might be more general and what might be a product of a particular context or history.

I have chosen not to make any extensive background description of the history, national and/or political context or planning system of the two city districts and countries. My strategy has been to jump into the two case studies and then see what the studied current planning documents and resident stories I meet there tell me about the context, history, possibilities and problems of living in eco-friendly ways. I believe this strategy enables a more open bottom-up perspective, being closer to everyday life. If I had chosen to first study the historical/political/planning contexts of the two case study areas and thereby noted certain themes and ways of reasoning, it might have steered me into looking for and seeing specifically these themes and ways of reasoning among residents. Given my research questions I thus found it more suitable to begin the case studies with interviews of residents and proceed to study strategies for sustainable urban development and interviews with planners and officials.

Nevertheless, I do give background information about each of the two areas, which could be described as the official background discourse of these areas, found in planning documents and municipal information folders. One could indeed problematise some of the common ways of describing the areas. For instance, why are they always described in terms of major transportation networks and not in terms of playgrounds, why in terms of inhabitants' ethnic backgrounds and not in terms of citizenship? However, through the voices of the residents there will be room for other ways of describing the areas. The methods and materials that have been chosen for the case studies as well as reflections on these are discussed more in detail in chapter 3.

1.3.3 Arriving at the aim

For many years I have had an interest in environmental issues, the steering of society in a more sustainable direction and the roles of individuals and private and public actors. Sociocultural aspects of environmental concerns were central to my interest, as were which environments and landscapes were desired and imagined in contemporary environmental conservation policies and what this said about ideals and norms in society. I was for instance inspired by Thomas Anderberg's (1994) work on how different perspectives on nature relate to political, ethical and cultural values.

After having worked with comparative studies in planning and policy for sustainable development in a Scandinavian context (Bjarnadóttir and Bradley, 2003; Bradley, 2004) it struck me how absent the sociocultural aspects were from this field. Scandinavian cities were becoming increasingly multicultural, yet the consequences were generally not mentioned in the policies and plans for sustainable development. It also struck me that the justice aspects of sustainability development articulated in Rio and Agenda 21 seemed to have largely disappeared from Scandinavian municipal, regional and national sustainability strategies (Bjarnadóttir and Bradley, 2003).

Inspired by Phil Macnaghten's and John Urry's work, *Contested Natures* (1998), highlighting the competing discourses of different societal groups and different historical perspectives and practices in nature, John Hannigan's (1995) social constructivist perspective on environmental problems and research on environmental justice (Bullard, 2000; Harvey, 1996), the research topic was formulated in 2004.

Since then the objective has been slightly reformulated to have more emphasis on the *interpretation*, or discursive aspects, of environments and more specifically eco-friendliness. Justice is still the backbone of the thesis, however less in terms of distributive justice and more in terms of discursive forms of inclusion and exclusion in current policy and planning and the rights to work for and imagine alternative eco-friendly societies and ways of living.

The process has been characterised by alternating theoretical and empirical work. The theoretical studies have helped to develop questions for the empirical work and the empirical work has suggested which theoretical perspectives might be relevant. Particularly, the empirical work led me to theoretical perspectives on planning and discourses of eco-friendliness in terms of normalisation, disciplining and forms of postpolitics.

1.4 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this section I briefly describe previous research conducted in the field of planning for sustainable urban development, particularly such research bringing in aspects of discursive power, normalisation, justice, class and ethnicity. The purpose of this literature review is to situate my research and not to be all-encompassing. It is then chapter 2, Theoretical Positions that will primarily inform my analysis.

This study is intended to contribute to the research field of *planning for sustainable urban development*, more specifically planning for just environments. There are various research strands within this field, focusing on technical or architectural aspects, ecosystem flows and urban metabolism, regional structures such as polycentric regional development, or transportation and urban design. However, in broad strokes, research in the field of planning for sustainable urban development has not been very attentive to issues such as discursive power or the differing perspectives, power and needs of societal groups (pointed out by Krueger and Gibbs, 2007: 4). In terms of Swedish environmental and sustainability research, Jonas Anshelm and Johan Hedrén (1998) and Karolina Isaksson (2001) point out that there is an overall lack of socially, culturally and politically reflexive perspectives.

Historically, the sustainable or ecological society has been pictured in different ways. In the 1970s and early 1980s the emphasis was on *self-reliant cities* or *eco-villages*, where food was produced and waste taken care of locally, that were not reliant on long-distance transportation (Wärneryd et al., 2002). Development was generally pictured as low-density with small-scale infrastructure (ibid.).

From the mid 1980s and early 1990s when sustainable development and *sustainable cities* became key words, two largely parallel strands developed, one continuing to emphasise the self-reliant eco-village and one emphasising the densely built city with large-scale infrastructure (ibid; Bengs, 2005). In current debate and research, however, the sustainable city is often pictured as densely built, with efficient and large-scale public transportation and energy systems, with well delimited urban-rural zones, with mixed areas where housing, workplaces, services and recreational areas can be accessed within walking or biking distance, and as being rooted in the local culture and heritage (Newman and Kenworthy, 1999; Boverket, 2000; Naturvårdsverket and Boverket, 2000; Johansson and Orrskog, 2002; Roseland, 1998). In several ways this image of the sustainable city resembles the traditional European town, something that is particularly evident in the *new urbanism* movement and research (Katz, 1994). Of course, the new urbanism movement encompasses various

strands and perspectives, some focusing more on transit-oriented development and energy aspects and others focusing more on urban design and often traditional styles (see Kelbaugh, 1997 for a description of the different new urbanist strands).

Strands of research under the headings of *sustainable communities*, *green urbanism*, *smart growth*, *compact cities*, and *transit-oriented development* often use case studies from European and US cities as examples of how cities might be (re)designed to facilitate sustainable lifestyles featuring biking lanes, light-rail, densification strategies and growth boundaries (Beatley, 2000; Beatley and Manning, 1997; Roseland, 1998; Portney, 2003; Bernick and Cervero, 1997; Farr, 2008).

A criticism of new urbanism and related strands of smart growth and transit-oriented development is that they are insufficient in their small steps of greening communities; they “cannot reach deeply enough to fundamentally redirect the destructive dynamics of today’s urbanism” (Keil, 2007: 56). Ebba Larsson (2006) has analysed the Swedish state discourse of the dense and high-tech sustainable city and sees it as a spatial manifest of ecological modernisation. In a similar way Karin Skill (2008) has studied householders’ activities for sustainable development in Sweden and argues that they stage ecological modernisation. Roger Keil furthermore argues that smart growth and related approaches generally lack critique of the overall unsustainable socioeconomic structures (ibid.). Scholars such as Keil (2007) and Erik Swynedouw (2007) argue for what could be called *radical urban political ecology* and a politicisation of the debate and research on the sustainable city in which the focus would be placed on justice among different groups in the city, how humans and nonhumans are interwoven in the urban metabolic system and a constructivist approach, implying that radically different and more profoundly sustainable societies and cities are possible.

The physical appearances and design elements of such radically sustainable cities and societies are, however, left open. Overall, in the scientific community, there is no definite agreement on what constitutes sustainable urban form (Bengs, 2005; Åquist, 2001; Williams et al., 2000) as this ultimately depends on the specific context, the lives that are lived there and the economic exchange these rely upon and, ultimately, what enviro-ethical principles are used. Graham Haughton (1999) has for instance shown how different enviro-ethical principles or notions of justice result in advocacy of different urban structures and organisations of cities. For instance, if equity among different social groups is emphasised, then what he calls “fair share cities” will be preferable, whilst if interspecies equity is emphasised, self-reliant cities will be preferable, and if equity between generations is emphasised, externally dependent cities might be as good.

Internationally, and particularly in the US and UK, there is a considerable body of research in the intersection of social justice and environmental sustainability on topics such as environmental justice, just sustainability and ecological democracy (Bullard, 1993, 2000; Faber, 1998; Dobson, 1998; Agyeman and Evans, 2004; Bulkeley and Walker, 2005; Scandrett et al., 2000). Research in the field of *environmental justice* has primarily been engaged in studying the distribution of environmental problems such as exposure to toxic waste, landfills or air pollution (Bullard, 1993; Hofrichter, 1993; Harvey, 1996; Bullard, 2000; Mitchell and Dorling, 2003). Apart from this focus on the distributive aspects of justice, there is environmental justice research on substantive and procedural aspects of justice (Turner and Wu, 2002; Agyeman, 2005; Dobson, 1998). Environmental justice research that specifically highlights the discursive aspects of justice; Giovanna Di Chiro (1998), for instance, has shown how environmental issues have mainly been framed as something that concerns white men, and not women of colour. Also, she questions the assumedly neutral science that for instance determines acceptable risk levels of exposure to environmental hazardous material and has shown how there were male biases in the official risk calculations, leading her to raise the question of whether more local and experience based knowledge might lead to quite different “facts”.

Most of the environmental justice research stems from urban sociology or human geography. There are however studies that explicitly *link environmental justice perspectives to urban planning* (Agyeman, 2005; Connelly and Richardson, 2005; Isaksson, 2001) and/or use a discursive approach to planning for urban sustainability (Eckstein and Throgmorton, 2003; Sharp and Richardson, 2001; Sandercock, 2003; Lövgren, 2002; Isaksson, 2001; Asplund and Skantze, 2005; Dovlén, 2004). Sophia Lövgren (2002) sees the Swedish national ecological transformation project of the late 1990s, with the example of the refurbishment of the postwar high-rise district Navestad, as a “discourse of normalisation where physical planning is thought to combat a wide array of social problems – illness, unemployment and anonymity – and foster active, ecologically interested and engaged groups” (2002, abstract).

There is also plenty of research conducted on perceptions of and practices in *nature and the landscape of different societal groups* (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998; Agyeman, 2006; Johansson, 2006; Ödmann et al., 1982; Frykman and Löfgren, 1979). Macnaghten and Urry (1998) have for instance illustrated competing perspectives and claims on nature and the landscape, coloured by national identity, tradition and class.

However, the advocates of radical urban political ecology, environmental justice researchers or researchers working on the discursive aspects

of power, planning and spatial practices in the landscape seldom discuss the design of cities, proposals or case studies of the physical form of more radical or environmentally just societies. Rather, they focus on issues to be aware of and questions to ask prior to and in the design of cities.

The intent of this study is to contribute to discursive aspects of justice and inclusion/exclusion, highlighting how social norms and power relations play out in the discourses on planning for sustainable urban development and eco-friendly living in diverse urban contexts. This may feed the field of planning for sustainability with more knowledge about competing perspectives, power relations and unarticulated norms and thus form a basis for more just and more politicised strategies.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is structured in three parts. Part I consists of this introductory chapter, outlining the aim, previous research and overall reflections on the role of the researcher and research, and chapter 2 outlining the theoretical positions. The second chapter includes perspectives on planning in terms of power, discourse and politics (2.1), the environment as being socially produced (2.2), perspectives on group identity (2.3) and justice (2.4) – which together form the basis for analysis.

Part II consists of chapter 3 on methodology, an account of the material and methods used and reflections on this. This part also includes quite detailed accounts of the empirical results from the two case studies: chapter 4 on the case of Spånga-Tensta, and chapter 5 on the case of Burngreave.

Part III consists of the analysis, chapter 6, called “Inclusion/exclusion in environmental discourses,” in which the results from both case studies are analysed, compared, contrasted and related to the theoretical framework. Part III consists of the seventh and last chapter, “Future alternatives for sustainability politics,” outlining directions for the future.

The reader who would like to get a quick grip on the thesis need read only part I, with or without the second theoretical chapter, and then part III. The reader who is also interested in methodological concerns, the formulations of the studied strategies for sustainable urban development and a more in-depth and vivid account of resident discourses and everyday life should read part II as well.

2 Theoretical positions

In this chapter I describe my perspective on central concepts and notions of the thesis: planning in relation to *discourse*, *disciplinary power* and *politics* and the construction of *nature-environment*, *group identities* and *justice*. Each one of these concepts is a huge topic of debate, and I do not intend to review the literature of differing perspectives on these notions. Rather, I give brief accounts of *my* interpretations of these notions, using references that I have found fruitful in relation to my specific aim and research questions.

2.1 ON PLANNING AS POWER

2.1.1 On discourse and planning as disciplinary power

The formation of discourse, or what is seen as valid reality or legitimate knowledge in a certain context, is closely linked to processes of exclusion, or the knowledge, stories and perspectives that have been ruled out. There are various ways of viewing and categorising discourses. I find it fruitful to use three terms: *hegemonic* (or dominant) *discourses*, corresponding to the dominating norms held by the majority and/or ruling strata of society; *counter discourses*, opposing in some form the hegemonic discourses (Listerborn, 2002: 40); and, *parallel discourses*, not directly formed in opposition to the dominant (or counter discourses) but coexisting in a marginal position and at risk of being subsumed by the dominant discourse. I also distinguish between everyday life discourses and official planning discourses (to be more discussed in the methodological chapter, section 3.3.2). The status and power of different discourses are constantly changing. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) use the term discursive struggle and see discourses as involved in a struggle for acquiring hegemonic status. Analyses of the workings of dominant, counter and parallel discourses, and the social groups that form and are affected by them, enable discussions about power relations in which questions about justice can be raised.

Discourse is not seen as consciously composed by official bodies or specific groups to serve their interests; discourses are rather formed arbitrarily, while still possibly serving the interests of specific (generally the dominant) groups (Mills, 1997: 75). In line with this, power is seen

as exercised everywhere and by all, albeit in different ways and with varying degrees of authority. However, power is not primarily seen as something that people possess; rather, it is something that constructs subjects (Foucault, 1979). In this way, power can be both oppressive and liberating.

The formation of discourse is intimately connected furthermore with the processes of disciplining and normalisation. According to Foucault (1979: 178) disciplining is not only conducted in the military, school, prison or factory through surveillance and rewards or punishments. He argues that it is concurrently taking place in less formal ways, through cultural norms, codes of conduct – a form of socialisation – and hence also in the field of planning and policy. Lövgren (2002: 25) exemplifies normalisation with the workings of common notions of what is good, seen as correct or incorrect, desired or undesired, in terms of health: eating an apple a day, wearing a helmet when biking or, in my field of study, behaving ‘correctly’ in relation to the environment. Through such norms, good, productive and responsible individuals are created, as are deviant ones. Foucault argues that disciplining takes place irrespective of whether actual surveillance is conducted or not. In fact, the more sophisticated the disciplining, the less evident and costly is the control of people (Foucault, 1979: 218–219). In other words, collective everyday disciplining and self-disciplining through norms which are neither reflected upon nor intentional are perhaps the most elaborate forms. Furthermore, the built environment has a disciplining function, in that it enables certain behaviours and disables others (*ibid*; Dovey, 1999).

Drawing on Foucault (1979), planning is here seen as a discursive exercise of power, put into effect not only in a top-down manner by officials in relation to citizens but as something that permeates the whole society, public debate and the everyday lives of citizens. Planning is about steering individual and collective behaviour, about facilitating certain forms of transportation, movements, housing, socialising, shopping, use of green space, and organisation of private and professional life, while averting other. This takes place through physical planning and building as well as through policy formulations, visions and text-based strategies. Planning is hence seen as a form of disciplining or normalisation of people.

Disciplining individuals might at first be associated with intentional state projects managed by authoritarian regimes; however, Foucault as well as more recent scholars (Lövgren, 2002; Rose, 1995; Wallenstein, 2007) point out that disciplining people also takes place in liberal regimes albeit through a rhetoric of freedom, choice and flexibility. Sometimes the Foucauldian focus on discipline and normalisation is interpreted as

an antistate perspective, connected either with anarchism or laissez-faire politics. In this study, intentional state/public disciplining and microlevel disciplining in the form of socialisation are seen as necessary for a well-functioning, accountable and just society. It is however important, not the least for researchers, to try to tease out how disciplining works and on what norms it is based.

In my study, in order to analyse the workings of disciplinary power and the inclusionary/exclusionary effects of planning for eco-friendly living, it is necessary to analyse the facts and assumptions of the cause-and-effect relations upon which the policies and planning are based. In other words, to highlight and question what may seem obvious, relevant or proven knowledge.

Thus, in studying the promotion of eco-friendly living, it becomes relevant not only to study official planning strategies and statements but also more in-depth discussions about assumptions and the everyday reasoning of individuals about good and bad behaviour, self-governing or self-disciplining.

2.1.2 On planning as politics

Some definitions and traditions of planning emphasise physical planning. Others interpret planning more broadly to include the governing of social, cultural, environmental and/or economic processes, with varying foci on local, regional or global dimensions. In this study, planning is seen as encompassing publicly funded or commissioned attempts to maintain or change the spatial organisation of society. Central to this definition is that space and place are seen as socially produced, and planning ultimately deals with people's lives and imaginaries.

Planning is an inherently political activity. Planning in the public domain is of course political in the sense that it is conducted under or by elected politicians, and explicitly political decisions affect planning. However, other bodies involved in planning – private, semiprivate, voluntary organisations and other forms of more or less formalised groups of people – are also seen as political, though not necessarily party political. More tacit forms of politics in all aspects of planning include the figures, data and maps that are used, the way the planning process is conducted, the way partnerships and consultations are organised and the way speech is conducted.

The boundaries between the public, private and NGO (nongovernmental organisation) sectors are blurred, however, and planning is often conducted in partnership with public, private and voluntary actors and in

more or less close dialogue with citizen groups. In contemporary planning, the intent is often phrased as securing “good governance,” or delivering and implementing good plans. And in order to do this, it is often argued, it is necessary to “think beyond left and right,” to try to think of what is best for “all”, or what is safe-unsafe (Beck, 1997: 42; Giddens, 1994). The idea, furthermore, is to ensure that the planning process is smooth and that conflicts, protests and the costly delayed implementation of plans are avoided. Thus, methods like the *charrette* are used where differing, possibly antagonistic, actors are invited to a common table at an early stage in the planning process to prepare plans that all can agree upon and feel they “own” (Cars, 2001). Often the goal is to reach win-win solutions with consensus on “the best plan for all.” Such consensus-oriented processes are advocated in terms of delivering efficient, democratic and “good” plans (*ibid.*).

Mouffe (2000; 2005) is one of several scholars who have raised criticism towards this type of consensus-oriented governance process. Mouffe argues that advocates of good governance and a consensual form of democracy are in fact promoting a *postpolitical* vision whereby differing perspectives and political splits are covered up. In this way a postpolitical vision is about establishing a hegemonic discourse. Žižek (1999: 198) writes:

Postpolitics thus emphasises the need to leave old ideological visions behind and confront new issues, armed with the necessary expert knowledge and free deliberation that takes people’s concrete needs and demands into account.

It might well be that issues are politicised in the postpolitical condition but then “in a noncommittal way and as nonconflict” (Diken and Laustsen, 2004: 7, quoted in Swyngedouw, 2007: 25). This postpolitical perspective can also be seen in the “we” and “one-planet” rhetoric of sustainability policies on the United Nations level. As Di Chiro (2003: 206-210) pointed out, the we rhetoric has been criticised by voices from the global South pointing at how this rhetoric conceals unevenness in terms of who has caused the major environmental problems, who is affected by them and who is to be responsible for solving them.

In contrast to such a postpolitical vision, Mouffe (2005) and Žižek (1999) argue that difficult societal problems can never be handled without conflict. Conflict is needed for change to happen. Mouffe (2005) refers to Nadia Urbinati who, in her analysis of government in relation to governance on a global level, argues:

Governance entails an explicit reference to ‘mechanisms’ or ‘organised’ and ‘coordinated activities’ appropriate to the solution of some specific problems. Unlike government, governance refers to ‘policies’ rather than ‘politics’ because it is not binding decision-making structure. Its recipients are not ‘the people’ as a collective political subject, but ‘the population’ that can be affected by global issues such as the environment, migration or the use of natural resources. (Urbinati, 2003: 80 quoted in Mouffe, 2005: 103-104).

Thus, in line with Mouffe’s perspective, the concept of governance is connected with a postpolitical condition. Mouffe does not explicitly write about the field of planning, but her perspective can be fruitfully used to analyse contemporary trends in planning. “Evidence-based policy-making,” “collaborative planning,” “deliberative planning” and “good governance” bear elements of a postpolitical perspective, where the “good” or “best” solutions for all are to be found. However Mouffe (2005: 105) points out that there is no best solution for all. There will always be contestations of what is at stake, and gains and losses to be handled, interpreted and distributed. Mouffe (2005: 5) furthermore argues that if there is no room for deep political differences in official and parliamentary institutions, confrontation will appear elsewhere, outside the democratic system in street protests or attacks.

Another way to shed light on the postpolitical is to describe the process whereby the responsibilities that previously were seen as belonging to state politics are transformed into life politics (Teshahuney and Dahlstedt, 2008: 14-17, with reference to Bauman, 2004). This means that the individual is expected to find solutions and reorganise his/her life in response to what was previously seen as structural problems. Often the solutions are phrased in economic terms, which make them become depoliticised (ibid.).

How can then the alternative of the critics of postpolitics be formulated? Žižek tries to specify a desired alternative to the postpolitical, what he calls “politics proper”:

The political act (intervention) proper is not simply something that works well within the framework of existing relations, but something that *changes the very framework that determines how things work...* [A]uthentic politics ... is the art of the *impossible* – it changes the very parameters of what is considered ‘possible’ in the existing constellation). (Žižek 1999: 237, quoted by Swyngedouw, 2007: 24, emphasis in the original)

Žižek (1999) goes on to describe *politics proper* as acts that occur when

the power relations in society are challenged and accepted truths – or dominant discourses – are questioned and loaded with new meaning. In this way politics is about giving meaning to important empty signifiers such as equality, justice, welfare, or, in this field of study, sustainable urban development or eco-friendly living. Thus, politics is interpreted here as a form of struggle over what discourse or what interpretation of key concepts are to pervade (Mouffe, 2000: 113-114). In terms of Mekonnen Tesfahuney's and Magnus Dahlstedt's (2008) interpretation of postpolitics, politics proper can be seen as the struggle over what issues are to be dealt with in the common public (political) sphere and what issues are private, or up to the choice of the family/the individual.

Mouffe calls her desired politics a “radical pluralist democracy” or “agonistic pluralism” in which there is room for differences both in terms of left-right as well as other splits. She argues that democracy requires a “conflictual consensus”: consensus on the ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all,⁵ along with dissent about their interpretation (2005: 121). Swyngedouw's (2007) analysis of current sustainability politics is inspired by Mouffe and Žižek. He argues that the current debate about sustainable futures bears elements of populism in that it:

- invokes ‘the people’ or ‘the environment’ rather than particular social groups, natures or environments;
- seeks consensus;
- pictures the enemy as externalised and vague (as CO₂) rather than the problem being internal, in the sociopolitical and economic system itself; and,
- is based on the idea that “‘the people know best’ (although the people often remains unspecified and unnamed), supported by an assumedly neutral scientific technocracy.” (2007: 33)

In order to bypass such populism, Swyngedouw argues that effort needs to be made to imagine and name alternative socioenvironmental futures:

To the extent that the current postpolitical condition, which combines apocalyptic environmental visions with a hegemonic neo-liberal view of social ordering, constitutes one particular fiction (one that in fact forecloses dissent, conflict, and the possibility of a different future), there is an urgent need for different stories and fictions that can be mobilised for realisation. This requires

5. Shared ethico-political principles, usually spelled out in a constitution and embodied in a legal framework.

foregrounding and naming different socioenvironmental futures, making the new and impossible enter the realm of politics and democracy, and recognising conflict, difference, and struggle over the naming and trajectories of these futures. (2007: 36)

In the field of planning and this study, it would mean a planning process with room for disagreement and difference that allows the frameworks and the taken-for-granted in which the planning is inscribed to be questioned and hence possibly changed. This includes the planning process itself, the greater goals of planning (such as economic growth or sustainable urban development). Disagreement does not mean that decisions will not be taken or plans not implemented, but the multitude of possible (and always political) decisions would be better displayed and questions about the interpretation of such goals as 'sustainable cities' and 'good' and 'just living environments' would more genuinely be discussed and accommodated to diverse desires and needs.

Radical pluralist planning would furthermore mean recognising that all decision-making, partnership and planning is conducted in an unequal power situation: certain groups are more powerful than others and certain forms of communication and norms are privileged over others. Iris Marion Young (1996: 123) for instance found that the deliberative models of democracy and communication have western (and often male) biases. Overall, Young (*ibid.*) is critical of the ideal of dispassion, impartiality and distance that constitutes the norm, not only in parliamentary institutions but also in planning situations. Generally, objectivity or impartiality is associated with a lack of emotion, passion and commitment. She argues that the ideal of the objective reasoner (and planner) goes hand in hand with the ideal of making universal judgments, or, in other words, finding optimal plans, strategies and general guiding principles. According to her as well as other scholars, actions that strive for universally true judgments and systems ultimately suppress difference. She goes on to argue that:

In many formal situations the better-educated white middle-class people moreover, often act as though they have a right to speak and that their words carry authority, whereas those of other groups often feel intimidated by the argument requirements and the formality and rules of parliamentary procedure, so they do not speak, or speak only a way that those in charge find 'disruptive'. (Young, 1996: 124)

Young argues that the institutional settings need to be reformed to better

encompass other ways of speaking such as storytelling, rhetoric, greeting and testimony in addition to ‘rational’ democratic reasoning (Young, 1996).

Thus, acknowledging difference, trying to balance the unequal power relations and opening up for a questioning of the goals and framework that planning is embedded in, are central for a radical pluralist planning.

2.2 ON THE ENVIRONMENT AS SOCIALLY PRODUCED

2.2.1 The mechanisation and romanticisation of nature and the term environment

In order to situate contemporary interpretations of the terms *environment* and *nature* it is relevant to highlight their historical framing and rival interpretations. The intention here is not to be all-encompassing but give a brief account of some of the influential discourses on the environment in Europe.

The terms *environment* and *environmentalism* are fairly recent constructions. Macnaghten and Urry (1998) argue that *nature* became *environment* in the 1960s and 1970s concurrently with the emergence of environmentalism. The concern had previously been framed as nature conservation or preservation with the focus on vulnerable wildlife, animal and plant habitats, the countryside or the establishment of nature reserves (ibid.). In contrast, the rise of environmentalism and the view of nature as environment brought new issues to the table: the use of pesticides such as DDT placed the focus not only on the survival of nonhuman species, but also the survival of humans (ibid.). Rachel Carson’s book *Silent Spring* from 1962 played a key role in the rise of environmentalism. Moreover, industrial food production, pollution and destruction of natural resources resulting in widespread famine pointed at the links between the management of natural resources and the *human* environment and wider development issues. The discourse became centred on limits and the maintenance of the one and only planet with finite resources – manifested for instance in the *Limits to Growth* Report (Meadows, 1972), the UN Stockholm Conference in 1972 on the Human Environment, and Earth Day manifestations around the world (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998). From the 1970s and on, environmental concerns have not only been centred on local and regional issues such as nature reserves (more predominant in the conservationist era), but also on global concerns (ibid.: 59-60).

A historic fundament of the mainstream Western European environmental discourse is that of the mechanistic perspective of nature that the Enlightenment philosophers laid the grounds for. Here, nature was assumed to be something that could and should be mathematically described and controlled, not unlike a machine, that nature was composed of discrete parts that could be taken apart, manipulated and then reassembled (Merchant, 1989). And perhaps most important, that the sciences studying nature and the relationship between nature and society were seen as value and context free (*ibid.*: 199).

The division between nature and culture and the mechanisation of nature, based on Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy, has certainly not been dominant all over the world. However the dichotomy between nature and culture has become widespread not only due to the mechanistic perspective but also as a result of the western Romantic tradition (Hedén, 2002b). In the Romantic tradition, nature was seen as something wild, primordial, authentic, elevated or sublime and in this way framed as something opposite to culture or civilised society, modernity and progress (Hedén, 2002b: 307-308). Macnaghten and Urry (1998: 13) further describe how in the Romantic tradition, nature was placed “somewhere else”: “Nature was where industry was not” (Williams, 1972: 159, quoted in Macnaghten & Urry, 1998: 13). In the establishment of natural parks or nature reserves from the late 1800s and on, the dichotomy between nature and society thus also receives a spatial form (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998: 14).

In Sweden, nature has played a key role in the construction of the national identity at the turn of the previous century. In line with a Romantic tradition, nature stood for beauty, moral and mental and physical healing (Ödman et al., 1982: 192). During the first half of the 1900s, it was thought that contact with nature would solve social problems such as alcoholism, strengthen family bonds and prevent crime, prostitution and “other immoral behaviour” (*ibid.*: 164). Schemes were launched in order to improve access to nature, gardens and allotments. With these schemes – largely driven by the (male) bourgeoisie – the intent was also for the urban working class to adopt bourgeois ideals, organisation of family life and aspirations (*ibid.*: 192).

Even though the mechanistic and Romantic views of nature and environment are still prevalent in Sweden as well as the UK, there are counter as well as parallel discourses. The industrialisation and mechanisation of nature have resulted in numerous counter-reactions, not only with the spread of the environmental movement in the 1960s and 1970s, but also as early as at the end of the 1800s with calls for a return to “closeness to nature” (Hedén, 2002b: 309; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998).

2.2.2 Deep ecology, feminist and postmodern critiques of the mechanistic view of nature

One strand of scholars has formulated critiques from deep-ecologist or ecocentric perspectives against the exploitation of natural resources, the belief in endless industrial progress and the placement of humans at the centre of the universe (see for instance Smith, 1998; Naess, 1989[19760; Shiva, 1998). These scholars advocate a view in which the ecosystem as a whole is placed in the centre, where humans are seen as part of a greater system and where humans have obligations to nonhuman species (*ibid.*). Some left-wing or anarcho-theorists, like Murray Bookchin (2001), link the destructive domination of nature to the domination of some humans over others (in terms of gender, race, class, etc.) and argues that the domination of nature is a product of these other dominant systems (Smith, 1998).

In the 1990s, a growing critique from postmodern and feminist scholars also emerge against the western mechanistic relationship to nature (Gare, 1995; Rogers, 1994; Salleh, 1997; Plumwood, 1993; Merchant, 1996). This critique is generally phrased differently from the deep-ecologist critique. The basis is here is not so often the material depletion of natural resources, anthropocentrism or material injustices; rather, the critique is centred around the epistemological assumptions in the western Enlightenment tradition and its view of nature and environment. Here, (1) knowledge about and experience of nature are seen as being socially produced (unlike the mechanistic view), (2) the nature-culture dichotomy is done away with, and (3) nature is not seen as having its own ethics (unlike the deep-ecologist view).

Macnaghten and Urry (1998: 4), who could be placed in the post-modern strand, state that “nature does not simply provide an objective ethics which tells us what to do. It is too ambivalent, contested and culturally paradoxical for that.” They clarify this point and note that what they call “modernist assumptions” still form the mainstream:

Even though the planet is now largely acknowledged as having finite limits and thus no longer identified as offering endless bounty, scientific research programmes still operate under a number of highly modernist assumptions concerning the physicality of the world, its accessibility through scientific and rationalistic inquiry, and the fundamental separation of people and human culture from the physical environment. One implication of this agenda lies in the assumption, currently largely shared in social scientific accounts of the environment, that nature sets clear and measurable limits to what

humans can achieve. The emphasis on absolute limits, typically defined by ecological science, has passed from the agenda of a few visionaries in the 1960s and 1970s into a commonly shared post-Rio Agenda. (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998: 15-16)

In a similar way, Swyngedouw, with reference to Žižek, argues that “nature does not exist” in the sense of a balanced or equilibrium based nature that needs our salvation or sustaining.

In other words, there is – of necessity – an unbridgeable gap, a void, between our dominant view of Nature (as a predictable and determined set of processes that tends toward a (dynamic) equilibrium – but one that is disturbed by our human actions and that can be ‘rectified’ with proper sustainable practices – and the acting-out of natures as an (often) unpredictable, differentiated, incoherent, open-ended, complex, chaotic (although by no means unordered or unpatterned) set of processes. The latter implies the existence not only of many natures, but, more importantly, it also assumes the possibility of all sorts of possible future natures, all manner of imaginable different human-nonhuman assemblages and articulations, and all kinds of different possible socioenvironmental becomings. (Swyngedouw, 2007: 19)

Swyngedouw emphasises how this view of nature(s) opens up for possible alternative imaginaries and actions. Arguing that nature as such does not exist does not deny that there are severe problems in the ecosystem. John Dryzek (2005: 12) clarifies this point:

Pollution does cause illness, species do become extinct, ecosystems cannot absorb stress indefinitely, tropical forests are disappearing. But people can make very different things of these phenomena and – especially – their interconnections, providing grist for political dispute. The existence of these competing understandings is why we have environmental politics (or any kind of politics) to begin with.

In accordance with this perspective, Swyngedouw uses the cyborg metaphor of the world, seeing it as “partly natural and partly social, partly technical and partly cultural, but with no clear boundaries, centres or margins” (2007: 36). He points out how the urban metabolism or socioenvironmental flows and changes are dependent on particular socioeconomic and political conditions and the institutions that maintain

them. He argues that highlighting the relationships and dependencies is central:

While environmental (both social and physical) qualities may be enhanced in some places and for some humans and nonhumans, they often lead to a deterioration of social, physical, and/or ecological conditions and qualities elsewhere. Processes of metabolic change are, therefore, never socially or ecologically neutral. (2007: 37)

Nature and environment as discursively constructed

In line with the postmodern critique described above, the concepts of environment, local environment and nature are seen here as discursively constructed and related to language, tradition, social practices and the specific historical, geographical and cultural context. In daily use, the notion of the environment (or “natural environment” or “environment as nature”) has multiple meanings attached to it, with emphasis varying, for instance, with its role as a/an:

- producer of food and other crops for clothing or fuel
- habitat for animals, plants and people
- landscape, countryside or wilderness
- site for ecocycling
- site for recreation or beauty
- expression of divine power that can be used for spiritual inspiration (points drawn from Orrskog, 2002; Macnaghten and Urry, 1998; Hedrén, 2002a).

The interpretation of the term environment can vary over time and place, for instance, or in relation to differing emphases on the points above or perhaps other points. Macnaghten and Urry (1998), however, illustrate that views of nature or environment vary not only between eras and societies but also *within* societies and among social groupings. They declare that “there is no singular ‘nature’ as such, only a diversity of contested *natures*; and that each such nature is constituted through a variety of sociocultural processes from which such natures cannot be plausibly separated” (1998: 1). They further argue that social practices, particularly those related to people’s dwellings, form and transform views of nature (ibid.: 2). One can also add that social practices and views of nature are intimately connected with struggles over power. The way we live in, think of and talk about places and the environment also form

them. However, this does not mean that material aspects, such as the design of a place or level of air pollution, are irrelevant. Following Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Edward Soja (1996), the point of view is rather that places and environments are simultaneously “real-and-imagined” and it is not possible to differentiate between purely material and socially constructed aspects.

As a reminiscence from the conservationist era (and perhaps also from the Romantic tradition), the mainstream environmental movement, in the US as well as in Europe, has been focused on preservation of nature and the green environment, endangered species, whales and forests (Bullard, 1993). From environmental justice perspectives, the mainstream environmental movement has been criticised for not taking on the *urban* environmental problems and environmental concerns of minority groups and poor people (Taylor, 1992). In relation to this, Robert Gottlieb (2005[1993]) argues that it is important to see the links between *urban* environments and environmental conditions in a larger perspective:

Pollution issues are not just a recent concern; people have recognised, thought about and struggled with these problems for more than a century in significant and varied ways. A history that separates resource development and its regulation from the urban and industrial environment disguises a crucial link that connects both pollution and the loss of wilderness. If environmentalism is seen as rooted primarily or exclusively in the struggle to preserve or manage extra-urban Nature, it becomes difficult to link the changes in material life after World War II, the rise of petrochemicals, the dawning of the nuclear age, the tendencies towards overproduction and mass consumption – with the rise of new social movements focused on quality of life issues. (Gottlieb, 2005[1993]: 36)

Drawing from case studies in the UK, Kate Burningham and Diana Thrush (2001) have shown how the environmental concerns of disadvantaged groups are primarily framed in terms of impacts of pollution on health and well-being and in terms of “minor” but perhaps very visible and disturbing issues such as litter and dog excrement. Less tangible and perhaps “traditional environmental issues”, like ozone depletion, global deforestation, preservation of landscape or concerns relating to green consumption, were generally not of concern of the disadvantaged groups in their studies. Hence, the term *brown environmental issues* is sometimes used in order to refer to the environmental concerns of people residing in deprived urban areas: issues relating to public health, recreational space, and litter (Bill, 2001).

What is seen as an environmental issue is thus an important question embedded in power relations and politics. I will not attempt here to stipulate the aspects that will be included or not included in the terms environment and nature, because understanding the way these concepts are interpreted and framed in the case studies is a part of the research question.

*The response of ecological modernisation
and sustainable development*

There are various ways to analyse and categorise responses to “the environmental problematique” (the whole “problematique” depending, of course, on the view of “the environment”); see for instance John Dryzek (2005) and Andrew Dobson (1990), David Harvey (1996). Here I will discuss *ecological modernisation*, *sustainable development* and, in the subsequent section, *green radicalism*. These responses to the environmental problematique put the empirical findings in a context. They are used to analyse the assumptions and preunderstandings of ecological transformation upon which the studied strategies are based.

In contrast to the deep-ecologist and postmodern explicit critiques of the mechanistic view of the environment, the anthropocentrism and the belief in progress and technology, there are strands of researchers that try to accommodate industrial progress and growth to the ecological challenges and thereby “green” society and economy. One example of this updated form of modernism is Ulrich Beck’s famous book *The Risk Society* (1992). Beck argues that we have moved into a new era – that of “the risk society” – in which the main concern is how to handle such risks as pollution or environmental catastrophes, and how to distribute them. The risk society is compared with the “class society,” where in the latter the main concern had been the production and distribution of material wealth. Beck argues for the necessity of thinking beyond the traditional left and right (Beck, 1997: 42). He furthermore points out how the environmental risks and their technological management have become increasingly complex and difficult to grasp. Many contemporary environmental risks escape our senses; radioactivity, for instance, does not smell. He thus argues that science and experts play an increasingly important role, yet their knowledge is never sufficient (Beck, 1992).

Another example of the updated form of modernism is the perspective of *ecological modernisation*. Central to this perspective, framed by Gert Spaargaren and Arthur Mol (1992), is the belief that technological development can handle the environmental problems and risks; there is no need, therefore, to question the overall path of modernisation. There are several similarities between the work of Beck and that of Spaargaren and Mol; they differ, however, in their perspectives on the possibilities

of technological development and continued progress. The latter two are considerably more optimistic about the possibilities of technological capabilities handling risks and thus “greening” society (*ibid.*).

Spaargaren’s and Mol’s (1992) perspective is oriented towards the economies of Western European countries whereby new green technologies such as microelectronics and gene technology may substitute for the former end-of-pipe solutions. There is little concern of global environmental injustices or attempts at solving environmental problems in third world countries. This Eurocentric perspective is evident in the writings of Mol and Spaargaren (2000: 43–44), for instance, when they state that the economic globalisation of the recent decades has not shown any general inequities when it comes to the distribution of environmental risks and qualities.

The perspective of ecological modernisation has been critically analysed primarily by Maarten Hajer (1995), who argues that in the perspective of ecological modernisation, ecological problems are not necessarily seen as problems but in fact as positive challenges for business, technological innovation and progress. In other words, it would be possible to have “green growth.” Hajer further argues that “ecological modernisation does not call for any structural change but is, in this respect, basically a modernist and technocratic approach to the environment that suggests that there is a techno-institutional fix for the present problems” (1995: 32).

The perspective of ecological modernisation has been deeply influential and can be said to form the mainstream of European environmental politics (Hajer, 1995), Sweden included (as pointed out by Anshelm, 2002; Hedrén, 2002b; Isaksson, 2001; Skill, 2008). This perspective is explicitly consensus-oriented, and environmental issues are generally presented as if they concerned everybody in the same way (Hedrén, 2002b; Isaksson, 2001). It can thus be seen as a postpolitical approach since conflicts about the views of the environment or conflicts over the distribution of environmental qualities and risks are rarely raised. Also, the bulk of Swedish environmental research is in several aspects well in line with the perspective of ecological modernisation as it is geared towards generating solutions and practical guidance for the progress towards sustainable development, rather than critically questioning the development or underlying assumptions (as pointed out by Anshelm and Hedrén, 1998; Mobjörk, 2004; Hedrén, 2002a).

Since the early 1990s there has been a rise in *sustainability* rhetoric and action. Just as Caroline Merchant (1989) argued in relation to the concept of *ecology* – that it is a particularly twentieth-century construction suitable for that time – and as Macnaghten and Urry (1998) argued

about the construction of the term *environment* in the late 1960s, *sustainable development* is a construction of the 1980s and 1990s, and suits the need to be able to speak about and handle the global ecological crisis as well as orient attention to inter-generational justice. Of course there are various and competing interpretations of sustainable development (for an overview see Dryzek, 2005 and Connelly, 2007). However, there are many similarities between the mainstream sustainable development discourse and that of ecological modernisation as there is generally emphasis on win-win solutions, partnerships, technological development and the assumption that environmental problems can be solved with market mechanisms. But sustainable development, as pictured in the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987), is more radical in the sense that the focus is on the whole world, including social justice aspects in relation to the North-South divide and obligations to future generations. Some see ecological modernisation as the dominant interpretation of sustainable development (Hajer, 1995; Lafferty and Meadowcroft, 2000), others argue that it is not and should not be a reasonable interpretation of sustainable development (Langhelle, 2000).

Green radical responses

As described previously, Swyngedouw (2007) sees the quite recent consensus around the necessity of 'sustainable development' as an expression of a postpolitical condition in which the underlying assumption is that the liberal socioeconomic world order should be kept. He argues that:

the world's premature ending in a climatic Armageddon seems easier to imagine (and sell to the public) than a transformation of (or end to) the neoliberal capitalist order that keeps on practicing expanding energy use and widening and deepening its ecological footprint. (Swyngedouw, 2007: 19)

He argues for *green radical responses*, or *radical urban political ecology* that question and form alternatives to the current socioeconomic system. Keil (2007), who could be grouped into this category, sets his hopes on the grassroots activism around environmental justice, whereby questions of environmental degradation are linked to wider social and structural issues. The question is however if and how these, often particularist, green radical struggles could be linked together to challenge the liberal socioeconomic order. Dryzek takes a similar position in relation to the environmental justice movement and green radical critiques and expresses his doubts:

Can such a loosely coordinated set of responses ever be adequate in the face of a liberal capitalist economy which is more secure and more entrenched than ever before in history? This system is increasingly geared to free trade, economic growth, and the mobility of investment capital across national boundaries. It is this system which is the dominant political reality of our times. All national, regional and local governments now see it as their first task to accommodate themselves to the imperatives of this system, to keep investors happy by promoting a positive climate for business. (2005: 226)

In self-sufficient socioeconomic systems, increased consumption and exploitation of natural resources would likely mean an evident degradation of these resources. However, in the current world order, increased consumption and welfare in such places as deindustrialised UK or Sweden, has not meant continued environmental degradation in these same places. Forests, land and waters have in many instances been able to recover as cleaner and more efficient technology has been introduced and the production and exploitation of natural resources takes place elsewhere and with effects distant in time and space (see Merchant, 1989, who makes such analysis of New England). In this postindustrial situation with diffuse links between the local environment and the larger ecological system, it becomes crucial to tie these entities together. Harvey clarifies this point:

We cannot reasonably argue for high environmental quality in the neighbourhood while still insisting on living at a level which necessarily implies polluting the air somewhere else. We need to know how space and time get defined by the quite different material processes which give us our daily sustenance. (1996: 233)

Analysing the urban metabolism and in this analysis asking who wins and who loses is thus central to a green radical approach. Swyngedouw (2007: 37) argues that:

Questions of socioenvironmental sustainability are fundamentally questions revolving around attempts to tease out who (or what) gains from and who pays for, who benefits from and who suffers (and in what ways), from particular processes of metabolic circulatory change. Such politicisation seeks answers to questions about what or who needs to be sustained and how this can be maintained or achieved.

He further argues that environmental transformation is thus connected with other power struggles relating to class, gender, ethnicity or other forms of domination and subordination. In this way, he, like Bookchin (2001), sees connections between environmental degradation and other forms of social oppression. Swyngedouw argues that, "The political program is to enhance the democratic strategies through which a more equitable distribution of social power and a democratically more genuine mode of the production of natures can be achieved" (2007: 38).

In their commentary on Swyngedouw, Rob Krueger and David Gibbs (2007: 7) point out that

the key questions we need to ask are: 'What kinds of socioenvironmental arrangements do we wish to produce, how can this be achieved, and what sorts of natures do we wish to inhabit?' Without answers to such fundamentally political questions and the development of appropriate storylines that can be mobilised to address these, we effectively forestall any discussion of alternative socioeconomic futures and trajectories outside the neoliberal consensus. In this view, sustainability is therefore first and foremost a set of political questions about who benefits, who gains, and who loses from sustainable development.

Inspired by this reasoning, I view planning for sustainability as a question ultimately of which natures are imagined and which future relationships between humans, nature and nonhumans are desired.

2.3 ON GROUP IDENTITY

2.3.1 All speak from somewhere

Sandercock (2003), among others, argues that handling ethnic diversity and multicultural citizenship will be one of the most important tasks for planners in the twenty-first century. The increasingly multicultural western metropolises and urban citizens pose several questions to planning, in relation both to procedures and to ideas of what constitutes good urban environments and lives. Generally the values and norms of the dominant culture are embedded in the planning legislation and planning policies and procedures. "The planning system thus unreflectively expresses the norms of the culturally dominant majority, including the norms of how that majority likes to use space" (Sandercock, 2003: 21). Furthermore, she argues that the norms of the dominant culture are often embodied by

planning practitioners, as these individuals generally belong to the ethnic or cultural majority.

Therefore it is important to consider cultural diversity, not only in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of other social groupings. Identities – imposed and self-imposed – matter in positive as well as negative senses. This is the starting point of *identity politics* whereby it is recognised that people are part of social groups that are socially located and this location “[...] provides us with specific knowledge about the world and leads to specific experiences that are constitutive for who we are: we all come from somewhere and we speak from somewhere” (Grünell and Saharso, 1999: 208). This is a central perspective in this thesis, the view of people not as entirely free-floating individuals but as belonging to social groups, having identities that are decisive for their experiences and viewpoints. Social groups and identities are not static; rather, they are multiple and constantly evolving. They can relate to ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, age, religious or philosophical beliefs, perspectives on the environment, political views, or to rural, urban or suburban background. In this study and succeeding text, I will however focus on ethnicity and class.

Social groups and identities often interplay, produce and reproduce each other, and it is therefore difficult to discuss and analyse one dimension separately (see for instance Ambjörnsson 2004: 38). Postcolonial feminists, as well as other scholars, have pointed out the value of focusing not only on gender or ethnic differences, but on how forms of domination and subordination – sexuality, gender, class and age – *simultaneously* interplay (Ambjörnsson, 2004: 25; de los Reyes et al., 2002a: 23; Rosaldo, 2003; Mouffe, 1992).

2.3.2 Embodied collective identities

Central to western modern history and society is the idea of the autonomous self or the delimited individual who is able to make rational choices in his/her interest. The legal and political structures of modern society are based on the individual as the axiom (Whatmore, 2002: 148). Sarah Whatmore, who is critical of this axiom, argues:

Ethical agency is reduced to the impartial and universal enactment of instrumental reason, or ‘enlightened self-interest’, institutionalised as a contractual polity of equivalent self-present individuals divested of difference, context or circumstance. (2002: 148)

This notion of the individual as the axiom, in line with the Cartesian

tradition, has been criticised from several different perspectives: by feminist scholars for being a masculine conceit, from communitarian perspectives that instead argue for an intersubjective notion of the self that may include other people, and from postmodern scholars for not acknowledging the situatedness and the multiple and evolving identities of people (ibid.: 149).

Whatmore (2002) and Val Plumwood (1995) have formulated yet another critique, challenging the assumption of the exclusively *human* individual/collective as the ethical subject. Building on the intersection of feminist and environmentalist analyses, they argue for a relational understanding of ethics that includes not only human collectives but also nonhumans. Here, human and nonhuman bodies or entities are seen as knitted together and forming collective identities having ethical agency. Such an embodied ethic of ecological care and responsibility is described by Whatmore through the words of Gail Weiss as:

to be embodied is to be capable of being affected by the bodies of others and [...] is both a necessary and a sufficient condition for the generation of a bodily imperative [that] attend[s] morally to the needs of bodies who are unable to articulate those needs for themselves, the young, infirm, dehumanised and includes bodies that are not human. (Weiss, 1999: 162-3 quoted in Whatmore, 2002: 158)

2.3.3 Power relations – domination and subordination

One reason for paying attention to social groups and the location of people is that there are explicit and implicit power relations among groups. There is a history of discriminatory practices in relation to women, ethnic minorities, the sexually deviant, or low-income groups, which is still in operation albeit perhaps not as explicitly as in previous times. Some groups in society have had and still have better conditions for getting their voices heard, their needs met and their view of the world established as the norm.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2002) points out how the very marginalised groups – the subaltern – might not be able to speak in a way that is understood by the dominant groups. When the subaltern is understood, he or she has ceased to be subaltern. Therefore, more privileged people might need to “speak for” the subaltern, a task which could be described as impossible since these interpreters or advocates risk to misinterpret the

needs and desires of the subaltern and reproduce existing power relations. In spite of these problems, Spivak argues that it is still desirable that the more privileged try to understand and speak for the subaltern, and successively do it in new and more just ways (Lundblad, 2001). Because what is worse than misinterpretation, argues Spivak, is ignorance (*ibid.*).

A common phenomenon is that the members of the “we” or in group describe themselves in positive terms while descriptions of “the others” are done in less flattering ways, what Teun Van Dijk (1998: 25) calls “positive self presentation” and “negative other presentation.” In line with Stuart Hall (1997) this can be described as a process of *othering*, meaning a differentiation between an us and a them in a situation where the we group has more power and thus the ability to differentiate a “their” from an “our” point of view, often coupled with a notion that we are superior to them. However who is included in the we/they is an important question. Ylva Brune (2004) points out that it is critical to analyse and demarcate not only how “they” are described, but also how the “us” is constructed – how the norm to which the Other is contrasted.

However, it is not so simple that the dominant social groups necessarily oppress the subordinate groups; in fact, domination and subordination can be characterised as a web-like structure in which all (including the subordinate) can hold and reproduce oppressive attitudes and act oppressively. This is what hooks wants to point out with the usage of the term white supremacy – which she finds preferable to ‘racism’:

To me, the term ‘racism’ always takes us back to the essentialist notions of victim and oppressor, and not a broader notion that in fact we can *all* hold white supremacist beliefs and assumptions and enact them in daily life, irrespective of whether or not we are victims of racism. (hooks quoted in Grünell & Saharso, 1999: 215)

Forms of racialised oppression can hence be enacted in different ways between groups of oppressed people. This is in line with the Foucauldian perspective of power as decentralised – something that all people can exercise, however with varying degrees of authority. hooks wants to pinpoint what she calls “the colonised mind.” This notion is also used by Irene Molina (2005), who describes it as a situation when oppressed groups use the reasoning, or discourse, of the dominant groups to explain their own situation, a form of internalised oppression. According to hooks, the concept of white supremacy does not only include the imagined supremacy of whiteness (as skin colour) but also the supremacy of western culture, thinking and religion (Grünell and Saharso, 1999: 216). Further-

more hooks uses the term “white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” to underline that these different forms of domination are interwoven (ibid.). To decipher and counteract structures of domination and subordination can therefore not only be a task for the oppressed, but for all.

Ethnic and class identities generally become established relationally; one’s class or ethnic identity may become evident only in the instance when one encounters people with other ethnic or class identities (Radhakrishnan, 2003: 324). Furthermore, identities relating to class, ethnicity and gender might be socially constructed but not thereby voluntarily formed. Linda Martín Alcoff (2003: 3) makes this clear when she points out that:

Individuals make their own identity, but not under conditions of their own choosing. In fact, identities are often created in the crucible of colonialism, racial and sexual subordination, and national conflicts, but also in the specificity of group histories and structural position. [...] [Identities] are both imposed and self-made, produced through the interplay of names and social roles foisted on us by dominant narratives together with the particular choices families, communities, and individuals make over how to interpret, and resist, those impositions as well as how to grapple with their real historical experiences.

2.3.4 The concepts and production of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘immigrant’

Often the terms ethnicity and ethnic groups are used in contemporary discussions regarding how to handle differences arising from international migration. In the Swedish national encyclopaedia (Nationalencyklopedin, 1991) ethnicity is defined as a *dynamic* mix of race, religion/belief, national identity, language and cultural history. The term arose as a response to the problematic western attempts to define groups solely by the more or less static national, racial, tribal or religious identities. With the term ethnicity the idea is to recognise that sociocultural group belonging is part of a social process that constantly evolves (ibid.).

In daily language in Sweden, the concept of *invandrare*, “immigrant,” is often used. Although it is a difficult concept, it needs to be discussed and explained, particularly as it is used by the interviewees in the Spånga-Tensta case study. According to the Swedish national encyclopaedia (ibid.), an immigrant is defined as a person that moves from one country to another with the aim of settling down for a longer period of time. Ac-

According to the Swedish government, the term *invandrare* should only be used in governmental documents to denote persons who were born abroad (Kulturdepartementet, 2000). However there is a discrepancy between these official definitions and the popular use. Often, the term immigrant is used to denote people that look or act “different” from the stereotypically light-skinned and fair-haired Swede. Having dark or black hair might thus be enough to, at first, be called an immigrant, despite a family history in Sweden of several generations (Martinson, 2005: 49; Trondman, 2006). Furthermore, people who, according to the encyclopaedic definition, would be termed immigrants, for instance, people who have moved to Sweden from other Scandinavian or western countries, might not be called immigrants if their appearance resembles the stereotypical Swede (*ibid.*).

Mats Trondman (2006) furthermore points out how being an immigrant in Sweden is often coupled with being a representation of social problems. Obviously, there are immigrants who do not represent social problems, which leads to a vocabulary of “real, real immigrants” – described by Trondman as persons who “have ‘real’ problems and live in highly segregated and, what everyone calls, ‘immigrant-dense’ housing areas” (2006: 438). Trondman points out how the grammar of the “immigrant as social problem” becomes real in that it is self-confirming, that the persons being denoted “immigrants” then live up to the expectations of representing social problems. Trondman however adds that, “People who have immigrated may live under socioeconomic and communicative life conditions that increase the risk that, in certain larger or small minorities, the grammar will become real” (2006: 447).

The concept of immigrant has become an increasingly difficult and contested concept as the “immigrant population” is certainly not homogenous, and the “Swedish population” is not either. The term immigrant is therefore often surrounded with quotation marks in Swedish research and, in official fora, the phrases “person with foreign background,” or “person with different ethnic background than Swedish” are often used for denoting persons who are born abroad and who have immigrated to Sweden as well as persons born in Sweden with at least one parent born abroad (Kulturdepartementet, 2000).⁶

In the UK and Sheffield case study, the term immigrant is more rarely used. Instead a number of different categorisations appear: “ethnic mi-

6. Up to the late 1960s the term used in Swedish official policy was “foreigner” (*utlänning*), but as this term was considered to have negative connotations it was deliberately changed into “immigrant” Nationalencyklopedin (1991) *Nationalencyklopedin*. Högåns: Bra Böcker.

norities,” “blacks,” “BME-groups” (Black and Minority Ethnic groups/people), “White British,” sometimes differentiation is phrased in more specific terms of Muslim vs. non-“Muslims,” “Pakistanis,” “Yemenis,” or “Somalis”, to cite several examples.

As pointed out previously, ethnic or immigrant identities are not homogenously composed; rather, they are fluid and often mixed. In today’s globalised world, we increasingly find people who have ties to several different ethnic and cultural groups: German-Turks, British-Pakistanis or French-Algerians, for example. Such identities can be termed hybrid, hyphenated, Creole or diasporic (Caglar, 1997). With these terms the fluidity and plurality of identity is emphasised. Nina Werbner (1997) dismantles the idea of “pure” or “authentic” cultures: “Despite the illusion of boundedness, cultures evolve historically through unreflective borrowings, mimetic appropriations, exchanges and inventions.” She argues that there is no culture in and of itself (*ibid.*: 4-5).

Ayse Caglar, however, goes on to argue that creolisation and hybridisation serve merely as “another means of anthropological textualisation of otherness,” in which mixture is inscribed as essence (1997: 173). Caglar’s point is that hybridisation tends to overemphasise the mixing of ethnic identities and overlook other identities as gender, class or age. One can be hybrid not only in the sense of German-Turk, for example, but also as young-woman-lesbian-German-Turk.

Caglar (1997), Molina (1997) and Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) all stress that we need to be aware of the social constructedness, the plurality and the fluidity of identities. Identity formation is constantly in the making. However, as pointed out by Molina, in spite of the constructedness or imaginedness of ethnic, racial and national identities (or, for that matter, gender, sexuality or class), these categories have produced real systems of oppression. Therefore, it makes sense to use terms such as ethnicity and race – although with the awareness of the constructedness and thus the possibility of future transformation in a world where these notions have become superfluous.

2.3.5 The concept and production of class

With the concept of class the intention is to describe the social stratification of individuals or groups in a society. There are various ways of describing social stratification, for instance, basing it on the position of the individual or group in terms of education, occupation or income, or relating it to the social groupings of the individual. Marx used the term in two senses: (1) class as determined by a group of people’s relation to the means of

production, and (2) class consciousness, or the awareness of the group about its relation to the means of production (Hobsbawm, 2003: 126). In Eric Hobsbawm's reading of Marx, these two dimensions are inseparable as "[c]lass' in the full sense only comes into existence at the historical moment when classes begin to acquire consciousness of themselves as such" (ibid.). In other words, in a Marxist perspective, people might have a "false consciousness," not being aware that they are controlled and perhaps exploited in the production system. But to deem who is capable of determining what is true or false consciousness appears difficult. Class in the first sense is often described as an "objective criterion" as it can be decided by somebody outside of the group in question, while class in the sense of class consciousness is termed a "subjective criterion" (ibid.).

There are numerous perspectives on the relevant classes existing in different societies and at different times. It should be pointed out that class, like ethnicity, is not a static category, but a process and a relationship. Or, as Edward Palmer Thompson phrases it,

I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships [...]; and class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. (2003: 136)

In line with the definitions of class by Hobsbawm, a traditional Marxist would centre the analysis on the relation to the material production system at a given time, making it a relational (or dialectical) historical-materialist perspective. Spatial scholars such as Harvey (1973), Lefebvre (1991) and Doreen Massey (1984) have subsequently taken the Marxist perspective into a spatial framework and developed a relational historical-*geographical* perspective. Referring to Marx, Harvey makes the following note on class: "Marx appears to define class relationally as command (or noncommand) over the means of production. I prefer to define class as *situatedness or positionality in relation to processes of capital accumulation*" (1996: 359, emphasis in the original).

In line with this perspective, class has to do with socioeconomic position, generally meaning occupation, in a given space, time and economic system. This position could in turn be determined by such factors as education, socioeconomic and cultural background, kinship or ethnicity. However, defining the position in relation to the means of production is not always easy and straightforward, for instance, in determining

if and in what ways you dominate or are dominated by others. If one sees the production system as strictly hierarchical, one might be able to divide people into (hierarchical) classes. However, production systems might be difficult to categorise in hierarchies, perhaps particularly in contemporary postindustrial network societies. This is not to say that network production systems are necessarily flat; to the contrary, webs of complicated command and control centres and social groups (and hence classes) are often spread all over the globe (see for instance Sassen, 2001). However, for several reasons, the division of people into classes in the traditional Marxist sense has become increasingly criticised.

Max Weber found Marx's definition of class to be too narrow and preferred to define class in terms of "differential life chances" or individuals' resources manifested in manners, speech, education, housing and the way the individual thought about his/her life chances, or possibilities of pursuing a desired career or role in life (Breen and Rottman, 1995). These are nonetheless related to one's role in the production system. In recent years it has become common to view class not primarily as a socio-economic category with a relation to the means of production but rather focusing on sociocultural aspects and relations and their role in constructing differentiation and hierarchies (de los Reyes et al., 2002b; Ambjörnsson, 2004). In this perspective, the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986[1979]) and his analysis of class relations in French society have been influential. Bourdieu notes that the construction of class and social stratification has as much to do with taste, style, cultural knowledge and social relations as it has to do with economic resources. Bourdieu (*ibid.*) uses the terms social and cultural capital to illustrate this. The ruling strata establish their cultural and social behaviour as the most sophisticated and natural, rendering other styles and sociocultural behaviour deviant or expressions of lower strata. In this sense the formation of dominant discourses are intimately connected with the lifestyles, reasoning and behaviours of the ruling strata or classes in society.

2.3.6 Redistribution politics vs. recognition politics

During the 1970s the use of the concept of class was widespread in research. During the latter decades other aspects of social stratification and power relations have increasingly come into focus, primarily ethnicity, gender and sexuality. In a traditional Marxist perspective, class is seen as the overriding social category in which ethnicity or gender, for example, might be subcategories (see for instance Harvey (1996: 338) for an illustration of this argument). In contrast to this perspective, others see social

categories as being intertwined and reject the notion that one category, such as that of class, is always dominant.

In class struggle, the goal is to counteract class differences through *redistribution politics*. However with other categories – such as ethnicity, gender or sexuality – playing an increasingly important role, the focus has turned to *recognition politics*. In the latter, the goal is not to eradicate ethnic differences, rather the concern is to recognise different identities and counteract discrimination or the hierarchical ordering based on these categories (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Rosaldo, 2003). For this reason, class perspectives (redistribution politics) and perspectives focusing on other sociocultural identities (recognition politics) have at times come into conflict (see for instance Harvey, 1996: 338-41).⁷ However, when it comes to identities or sociocultural roles apart from class, there are different viewpoints on whether the goal is to recognise and value the diversity of roles or if it is to make these categories unnecessary and thus dissolve them. Constant noting of class, ethnic or gender identities can be problematic, as individuals might prefer to be defined by other than these identities. (This issue will be discussed further in section 2.4, On justice.)

For the purposes of this thesis, Marx's and Harvey's historical-materialist perspective may still be relevant, but clear-cut worker rights, living standards and salaries are not all that need be addressed to attain a just society. There are also other forms of oppression, such as gender or ethnic discrimination on the labour market, or more immaterial forms of oppression, such as lack of access to, and influence on, democratic arenas. In countries such as Sweden, for instance, the great majority is comfortably off materially (with jobs, housing, a fairly democratic legal system and social services), but there are other problems, such as discrimination and the lack of recognition of difference, of belongingness, meaning or safety. And class-based politics might thus not be fit to handle these immaterial forms of exclusion. In this thesis, it is primarily Weber's and Bourdieu's notions of class that will be used – class in terms of life chances, social and cultural capital – which of course are related to one's economic position.

This reasoning can be tied back to the discussion of politics and postpolitics. In a postpolitical condition, former adversaries, such as left-

7. Harvey argues that the focus during the recent decades on gender equality and rights of ethnic minorities have been an obstacle for class politics. According to him, "this shift from universalism to targeting of particular groups inevitably created tensions between groups and helped fragment rather than consolidate any broader sense of a progressive class alliance." (1996: 339). However, this claim can of course be questioned.

wingers and right-wingers, are portrayed as a big We, and solutions are portrayed as good for all, rendering the group identities that previously formed the basis of political difference and struggle obsolete. The effect is that the rhetoric of multiculturalism and fluid identities on the one hand and the we rhetoric on the other eradicate the base of traditional political identities and struggle. Žižek (2005: 60) and Mouffe (2000: 114-117) for instance point out how the delegitimation of the category of “the working class” and blurring of left/right in favour of “multiple identities” have the effect that people have increasing difficulties in politicising their exclusion.

There may be good reason to give less weight to the traditional left/right, class-based identification and politics. However, what is then important is to highlight new and other forms of group identity that can be used for politicising social – and environmental – oppression.

To conclude, an important point of departure in this thesis is a perspective of individuals as connected with other people and, more or less explicitly, with nonhumans. Individuals may well (have learnt to) see themselves as autonomous individuals, or as only identifying with and feeling for other humans, as in narrow forms of class or identity politics, but nonetheless, other ethics may exist or become awakened.

2.4 ON JUSTICE

2.4.1 Situated notions of justice

Planning as an activity raises questions about justice. Heather Campbell and Robert Marshall stress that planning deals with spatial interventions with the aim of making the lives of people better. Therefore they regard

planning as an activity which is concerned with making choices about good and bad, right and wrong, with and for others, in relation to particular places. It is about making *ethical* choices over issues, which are often highly contested. Planning is therefore profoundly concerned with *justice*. (Campbell and Marshall, 2003: 2)

There are many perspectives on justice, and it is impossible, and not even desirable, for all to agree on common principles of justice. Nevertheless, planners must continuously make decisions about justice, making the difficult task of discussing and evaluating justice imperative. Here, I outline the perspectives on justice that I will build on in the thesis.

Harvey (1996) and John Forester (1999), among others, argue for

situated notions of justice. They recognise that the concept of justice is socially constituted and produced and reject the idea that one could establish a theory of justice that would fit all places, times and environments. Forester (1999) argues for “moral improvisation” or a form of iterative moral judgments that are sensitive to specific situations. Harvey wants to set out a relational theory of justice that assists “collective endeavours so as to achieve a particular set of goals under a given set of ecological, historical, and geographical conditions” (1996: 333). He thus wants to stress the situatedness or standpoint of whom, when and where the claim to justice is being made (ibid.: 331). His specific situated theory of justice is, however, centred on class. According to Harvey, it is namely class that is the common denominator for struggles for justice as it is seen as cutting across race and gender lines (ibid.: 338).

Other scholars, for instance Young (1990) and Sandercock (2003) argue for postuniversalist notions of justice that are not primarily centred around class – they are as open to other social categories in which (in) justices might manifest, for instance, gender, ethnicity, race or sexuality. Other scholars (as Low and Gleeson, 1997; Almond, 1995; Haughton, 1999) would also include justice to nonhumans and future generations (to be further discussed below).

2.4.2 Justice of difference

Given the fact that societies in the Western European tradition are becoming increasingly multicultural and diverse, both Young (1990) and Sandercock (1998, 2003) have argued that planning and policy practices need to be changed in order to better accommodate difference, and not just any difference, but a *just* difference.

Young (1990) has developed principles of social justice with difference at its heart. According to her, social justice “requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression” (ibid.: 47). She argues that policies aiming at social justice “must promote the ideal of a heterogeneous public in which persons stand forth with their differences acknowledged and respected, though perhaps not completely understood, by others” (ibid.: 119).

A critique of Young’s conception of justice is made by Harvey who points out that “individuals and subgroups might not want their cultural specificity recognised because that specificity is precisely the social prison from which they desire to escape” (1996: 352). Young, however, comes to this critique through viewing individuals as having multiple identities

that also can shift across space and time; she describes individuals as “heterogeneous and decentred.” It is also important to recognise that individuals may choose to identify or show solidarity with other groups to which they do not necessarily belong; for instance, persons of a majority group may be engaged in struggles for rights of minority groups. It should also be noted that Young argues for work on two levels:

The danger in affirming difference is that the implementation of group-conscious policies will reinstate stigma and exclusion. [...] Group-conscious policies cannot be used to justify exclusion of or discrimination against members of a group in the exercise of general political and civil rights. A democratic cultural pluralism thus requires a dual system of rights: a general system of rights which are the same for all, and a more specific system of group conscious policies and rights. (Young, 1990: 174)

Within a justice framework of respect for difference and otherness the interests and justice claims of different groups may nonetheless come into conflict and, in such situations, principles are needed in order to sort out whose claims are more important or righteous. In this instance it is important to consider the power relations of the groups involved and see which group in the case is the less powerful or, as Harvey (1996: 362) puts it, “more other than others.”

2.4.3 Justice in and to the environment

A central source of inspiration for this thesis is the discourse around *environmental justice* that has developed in the US and the UK in recent decades (Bullard, 1993, 2000; Faber, 1998; Dobson, 1998; Agyeman and Evans, 2004; Bulkeley and Walker, 2005; Scandrett et al., 2000). Definitions of environmental justice vary in their emphasis on consequentialist, proceduralist or substantive aspects of justice (see for instance Turner & Wu, 2002; Agyeman, 2005). The US Environmental Protection Agency defines the concept as:

The fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies. Fair treatment means that no groups of people, including racial, ethnic or socioeconomic groups should bear a disproportionate share

of the negative environmental consequences resulting from industrial, municipal, and commercial operations or the execution of Federal, state, local, and tribal programs and policies.⁸

Another definition is that of urban sociologist Robert Bullard who has described the environmental justice movement as follows:

Environmental philosophy and decision making has often failed to address the justice question of who gets help and who does not; who can afford help and who cannot; [...] why industry poisons some communities and not others; why some contaminated communities get cleaned up but other do not; and why some communities are protected and others are not protected. [...] The grassroots environmental justice movement [...] seeks to strip away the ideological blinders that overlook racism and class exploitation in environmental decision making. (1993: 206)

In the US EPA definition, as well as the quote from Bullard above, justice is centred on race/colour/ethnicity and class. Dorceta Taylor, however, includes gender in her definition of environmental justice as she writes that it “is the first paradigm to link environment and race, class, gender, and social justice concerns in an explicit framework” (2000: 542). Definitions of environmental justice hence differ according to both time and place.

As the quote from Robert Bullard indicates, the focus in the environmental justice movement has primarily been on the distribution of environmental risks (such as exposure to toxic waste, air pollutions, waste incinerators, landfills or other types of “locally unwanted land uses”) among people living here and now (see for instance Bullard, 1993, 2000 and Harvey, 1996). Thus, in comparison to the traditional environmental movement, the environmental justice debate has dealt more with the environment of *people* (urban environments) and less about the habitats of nonhumans and protection of the environment as a goal in itself (Harvey, 1996).

Compared to the concept of sustainable development – which is generally used to denote justice between current and future generations, *inter*-generational justice, and justice relating to the global North-South divide (Lafferty and Eckerberg, 1998) – the concept of environmental justice is more centred on *intra*-generational and *intra*-regional justice.

With the focus on people living here and now, the environmental

8. The US Environmental Protection Agency: <http://www.epa.gov/compliance/resources/faqs/ej/index.html>, accessed May 11, 2006.

justice movement has been criticised for being too focused on specific local issues and for being anthropocentric and neglecting such concerns as the survival of nonhumans (see Harvey 1996: 397-402). However, Nicholas Low and Brendan Gleeson incorporate into their definition of environmental justice (1997: 22) both “justice *within* the environment,” or the distribution of environmental risks and qualities within human populations, and “justice *to* the environment,” or how humans treat nonhuman species and nature. Haughton (1999) has also outlined a similarly wide notion of equity in his environmental justice framework; he includes inter-generational equity, intra-regional equity, geographical (or interregional) equity, interspecies equity and procedural equity.

From the way the environmental justice movement has been described above, one could say that it draws its arguments mainly from a consequentialist ethic as it is primarily concerned with the *distribution* of environmental risks and qualities. Within the movement, the currently widespread procedural ethic is being questioned since it is deemed to deliver unjust results. Low and Gleeson (1997: 23) note how there is “much discussion of the need for just criteria for situating ‘locally unwanted land uses’ (LULUs). [...] Can a market in LULUs deliver justice? Can the legal system resolve conflicts over the environment with justice to all parties?”

As can be seen in the EPA definition, the environmental justice perspective concerns *procedural* issues and the advancement of fairer procedures. However, there are also attempts at trying to prevent the risks from being produced in the first place (Faber, 1998). The idea of separating procedural justice from distributional justice is being criticised; here, Daniel Faber quotes Michael Heiman (1996: 120), who argues that:

‘If we settle for liberal procedural and distributional equity, relying upon negotiation, mitigation, and fair-share allocation to address some sort of disproportional impact, we merely perpetuate the current production system that by its very structure is discriminatory and unsustainable.’ It is precisely this distinction between *distributional justice* versus *procedural justice*⁹ that many in the environmental justice movement are now beginning to address. (Faber, 1998: 15)

There are hence attempts in the environmental justice movement to

9. In the original text it says “productive justice” but I assume that Faber meant to write “procedural justice”, also the word “movement” is missing in the last sentence.

question the frameworks that inscribe planning and the assumptions about procedural and consequential justice of the current market system. Drawing from the previous accounts of discursive power and politics such as “the art of the impossible” (section 2.1.2), this can be seen as an attempt to “change the very framework that determines how things work” (Žižek, 1999).

Low and Gleeson argue that: “environmental justice is human justice, but with a wider horizon. [...] Part of our consideration should be about the rights of humans to a decent environment, part should be about the rights to nature” (1997: 35). These two considerations – justice to people and justice to nature – sometimes conflict, however, and there are no easily found formulae to balance them. Low and Gleeson argue that:

The issue cannot be decided once and for all on the basis of a single comprehensive ethic. Rather we must continually devise forms of political association and political practices which reconcile ethical principles on the basis of a principled politics (*ibid.*).

2.5.3 Justice on what geographical scale?

Notions of justice can be framed, furthermore, in a spatial setting. Critical geographers such as Soja (2000) and Harvey (1996) and sociologist Saskia Sassen (2001) discuss matters of justice in a spatial context – spatial justice – and analyse the dependency relations between different areas, be it among neighbourhoods, the cores and peripheries of city regions or the global North and South.

In general, contemporary radical politics aiming for greater justice have often focused on claims for a special issue, in a special community. This critique can also be directed towards the environmental justice movement, which often has focused on specific and symbolic events (such as toxic waste sites) rather than more general, tacit, geographically scattered and perhaps more threatening environmental problems, such as ozone depletion (Harvey 1996: 388). Harvey however notes how the environmental justice movement, just like the labour movement:

has tried to connect particular struggles to a general struggle in one quite special way. It has set out, as a movement, to make real what is at first sight the extraordinary claim that the defence and advancement of certain particular interests, properly brought together, are in fact the general inter-

est. (Harvey (1996: 391) quoting Williams (1989: 249)).

Some scholars, such as Young (1990) and Nancy Fraser (1989), are discontented with how contemporary justice struggles often become particularist and they have subsequently tried to “break out of the local” and to assert “an ethic of solidarity” (Fraser) and norms of justice based on the acknowledgment of difference (Young) (Harvey 1996: 348). Swyngedouw’s (2007) assertion of the importance of studying who or what gains and who or what suffers in the metabolic change (section 2.2.2) is another attempt at pointing out the dependencies; increased justice in one place must be evaluated as to whether it implies increased justice or injustice in another place.

Of relevance here is also the concept of *fair shares in environmental space*, an attempt to place focus on how the consumption of the earth’s resources is divided among different groups and generations.¹⁰ This concept has similarities to that of Mathis Wackernagel’s and William Rees’s (1996) *ecological footprint*,¹¹ which is also used to illustrate the consumption of a group, people or nation in relation to the earth’s resources. However, these concepts both rely on the assumption of a given set of resources and the idea of one nature that was criticised in section 2.2.2. Keil (2007: 56) further points out that, as a tool, the ecological footprint focuses on technological and behavioural change rather than on metabolic, systemic and structural change (2007: 56). Nevertheless, these notions are useful in a symbolic sense as long as we consider that what constitutes environmental space will always be a subject of (political) dispute.

In the early years of the environmental justice movement, the focus was indeed on community politics and local struggles. However, as Low and Gleeson note:

the rubric has escaped its original emplacement in community politics to assume a higher profile in national and international discussions about the distribution of environmental quality. [...] Increasingly, the environment signalled by the ru-

10. The concept “fair shares in environmental space” has been developed by Friends of the Earth International. For a more detailed description of the concept see: <http://www.foei.org/en/publications/sustainability/sustain.html>.

11. Ecological footprint is a measure of the consumption of renewable natural resources by a person, region, country or the whole world. The ecological footprint of a population is the total area of land or sea required to produce all the food, wood, fibre etc needed for its energy consumption and infrastructure (Wackernagel and Rees, 1996).

bric is a multiscalar reality that embraces every political and geographical level at which environmental differentiation is evident, from the neighbourhood to the globe (2003: 465).

2.5.4 Framework of justice in this study

To conclude, I intend to analyse and comment on the studied strategies and resident discourses in terms of justice *within* the environment (i.e., the distribution of environmental risks and qualities within different groups and justice defined as respect for difference) and justice *to* the environment (i.e., to nonhumans and future generations). In short, this is a combination of the justice frameworks of Low and Gleeson (1997) and Young (1990). Moreover, I will use a *discursive approach to justice*, focusing on the framing of environmental problems and the consequences of this framing in terms of what issues and whose impact(s) are considered in planning and official and everyday discourses. To use a discursive approach means shedding light on tacit preconditions and underlying norms and assumptions in official and everyday discourses. In this sense, justice will be evaluated in terms of the inclusionary/exclusionary effects of discursive power, normalisation and disciplinary functions of discourse. This has not been done to any great extent in previous research within the field of environmental justice (however with exceptions as Di Chico, 1998). Through such analysis, doors can hopefully be opened to *the political* envisaged by Žižek (1999) as “the art of the impossible.”

The stories of the interviewees in the case studies about good and bad environments, about justice and fair processes and about structural change will inform my judgments. Whilst some people might for instance appreciate a dense urban environment without much green space, others might value access to fresh air and green areas more highly. Thus, when making statements about what is just or unjust in these matters it becomes important to depart from the individual's or group's perception of the situation. However, this might not be entirely unproblematic as oppression is sometimes internalised (as discussed in section 2.3.3). In practice, this could mean that marginalised individuals or groups argue that they do not mind, or even that they like, the impoverished urban environments in which they live, because societal power structures make them feel at home there; or, it could be a way of defending one's neighbourhood and identity.

Factors such as exposure to environments incurring lead in the blood or magnetic fields might better be left to experts and thresholds regulated in law or policy to decide what is unjust and just, since individuals might

not feel these problems until several years have passed, possibly resulting in severe health problems. Di Chiro (1998) (see section 1.4), however, warns that to rely on such expert thresholds is not entirely unproblematic as these might contain biases in relation to the persons and settings used as reference. Hence, the judgments of justice need to be related to the situation, possibilities and choices that are available to the group or individual in question, remembering that “some are more others than others.”

PART II

3 Methodology

In this chapter the methods and empirical material are discussed and reflected upon. Firstly, in section 3.1, I discuss the choice of the two case studies. In section 3.2 I describe the selection of interviewees, discuss the identities of the interviewees and the interview situation. I also describe the strategic documents I have chosen to study, how I have read them and the research process. In section 3.3 I discuss the positionality of the researcher and reflect on my study of discourses.

Detailed accounts of how the interviewees were selected in the case studies can be found in appendix 2. Letters to interviewees, questions that have been posed, and additional material can be found in the appendices 3-13. An account of the interviews that have been conducted is placed in appendix 1.

3.1 CHOICE OF SPÅNGA-TENSTA AND BURNGREAVE

The two areas that have been selected as case studies, Spånga-Tensta in Stockholm and Burngreave in Sheffield, have been chosen for their mix of housing forms and their residents of different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds that live near each other and thus are surrounded by the same physical environment. In both areas, there are several planning and regeneration projects going on, providing plans and strategies to study. These are all important factors, given my objective of examining how strategies for more eco-friendly living relate to different groups of inhabitants in multiculturally and socially diverse areas, and the ways in which they lead their lives and perceive environmental concerns.

Spånga-Tensta is one of the areas in Stockholm exhibiting the greatest socioeconomic and ethnic diversity.¹² The area of Spånga-Tensta is of course unique, but there are elements of it that resemble several other districts in Sweden. It is largely made up of two areas: *Gamla Spånga*, “Old Spånga,” and Tensta, where Gamla Spånga is seen as an example of a middle-class-one-family-house type of suburb with a mainly Swedish population, of which there are several in Sweden. In a similar way, Tensta

12. Statistics from Utrednings- och statistikkontoret, Stockholm stad, områdesstatistik för 2003. Graphically displayed in Lagerwall, K. “Stockholm – delad stad” in *Stockholm City*, Nov 1, 2004.

can be seen as a representative of a type of postwar multifamily-house suburb, where the majority of the population has immigrant background, which again is a common type in the larger cities in Sweden.

Burngreave is more of *one* diverse area. It is diverse in terms of its residents' ethnic background, socioeconomic conditions and housing forms. Compared to Spånga-Tensta, however, it does not house as a large portion of well-off groups. Nevertheless there are small "pockets of wealth" in Burngreave.

3.2 MATERIAL AND METHOD IN THE CASES

In both cases, the main source of information is face-to-face interviews with individual residents and groups of residents, followed by interviews with professionals and an analysis of strategic documents. In the case of Spånga-Tensta I have also used results from a postal survey conducted by the Stockholm City Statistical Office (see a description of it in appendix 2 and the survey in appendix 6). Overall, the methodological approach in the two cases is similar.

In the table below the sources of the case studies are described. In total 45 residents have been interviewed in Spånga-Tensta and 42 in Burngreave. It should be pointed out that most of the time has been devoted to interviews with dwellers.

3.2.1 Selection of resident interviewees

As can be seen from the table below I have met with slightly different groups of residents and also used different ways of selecting and contacting residents. Since the intention is not to make a direct comparison of the two cases, I do not see it as a problem that the choice of interviewees has been done in slightly different ways.

The selection and number of interviewees was not supposed to be representative or form a basis for generalisation for all dwellers of Spånga-Tensta or Burngreave. Rather, the selection could be termed random purposeful sampling, as the interviews are chosen so that the sample contains a spread of purposeful categories (Patton, 2002: 51-52). For my purposes I wanted to include people with varying forms of housing, socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, gender and age and also to include the major ethnic groups of the two areas.

In Spånga-Tensta I contacted residents through the municipal registry and then via the telephone registry. The fact that I disregarded persons

SPÅNGA-TENSTA	BURNGREAVE
Pilot interviews with two heterogeneously composed groups consisting of residents of five Gamla Spånga residents and seven Tensta residents	Chats with around 25 people during one day at a local environmental festival
Individual interviews with 21 dwellers in Tensta-Spånga	Individual interviews with 18 residents
Interviews with three ‘natural’ focus groups – a group of five persons with Kurdish-Iraqi background primarily living in Tensta, a group of five homeowners with Swedish background living in Spånga and a group of two persons with Somali background, living in Tensta and Rinkeby. As described previously, Iraq and Somalia are the two countries in which the largest part of the inhabitants with foreign background in Spånga-Tensta have their roots.	Group interviews with four groups of altogether 24 persons: one group of four adult learners of English literacy and a second group of seven adult mathematics learners (housewives with backgrounds in Pakistan and Yemen and one man with a background in Jamaica), a third group of 10 retired male steelworkers with Pakistani background who came to Sheffield about 30-40 years ago, a fourth group of three mothers meeting for a baby song session at the local library (with backgrounds in the Caribbean and Africa)
Study of strategic planning documents	Study of strategic planning documents
Interviews with professionals working with planning, housing and/or environmental issues, in all six persons	Interviews with professionals working with planning and/or environmental issues, in all nine persons
A postal survey with 175 responses from Spånga-Tensta residents on <i>their view</i> of their local environment and how they act and think in relation to environmental concerns conducted by the Stockholm City Statistical Office.	

lacking a registered telephone number is likely to imply that I missed persons that have arrived recently to Sweden/Tensta, have insecure economic conditions or desire to be incognito. Furthermore, it might well be that the persons that agreed to participate in the study are more interested in environmental issues than the average person. However, in the letter that was sent out to residents in Spånga-Tensta (see appendix 3), I was careful to point out that the interviewee did not have to be interested in or knowledgeable about environmental issues to participate in the study. Similarly, a large part of the Burngreave interviewees are more likely to be interested in environmental issues than the average – given that they agreed to be interviewed for the project. In Burngreave and among the selection of interviewees, there are several White British residents with an articulated interest in environmental issues and radical politics. Among the Spånga-Tensta residents I did not find or hear of such groups of residents in the discussion with residents or at the local meetings I visited. They may well exist, but they appear not to be as engaged in the local community or known in the area.

However, in order to also include Burngreave residents that are not particularly interested in environmental issues, I conducted group interviews in settings and with people that were meeting for entirely other reasons (see details in appendix 2).

3.2.2 Choice of social groups and the identities of the residents

The factors of ethnicity, class and gender are among the core group affiliations according to which urban life is divided, relating to settlement patterns (ethnicity and class) and movements for instance (all three) (Molina, 2000). They also exist as pertinent discursive categories in everyday life, politics, planning and public debate. There are of course other factors that are relevant in terms of housing, movement and spatial life, for instance, age, sexuality and political views. At the outset of the study I was open concerning the group affiliations that might come to be in focus. Initially I thought that ethnicity, class and gender would be equally important in the study, or that one of these factors would play out more strongly in one or the other case study. When arranging the case studies and in the selection of interviewees I saw to that I included persons of different socioeconomic status, gender, ethnic background and age. In phrasing questions, I saw to that I opened up for different forms for framing one's own identity as well as views on what social categories were relevant in terms of urban and environmental life. As the fieldwork progressed, however, the group identities that appeared to have most

relevance were ethnicity and socioeconomic background. For this reason I decided to focus on these categories in the theorisation and analysis and thus by and large dropped the issue of gender.

In Spånga-Tensta it was clearly ethnic identity that played out most strongly in the fieldwork. Differentiation between the rough categories of “immigrants” and “Swedes” was the most common aspect spontaneously brought up in the interviews. Differences relating to gender, class or age were seldom raised. It should be pointed out that in general the interviewed residents of Spånga are socioeconomically better off compared to the residents of Tensta. It also happens that the interviewed Spånga-dwellers all have Swedish background, except one with Swedish-Greek background, while almost all the Tensta-dwellers have foreign background, the majority having migrated to Sweden quite recently and others being born in Sweden by parents that came to Sweden as immigrants. There were also a couple of Tensta-residents with foreign background (i.e., Finnish) that have university education and ‘qualified’ jobs like journalist/teacher and librarian. In this way, the immigrant identity is, in this study, generally intertwined with having low-status jobs and less socioeconomic resources compared to the interviewees with Scandinavian background. In other words, the combination of differences in ethnicity and socioeconomic resources is spoken about among the interviewees primarily in terms of Swedes/immigrants. These concepts are therefore used here as they arose in the fieldwork, when of course neither the immigrant nor the Swedish populations are homogenous (also see discussion about these concepts in section 2.3.4).

Another distinction that came up in the fieldwork in Spånga-Tensta was the distinction between the behaviours and conditions of Tensta residents on the one hand and Spånga residents on the other. My intent was not to compare these two groups of residents; however, given that the residents use these terms themselves they are also used in the empirical accounts and analysis.

In a similar way in Burngreave, the residents were asked about their identity and daily life. Also here, ethnicity proved to be the most common aspect brought up. However, here the differentiation is not in dualistic terms as in Sweden but took various forms: “White British,” “Native British” in relation to “African-Caribbean,” “Pakistani,” “Yemeni,” “Asian,” “Black,” “ethnic minorities,” “immigrants.” When relevant I try to note whether the person immigrated to Sweden/the UK later in his/her life or if he/she was born in Sweden/UK to parents that immigrated.

As my research questions deal with how different groups in ethnically and socially diverse settings reason about environmental concerns, I will, in the description of the results, be careful to point out who says what.

More specifically I will present the resident interviewees with assumed first names (presumably giving information about their gender), occupation, ethnic background and roughly their age. The Spånga-Tensta postal survey includes the background factors of level of education, gender and whether the respondent has migrated to Sweden or not. I will use these factors, however, with the knowledge that they are not comprehensive indicators of socioeconomic status or ethnic identity. In cases where other forms of identification are brought up by the interviewees – such as political views, religious beliefs, identities tied to place – I include this in the descriptions as well. I received information on occupation and ethnic background as well as other dimensions of their identity by asking them to describe themselves, what they do during the day, how they would describe their group belonging and identity, and by getting indirect answers to other questions (see questions in appendix 4 and appendix 10). In the municipal registry used in the Spånga-Tensta case I also had access to information about their exact age.

3.2.3 The interview situation, transcriptions and translations

The interviews lasted from 40 minutes up to four hours over a two day session. Most of the interviews were around 90 minutes. I had a set of questions that I wanted to cover (see appendices 4, 5 and 10); however, I intentionally had not sent these to the interviewees beforehand as I preferred the discussion to be spontaneous. Often I did not follow the exact order of the questions, I rather tried to stimulate a conversation on issues that the interviewee brought up, and generally I varied the phrasings of the questions, sometimes illustrating my question with examples, depending on the situation. The intention was to open up for a broad discussion of what might constitute a good environment and eco-friendly behaviour without directly steering into predefined themes.

Overall the interviews with residents have been tape-recorded, however in some instances the settings made it difficult to record so instead I took notes, which is the case for the group interviews in Burngreave and the two telephone interviews in Spånga-Tensta. Also, one person in Spånga-Tensta and two in Burngreave preferred that I took notes.

The interviews in Spånga-Tensta were conducted in Swedish, with the exception of one interview that was conducted in Arabic by a colleague and then delivered to me translated into English. Also, the group interview with the Kurdish-Iraqi residents was conducted in a mix of Swedish and Sorani (the Kurdish dialect spoken in Iraq) since two of the participants did not speak Swedish very well. In this case I was present

and the contact person in the group interpreted directly at the meeting, meaning that the recorded material is in both languages. In Burngreave, the interviews were conducted in English with the exception of the group interview with the retired Pakistani steelworkers. Some of them did not speak English so one person interpreted directly at the meeting.

The recorded interviews have been transcribed either fully, word by word, or sometimes in selected pieces. In the text describing the resident stories, I use quotes from several, but not all of the interviewees. Quite many and sometimes lengthy quotes are used in the texts in order to give flavour and to be transparent about how things were actually formulated by the interviewees themselves (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000: 123).

The quotes have been translated from Swedish to English and I have tried to do it in a fairly direct way, keeping the spoken language and the broken Swedish, in order for it to be as authentic as possible. Translating is of course a complicated task. Well aware of that I am not a professional translator I have chosen to do it myself as I see that I have the merit of having been present and knowing more of the context and specific expressions used. Of course, dimensions are lost when speech is taken into written form in this way, including *how* things were said, intonation and irony. All of the resident interviewees are kept anonymous and their real names have been substituted with assumed first names.

3.2.4 Choice and reading of the strategic documents

I have chosen to study strategies that deal with sustainable urban development and/or promotion of eco-friendly living – documents in the intersections of strategic planning, master planning and environmental programmes or strategies. In Sweden, the municipalities are in charge of urban planning issues, which means that the strategies and documents concerning sustainable urban development I encountered in Spånga-Tensta generally apply to the whole territory of the municipality of Stockholm. I have chosen not to study national or regional strategies, as the local strategies most likely are in accordance with the national ones and give more specific information. The following municipal documents have been used in the Spånga-Tensta case:

- The Master Plan of the City (*Översiktsplan*) (Stockholms stad, 2000)
- A strategic vision of Stockholm 2030 (*Vision Stockholm 2030 – en plattform för dialog om Stockholms utveckling*) (Stockholms stad, 2004)

- A report about the planning challenges of the city that serves as a foundation for the next Master Plan (*Stockholm växer – Utmaningar för stadsbyggandet i Stockholm*) (Stockholms stad, 2007)
- The Environmental Programme of the City (*Stockholms miljöprogram*), valid 2003–2006 (Stockholms stad, 2003)
- The Environmental Programme of the City, valid 2008–2011 (Stockholms stad, 2007b).

Although the documents concern all of Stockholm, there are sections that describe strategies specifically for “the outer city districts” or “city districts along the underground,” which of course have been paid particular attention to in the reading. There is no strategic urban plan for Spånga-Tensta specifically, but there are several detailed plans concerning new construction or other types of development in the area that have not been included in the study.

Apart from the documents mentioned above, there is a current long-term urban regeneration project for the area of Järva, which includes Tensta and Hjulsta and four neighbouring multifamily post war districts (Rinkeby, Husby, Kista and Akalla, but not Gamla Spånga). The 10 year project, called *Järvalyftet*, was initiated by the municipal housing company Svenska Bostäder in 2007 and is now run and financed jointly by Svenska Bostäder and the City of Stockholm. The following documents that describe the goals, strategies and measures of Järvalyftet have also been used:

- A municipal document describing the focus of Järvalyftet (*Inriktning för Järvalyftet – Tjänsteutlåtande*) (Stadsledningskontoret, 2007)
- A document by Svenska Bostäder describing Järvalyftet (*Stadsförnyelse i Järva – en del av Järvalyftet*) (Svenska Bostäder, 2007)
- An article by the organisation Stockholm Bygger¹³ where Svenska Bostäder summarises the core ideas of Järvalyftet (*Nu ska hela Järva lyfta*) (Stockholm Bygger, 2007)

Apart from these strategic documents, there are also documents that summarise actions or projects that have been carried out, primarily under the Agenda 21 umbrella, the Agenda 21 strategy (Stockholms stad, 2006) and a document summarising “good examples” of work towards sus-

13. “Stockholm bygger” is an organisation where the City of Stockholm cooperates with the private sector. See the website: <http://www.stockholmbygger.se/>, accessed March 27, 2008.

tainable development (*Goda exempel på samverkan med stockholmare och företag för hållbar utveckling i Stockholm*)¹⁴, which are also referred to. When it comes to details of the environmental strategies and work that has been carried out in Spånga-Tensta it is the oral descriptions of officials that is the main source.

Before the interview meetings with the officials in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave I asked them what strategic documents they would recommend me to read given my research topic. In this way, I was guided to the documents listed above and below. I also studied the web sites of the municipality of Stockholm and the City Council of Burngreave and the Burngreave New Deal for Communities for possible additional strategic documents or information sites. For Burngreave, these inquiries resulted in a reading of the following documents:

- The City Council's Development Framework for the city: *Sheffield Development Framework – Transformation and Sustainability. Core Strategy* (2007)
- The *Sheffield City Strategy 2005–2010* of the Sheffield First Partnership (2007b) – a partnership organisation consisting of local public, private, voluntary, community and faith sectors¹⁵
- The “Environment Strategy 2007–2010” of the Sheffield First Partnership (2007a)
- The City Council's strategy on *Achieving Affordable Warmth – Sheffield's Fuel Poverty Strategy* (2001)
- The City Council's *Environmentally Sustainable Housing Strategy* (2006)
- A booklet called, “Save energy, save money – Sheffield City Council's guide to energy efficiency” directed towards householders¹⁶
- The City Council electronic information to developers called, “The Sustainability Guidance”¹⁷
- The Master Plan of Burngreave and a neighbouring area (Sheffield City Council, 2005)

14. “Goda exempel på samverkan med stockholmare och företag för hållbar utveckling i Stockholm”, <http://www.miljobarometern.stockholm.se/article.asp?ar=678>, accessed Feb 21, 2008.
15. See The Sheffield First website: <http://www.sheffieldfirst.net/sheffield-first-partnership>, accessed May 15, 2008.
16. The booklet can be found on: <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/EasySite/lib/serveDocument.asp?doc=84774&pgid=67486>, accessed May 13, 2008.
17. The Sustainability Guidance can be found on: <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/planning-and-city-development/development-control/making-an-application/sustainability-guidance>, accessed May 13, 2008.

- The Burngreave New Deal for Communities Delivery Plan (BNDfC, 2001)

The first seven documents apply to all of the City of Sheffield, while the last two apply specifically to the area of Burngreave. The BNDfC is a long-term urban regeneration project initiated by the central government and thus not part of the City Council. There are several detailed plans for new housing development or regeneration schemes for specific areas in Burngreave. However, as in the Spånga-Tensta case, I have chosen not to study such detailed plans, or such sections in the Burngreave Master Plan or the BNDfC plan.

When I read the documents I primarily looked for aspects that had to do with promoting eco-friendly living, such as reducing one's burden on the ecosystem in terms of fossil fuel, pollution or other adverse environmental effects on the local and/or global environment. The phrase "eco-friendly living" is rarely used; rather, measures are said to promote "sustainable urban development," "ecological sustainability," "eco-efficient transport," "good environment" or "low-carbon lifestyles," any of which would well fit into my interest in and definition of eco-friendly living. It should however be noted that I did not highlight aspects that were solely thought to promote "social and/or economic sustainable development" or a "good development" in general; the environmental aspects need to be spelled out.

Given my intent to study which lifestyles that are thought to accompany the strategies, I specifically looked for statements about the types of living or habits that were desired (or described as undesirable). There were not always explicit statements about this; therefore, I also posed questions about this to the officials.

3.2.5 Interviews with professionals

The professionals I interviewed were chosen for their engagement in one way or another in issues concerning sustainable urban development and/or promoting environmental concern in relation to residents in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave.

In Spånga-Tensta, the public institutions responsible for planning and environmental management are the City Planning Office, the City Administration of Environment and Health and the City District administration. From these public bodies I interviewed four officials. However, there are other actors engaged in these matters – municipal housing companies, homeowners' associations, local environmental organisations

and possibly other NGOs. I interviewed one representative from a public housing company, one representative of a local environmental organisation/former official, two representatives of two different homeowners' associations and one representative of a tenants' association.

Of the nine interviews conducted with professionals in Spånga-Tensta I decided to use only six – these were the public sector officials, the representative for the public housing company and the representative of the local environmental organisation/former official. The reason for disregarding the three other interviews was that the interviews showed that these organisations were not active in questions concerning sustainable urban development and/or promoting eco-friendly living. In other areas it might well be that such NGOs, or semiprivate or private actors, are active in this field or even have taken the lead, in which cases it would be relevant to include them in the study (as is the case in Burngreave).

In the case of Burngreave, it is the Sheffield City Council that is the public authority in charge of planning and environmental management. I was guided to five representatives within the Council working with planning, housing, sustainability issues and green spaces. In the area there are also NGOs engaged in sustainable urban development and/or environmental issues in relation to residents. I interviewed three persons representing three different environmental NGOs. Furthermore, the Burngreave New Deal for Communities organisation is also engaged in improvements in the physical environment and funds some of the environmental projects that are managed by the local NGOs. From this organisation I interviewed one representative.

All interviewees are anonymous, so I do not want to describe their positions in detail, and when I refer to them in the texts I will use assumed surnames. I promised anonymity to create a situation in which they could speak more freely, be uncertain, reflect upon, and perhaps also criticise the official strategies or assumptions. It should be noted that only one of the officials in Spånga-Tensta is an urban planner by profession. In the reflections on the compact city strategy (under 4.2.2), it is therefore primarily this person who has most to say and is thus frequently quoted. The six professionals in Spånga-Tensta are all middle-aged men, four with Swedish backgrounds and two with Kurdish backgrounds. Of the nine Burngreave professionals there are six men in their 30s–50s, five White British, one with African background, two women in their 30s, whereof one White British and one with Pakistani background, and finally a White British woman in her 60s. Just like the resident interviewees these professional representatives are also situated in and speak from certain positions. However, I interviewed them in their professional roles, and I have not posed extensive questions on their other possible identities – as I did with the residents.

The interviews were conducted at the workplaces of the officials and lasted between one and three hours. They have all been tape-recorded. I had described my project and topic of interest via e-mail and/or telephone, in a slightly varied way depending on the position of the interviewee (see example in appendix 13). Once we met I had a set of questions that I made sure we covered, not necessarily in a specific order (see appendix 7 and appendix 11).

3.2.6 The research process

I started the project in 2004 with theoretical and methodological studies. In 2005 I began the empirical work in Stockholm by interviewing residents, and in the spring of 2007 residents and a few officials in Sheffield. The intent of commencing with the residents was to understand their stories, everyday lives and ways of reasoning independent from topics and reasoning in official plans in the planning sector. In the autumn of 2007, I studied the strategic documents and conducted interviews with professionals, first in Stockholm and then in Sheffield.

As described in Background (1.1), since the autumn of 2006 there has been considerably more attention in the media and public debate to environmental issues and primarily climate change following Al Gore's film *An inconvenient truth*, his winning of the Nobel Peace Prize and the British governmental *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change*. It should thus be noted that the interviews with the Spånga-Tensta residents were conducted before this turn in the public debate. In the interviews with Spånga-Tensta residents I encountered people who had hardly given any thought to environmental issues or climate change, which might not have been the case if I had conducted the interviews in 2007, which was when I conducted the Sheffield interviews. The study of strategic documents and the interviews with professionals in the two cases were conducted in the same period, the autumn of 2007, after the climate change *hausse*. The documents that were valid in the autumn of 2007 were certainly not all produced in 2007, for instance, the master plan of Stockholm was drafted as early as 1999 but still in force in 2007.

In the research process I presented interim versions of my findings at meetings with residents in Burngreave, at a local café, and in Spånga-Tensta, at the local Rotary club. I also wrote a popular article in a book published for a housing fair in Tensta in 2006 (Bradley, 2006), in which I invited readers to comment on the work. This has served the function of seeing that my analysis and findings are not entirely at odds with the residents' perspectives. These events have also been important in terms

of giving something back to the communities. Some of the interviewed residents asked about the purpose and benefits of the research and a couple uttered worries that the information they provided would mostly be used in the academic and policy worlds and not benefit ordinary residents. This raised important ethical issues of research, namely, for whom is it conducted, and who benefits from it? This PhD thesis will most likely primarily be read by academics, yet, its findings and messages can nevertheless be disseminated in more popular fora. For instance, parts of the results have prior to the publication of this thesis been presented in shorter articles in the popular press, public radio and on TV in Sweden. To communicate the results to a wider public, and consider the responses, is also part of the role of the researcher.

3.3 STUDYING DISCOURSES

3.3.1 The positionality of the researcher

As described in section 1.3.1, the positionality of the researcher is crucial to the research in all its phases, affecting how research questions are formulated and interpreted, how material is chosen, how theory is chosen and understood, how fieldwork is conducted and interpreted and ultimately what conclusions are drawn. In order for the reader to be able to follow and evaluate the research I have tried to be transparent about how the research was conducted and what was included and excluded and to reflect on the possible implications of the chosen approaches.

In the fieldwork, my role as researcher, presumably knowledgeable about environmental and societal issues, politics and planning, and also as a stranger, could have created a situation in which particularly the resident interviewees might feel slightly insecure and try to answer in a “right” way and politely. I tried to counteract this by being ordinary and empathic and by showing interest in all that the person told me. During the interviews with residents, the atmosphere was generally relaxed, we had tea or coffee and cookies, and I pointed out that I was interested in *their* viewpoints and opinions and not knowledgeable about the area of Spånga-Tensta or Burngreave. I tried not to question or challenge what the interviewees told me. However, at times I repeated or reformulated what I had understood in order to see if I had made an accurate interpretation.

In spite of the relaxed situations, one can always discuss the authenticity of the conversations. It is important to bear in mind that it is an *inter-view* in which my presence and behaviour influence the stories I will hear. The interviewees’ sister or friend would probably get other answers

to the same questions. Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1992: 99) point out that in research with a discursive approach, interviews are seen as pieces of social interaction, to which both interviewer and interviewee contribute. Thus, there are no true conversations to search for, but it is important to be attentive to roles in interview situations and perhaps try to change the roles. For this reason, I also conducted group interviews in which I tried not to steer the discussion as much and to be more of a listener.

As identities become established relationally, it might be that one's class or ethnic identity becomes evident primarily in the instance when one encounters people with *other* ethnic or class identities (Radhakrishnan, 2003). In the Spånga-Tensta case, this means that the interviewees' immigrant identities are likely to come up particularly when they speak to me, whom they regard as a Swede. Perhaps, other identities would have come up if I had represented something else. The individual interviewees were chosen on the basis of being *residents* of Spånga-Tensta, but the Kurdish and Somali focus groups were chosen as *Kurdish* and *Somali* groups – something that they were aware of. In the latter groups this is likely to influence the way they speak about their identity, in that their Somali/Kurdish/immigrant identity becomes particularly important. In this way I, as interviewer, have constructed the situation and to some extent the identity interviewees are to take on for the moment.

Among the Swedish residents of Spånga-Tensta it was not as common to refer to themselves as “Swedes”, which supports the argument that identities are established relationally. However several of the Swedish interviewees do speak about “immigrants”, particularly those that live close to, or have some other relation to, the areas of Tensta and Rinkeby. One way of handling the fact that identities are partly constructed in the interview situation is to change one's position, which I did when I became the foreigner in the British case study.

In Burngreave, my identity was entirely different. I was a researcher, but I assume I appeared less knowledgeable and less intimidating due to my broken English and my lack of knowledge about Sheffield, Burngreave and the UK. For the great majority of the Burngreave residents and professionals I was seen as a foreigner/Scandinavian/Swedish in contrast to the Britons (with more or less multicultural backgrounds). However, in a couple of interviews with residents that had immigrated from Asia or Africa, the distinction between us was rather made in terms of me as westerner and them as Muslims. In several of the interviews with Burngreave residents and professionals who were specifically engaged in environmental concerns, they generally assumed that I was ‘on their side’, that I understood and agreed with their critiques of society

and mainstream British environmental politics and planning. Several of them expressed a view of Sweden and Scandinavia as being more progressive in terms of environmental politics, planning and social justice. My interpretation is that they spoke very freely, perhaps because I was an outsider and would understand their criticisms of British society and particularly environmental politics and planning.

I see it both as a strength and a weakness that I have conducted research first in a familiar context, Stockholm and Sweden, and then in unfamiliar Sheffield and the UK. As an outsider it is sometimes easier to ask questions about things that from the interviewee's points of view are seen as self-evident and about assumptions and issues that are taken for granted. This is key when one wants to find and depict discourses. As an outsider you may be given more thorough explanations of the reasoning of the interviewees, whilst in a more familiar context such explanations are seen as unnecessary. On the other hand, speaking the same language and having common frameworks is of course a good foundation for trust and openness. In spite of the lack of common language and national context, I think that several of the Burngreave residents and professionals, as described above, felt that they had more common understandings with me than with many fellow countrymen and countrywomen.

3.3.2 Finding, describing and comparing discourses

A discourse can be described as a common worldview wherein certain ways of thinking, talking and acting are seen as reasonable (see section 2.1.1). One can however talk about discourses on different levels – on a social group level, on a national level or even on the level of “western discourse.” One could hence argue that the worldviews of all residents in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave can be described as part of the same 2000s western environmental discourse, for instance compared with a Native American preindustrial environmental discourse. I use the notion of discourse on a social-group level to describe ways of reasoning and making sense of the world and daily life that exist locally in parallel and/or framed in opposition to each other.

In this study the intention is *firstly* to depict discourses among groups of residents in their everyday life. My initial assumption before engaging in the fieldwork was that there would be different, competing and/or parallel environmental discourses among residents, particularly in the socioeconomically and culturally diverse types of areas chosen as case studies. As will be described later in the analysis (section 6.1), this proved to depict Burngreave more than Spånga-Tensta.

As mentioned in section 1.3.2, my intent is not to give a full account of different discourses among residents in the areas. Rather it is to give glimpses of different discourses. What would then be a good way to do so? An anthropologist might suggest moving to the area for a period and spending every day there getting to know people and talking and interacting with people in the supermarket, on the bus, in the restaurant, at parents' meetings etcetera. The advantage of such an approach is that the situations for observation and analysis are not arranged and thus perhaps more authentic than questionnaires or interviews. However such an anthropological approach is of course very time consuming. And given my educational background as a planner and my intention of using two different case study areas, I chose to conduct interviews primarily with residents, individually but also in less staged ways – having discussions among groups of friends, in adult learning classes or at dinner with retired people. Discourse analyses are often made on texts and written documents, or transcripts of speech, as in my case. Dialogues and actions can however also be seen as discursive and thus the subject of discourse analysis (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987). In the analysis I relate the stories of the residents to their described actions in terms of their housing, patterns of transportation or consumption and in this way relate their stories to their energy use or ecological footprint (see section 2.5.3). In the Spångstensta case I also use the resident postal survey for this purpose. It should be pointed out that the results of the postal survey, the described actions and energy use are also seen as discursive. The described actions are interpreted as an indication of their worldview. The discourse is thus a totality of the sometimes conflicting statements and actions.

Secondly, my intent is to depict discourses within the professional field of planning/environmental policy. Here my choice has been to study strategic documents of public planning/environmental bodies with the intention that these will say something about the mainstream discourse, the compromised positions and phrasings, the rather uncontroversial statements, in other words, the public discourse and reasoning of planning/environmental bodies. In both case study areas I used a number of different documents, some perhaps having more formal importance than others. In the analysis I have given equal weight to the documents as I see them all as carriers of official statements and discourses. One might see contradictions in the documents, and possibly decipher different subdiscourses within the official discourse. I however treat the official documents as negotiated positions and thus as *one* discourse, however, knowing that behind them may well be different positions and different subdiscourses.

As a complement to the study of strategic documents I conducted in-

interviews with professionals within the public bodies that have produced the documents as well as representatives of voluntary or semipublic bodies that have ideas and relations to the documents and are active in the field of planning and environmental change in the area. These interviews have been important in order for me to interpret the documents and in order to discuss issues that might not be displayed in the documents – assumptions, ways of reasoning, debates and critiques going on behind the official statements – which are important in order to describe the official discourse and criticism within the institutions. Also, the officials put the strategies into operation and thus interpret them, which means that the worldviews of the officials are of interest in this sense as well.

Thirdly, my intent is to compare the residents' discourses with the official discourses. Most likely these two broad forms of discourses intersect and influence each other in more or less deliberate ways. I am particularly interested in professional/official discourse about the desired (or undesired) lives of residents: forms of transportation, movement, housing, use of green and public space, working, spending leisure time and interacting with the environment. It is the official discourses about these matters that I compare with the residents' discourses on similar matters.

Fourthly, my intent in analysing the residents' discourses is also to explore how these everyday discourses relate to each other by means of inclusionary/exclusionary effects, normalisation and discipline on ones own group as well as on other groups of residents. In this sense, the focus is not only on top-down workings of power – official discourses in relation to residents – but also the horizontal workings of power among residents.

4 The Spånga-Tensta case

This chapter contains four parts. In the first part (4.1) I give a brief background on the case study area, its location, infrastructure, housing, services and inhabitants. As has been described in section 1.3.2, I have chosen not to describe the overall planning situation in Stockholm or the historical context of the city. I have instead chosen to go directly into the planning strategies for urban sustainability and the everyday lives and perspectives of residents and see what this says about the context, history, possibilities and problems of eco-friendly living.

In the second part, 4.2, the strategies for urban sustainability in the area are described, drawing from the documents as well as from the interviews with professionals. In the third part, 4.3, the perspectives of the residents on environmental concerns are described. The fourth part, 4.4, consists of maps and pictures of the area.

4.1. BACKGROUND TO SPÅNGA-TENSTA

4.1.1 Location, housing, services, green areas and transportation

The area of Spånga-Tensta is located northwest of central Stockholm (see figure 1, p. 142). It constitutes a geographical-administrative unit – a city district (*stadsdel*) – within Stockholm municipality. Spånga-Tensta can roughly be divided into the two dwelling areas Tensta and Gamla Spånga. In broad strokes, these two areas differ in a number of ways: Tensta is characterised by multi-family houses from the 1960s and planning with traffic and functional separation, while Gamla Spånga is characterised by winding roads, mainly one-family houses with private gardens, built at the turn of the last century and onward. Tensta is connected to central Stockholm by the underground, while Spånga is connected to central Stockholm by commuter train. Building and movement in Stockholm overall make a star-like shape concentrated along the underground and commuter train lines, which means that the connections between Tensta and Spånga are not very well developed. This adds to a feeling that Tensta and Spånga are indeed separated in spite of being in close physical proximity.

If one looks closer though, the differences between Tensta and Spånga cannot be this easily depicted. Spånga can be subdivided into the areas of Bromsten, Flysta, Lunda, Solhem and Sundby (see figure

2, p. 142). These five areas are more properly called Gamla Spånga (Old Spånga) – the term used by the statistical office. However in daily speech, the areas are often simply called “Spånga.” Solhem in Gamla Spånga is perhaps the most exclusive area with villas from the early 1900s in a hilly landscape. The houses were largely built by and for “workers and lower clerks” (Wisth, 2004: 5). New villas have been added successively as well as row-houses and blocks of flats close to Spånga station. Bromsten and Flysta have a similar history as they started to be developed in the early 1900s with one-family houses on former agricultural land. Successively, the sites have been parcelled out, some of the old villas have been torn down and new buildings have been erected, in Bromsten in a rather “unplanned” way (Jermsten, 2004a, Nylind, 2004). The areas now comprise one-family houses of different sizes as well as multi-family houses from all decades of the 1900s. In the 1980s a large block of service flats was built in Bromsten. Sundby was developed in the 1930s, and the area is now characterised by one-family houses from the 1930s–1990s as well as some smaller industries and an area with allotment gardens (Jermsten, 2004). Overall, Gamla Spånga is dominated by privately owned housing.

Apart from housing, there are smaller industrial areas in southern Bromsten along the railway in the northern part of Solhem and more or less the whole area of Lunda, northwest of Spånga station. In these industrial areas, the activities include repair shops, offices, recycling firms, electrical industries and road hauliers. The supply of green open spaces is fairly limited in Gamla Spånga. There are some smaller parks and ball fields scattered in the area as well as an open field (Lundagravfältet) northwest of Solhem but, overall, the area is green due to the private gardens. Just by Spånga station there is a small open-air town centre from the first half of the 1900s with grocery stores, various small shops, pharmacy, eateries, health care centre, library and church hall. Within walking distance from the town centre there is a tennis hall and a swimming and sports centre. There is a high school in Gamla Spånga as well as several elementary schools and nurseries.

Tensta in turn can be subdivided into Tensta and Hjulsta, Tensta being the larger area and thereby lending its name to both of the areas. These areas were planned and built in the latter part of the 1960s and early 1970s as part of the Swedish Million Homes Programme for combating the housing shortage of the time. The areas are built on fairly flat land and consist of almost entirely multi-family buildings, ranging from seven-story high-rise buildings with external galleries to one-storey apartment complexes. Nearly 80 percent of the apartments are rental

housing.¹⁸ The planning of Tensta, as well as most of Stockholm's post-war suburbs, was based on the idea of the benevolent neighbourhood unit – a demarcated neighbourhood with its own identity that was thought to foster solidarity and community (Lundevall, 2006: 207). One wanted explicitly to avoid a continuous urban structure in the outer city areas (*ibid.*). The walking distance from the multi-family houses to Tensta underground station was not supposed to exceed 700–800 metres. Tensta was planned furthermore with slightly different ideals compared to other functionalist areas built in Stockholm during the same period. Instead of the ideal “house in park,” Tensta was planned to be more “urban,” having the intensity of the turn-of-the-century inner city but combined with the greenery, space and calmness of the suburb (Rittsél, 2004). The city plan of Tensta was inspired by the idea of “the linear city,” with commercial areas and services placed in a central ribbon and housing stretched horizontally along both sides – in this case using the naturally sloping area in a way so that the housing areas are turned towards the sunny south (Olgarsson, 2006: 179).

Trees and greenery were generally removed; the idea was to create a continuous system of durable small planned green spaces, playgrounds, yards and pedestrian lanes, rather than having large open fields between the houses as in several other functionalist suburbs (*ibid.*: 184). This idea rested on the fact that there were large green areas nearby, particularly Järvafältet northeast of Tensta. On Järvafältet there are walking trails, areas for dogs, allotment gardens and public facilities for parties, social events, children and concerts (Järva Folkets park-Eggeby gård). Järvafältet and Tensta are separated by the busy E18 expressway; in spite of there being pedestrian pathways crossing E18, the road becomes a barrier. Apart from Järvafältet, there are other green open fields that surround Tensta to the east as well as to the south, including more allotment gardens (south of Spångaån) and a small arranged lake (Hjulsta vattenpark) (see figure 2, p. 142).

As mentioned previously, Tensta is planned with traffic separation – the roads for cars are generally submerged so that the pedestrians pass over the roads (rather than under, which is the case in many other functionalist suburbs). The internal traffic network is well developed as well with connections to the regional transport networks – the underground and E18. However, the traffic network on the intermediary level – connections to surrounding areas – is not very well developed, which was

18. Data from Dec 31, 2006, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Antal>, accessed March 18, 2008.

intentional at the time of planning to avoid through traffic in the neighbourhood unit (Lundevall, 2006: 211).

Tensta is planned primarily as a dwelling place and there are hardly any industries or offices within the area. However, along the pedestrian central road in Tensta (Tenstagången) there are a number of offices and workplaces, including civic centre and other public offices, health care centre and club rooms. Just by Tenstagången and the underground station there is also an indoor commercial centre with shops, pharmacy, state liquor shop, some eateries; nearby, there is an arts centre, a church from the twelfth century, a library and a swimming and sports centre. In northern Bromsten (bordering Tensta) there is a larger sports field and ice skating rink. In Tensta there are two high schools – one ordinary and one for adults – and several elementary schools and nurseries.

4.1.2 Inhabitants

Around 36 000 people live in Spånga-Tensta, around half of these in Gamla Spånga (Bromsten, Flysta, Solhem, Lunda, Sundby) and the other half in Tensta,¹⁹ on a sixth of the district's land. The inhabitants of Tensta are on average younger than those in Gamla Spånga, have lower incomes and lower levels of education.²⁰ In Tensta around 20 percent of the inhabitants aged 25–64 have education beyond high school-level, which can be compared with around 50 percent in Gamla Spånga.²¹ The income levels vary in a similar pattern, with Flysta and Solhem-Lunda at the highest income levels followed by Sundby, Bromsten and then Tensta. The average income in Tensta is less than half of the average income in Flysta and Solhem-Lunda.²² It should however be noted that the statistical information provided here most likely does not capture actual figures of inhabitants and their social status as many people living in the area, perhaps primarily in Tensta, are not officially registered as residents there.

19. Data from 2007-12-31, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Andel>, accessed March 18, 2008.

20. Data from Dec 31, 2006, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Antal>, accessed March 18, 2008.

21. In Swedish: eftergymnasial utbildning. Data from Dec 31, 2006, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Antal>, accessed, March 18, 2008.

22. Stockholms stad: *Spånga-Tensta – Ditt stadsdelsområde i Stockholm 2004-2005*. Information folder.

In Gamla Spånga, the residents have tended to stay for longer periods compared to Tensta. As mentioned previously a large number of the houses in Solhem, Flysta and Bromsten were originally built for workers and lower clerks; today, particularly Solhem and Flysta have been gentrified and the old houses are hardly affordable to 'workers'.

The first to move to Tensta were primarily young families that had moved to Stockholm from other parts of Sweden. Over the years the population has changed, and today the great majority of Tensta residents have backgrounds in countries outside of Europe (Lundevall, 2006: 219). Around 85 percent of the inhabitants of Tensta have foreign backgrounds, which is considerably more than in Gamla Spånga (Solhem-Lunda 19%, Flysta 16%, Sundby 18% and Bromsten 33%).²³ Apart from Sweden, the ten most common countries of origin are (in order) Iraq, Somalia, Finland, Turkey, Syria, Iran, Greece, Ethiopia, Chile and Lebanon.²⁴

Every migrant has his or her own story and reasons for coming to Sweden and Tensta; however, in broad strokes, the first large wave of migrants to settle in Tensta were Finns, Greeks and Turks that came as workforce migrants to the growing Swedish industries during the 1960s.²⁵ Chilean refugees arrived in the 1970s, because of the military coup in Chile, and during the 1980s asylum seekers came from Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Ethiopia.²⁶ In the 1990s and 2000s large numbers of refugees fled the circumstances in Iraq and Somalia and settled in Tensta. Overall, there has been a high turnover of residents in Tensta. Many newcomers move to other parts of the city once they have become more established in society. However, the last years the turnover rate has stabilised and it is now just slightly higher than Gamla Spånga.²⁷

23. "Foreign background" includes persons born abroad and persons born in Sweden of two parents that are both born abroad, data from Dec 31, 2006, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Antal>, 2008-03-18.

24. Stockholms stad: *Spånga-Tensta – Ditt stadsdelsområde i Stockholm 2004-2005*. Information folder.

25. For a brief account of the Swedish history of migration see The Swedish Migration Board (Migrationsverket): <http://www.migrationsverket.se/Swedish/migration/historik.html>, accessed, March 26, 2008.

26. Ibid.

27. Around 15% of the residents of Tensta have moved in/out during the year or 2006, which can be compared with Bromsten 12% and Sundby 11%. Data from Dec 31, 2006, Stockholms stad: <http://www.usk.stockholm.se/internet/omrfakta/tabellappl.asp?omrade=sdo03&appl=Omradesjmf&resultat=Antal>, accessed March 18, 2008.

4.1.3 Reputation and urban regeneration projects

The debates on the city planning of Tensta have been intense during the years (which is not the case for Gamla Spånga). When Tensta was in its planning phase the city's director of planning stated, "We think that it is the best we have accomplished so far" (Lundevall, 2006: 212). The area was built according to "the highest town planning standards" and was thought to be a national and even international model (*ibid.*). However, there are and were indeed different opinions about the area. Already at the time when the area was being built, criticism was harsh, the chaotic circumstances during the construction years contributing to an opinion of the area being a town planning "scandal" (*ibid.*). Tensta has become one of the national symbols for urban social problems, ethnic and social segregation, manifested in the Million Homes Programme. However, viewpoints diverge as to whether the segregation and social problems are primarily related to the town planning or more overarching societal structures, dynamics and social and economic politics. It should be pointed out that Tensta is certainly not only a symbol for social problems but also an appreciated neighbourhood and a symbol of contemporary culture (Arnstberg and Erdal, 1998).

During the last decades, the area has been subject to numerous urban regeneration projects including large-scale state-funded projects directed at deprived urban areas as well as smaller regeneration projects led by housing companies. These have included measures for employment, democracy, education and the refurbishment of housing and public spaces (Lundevall, 2006: 220). In 2006, Tensta was the site of a housing exhibition showing new housing, conversion of flats, renewal of gardens, public spaces and cultural events. Yet after more than 30 years, the debate is still intense on what constitutes the problems, and qualities, in Tensta, and what measures should be taken.

4.2 PLANNING FOR ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING IN SPÅNGA-TENSTA

In the sections below the planning strategies promoting eco-friendly living are described. The description is divided into three main sections. The first, 4.2.1, is an account of the advocated measures, primarily drawing from statements in the strategic documents, sometimes complemented with quotes or descriptions from the interviewed officials in which they clarify or further explain the strategies. In the second section, 4.2.2, I let the interviewed officials reflect on the strategies and describe different

perspectives or obscurities in relation to the strategies. In the third section, 4.2.3, the officials comment on how the strategies and their work relate to different groups of residents in ethnically and socially diverse areas like Spånga-Tensta.

4.2.1 The main strategies for sustainable urban development and eco-friendly living

What planning strategies for ecological sustainable development are then being applied in the city district of Spånga-Tensta and what lifestyles are thought to accompany them? What kinds of assumptions and cause-and-effect relations regarding ecological change and the way environmental responsibility comes about are these strategies based upon? These questions are discussed here. The strategies can of course be categorised and described in several different ways; the structure chosen here roughly reflects divisions made in the municipal bureaucracy, grouping city planning measures on the one hand and measures placed under the Environmental and Health Administration (waste management, nature and energy conservation) on the other.

Build a dense continuous city

In the master plan of Stockholm and subsequent documents, the planning strategy is summarised in the phrase “build the city inwards” (Stockholms stad, 2000: 54; Stockholms stad, 2007a: 3):

To build the city inwards is the strategy and best response to a Stockholm that needs to grow in a sustainable way, which among other things means decreased energy use, shortened transportation routes and increased public transport (Stockholms stad, 2007a: 3). [...] This means:

- to build on previously developed land
- to protect and develop the character of Stockholm and its green structures
- to build new urban areas in old harbour or industrial areas around the inner city
- to develop attractive nodes in the outer city
- to build in areas that have good connections with the public transport net
- to make additions in the outer city districts to cater to local needs. (Stockholms stad, 2004: 19)

It is clarified that “the city is planned to be more compact” (Stockholms stad, 2007a: 3), which is motivated not only by public transport reasons but also in terms of being more energy efficient due to scale effects of technical infrastructure and possibility to use district heating. The densification is however not only to be done near public transport nodes but it is also seen as important to interconnect the outer city satellite districts by building housing and commercial buildings and fine meshed transport links in the in-between areas (Stockholms stad, 2004: 45; 78-79). This interlinking of outer city districts is thought to support use of public transport, as well as facilitate ethnic and social integration (ibid.: 45; 78). It is stated that “an important question is to try out how the original idea of the neighbourhood unit can be complemented with the linking together of the city districts, which is demanded by many today” (ibid.: 79). There have been discussions in Spånga-Tensta for several years about how to better interconnect Tensta with Spånga, Tensta with Rinkeby and Tensta with Järvafältet towards Kista. Bergström, a high city official, describes these plans:

BERGSTRÖM: I think if one is to change Tensta in the long term one has to come away from the feeling that Tensta is an enclave of Stockholm, that Tensta is only Tensta. I think, just like many others, that one should try to use the built environment to join Tensta with Kista and Tensta with Spånga so that...

KARIN: You mean to physically build them together?

BERGSTRÖM: Yes, physically build them together. But of course there are other ways of joining them, with roads, light-rails and such. I think it is important for this area to be opened up. This has been discussed since 1996 when we came here; then one wanted to join Tensta with Spånga through an alley along Spånga kyrkväg and move the rail tracks so that they are less of a barrier between the two areas.

Mixed functions and urban life

In the master plan it is stated that the ambition is to create living and varied urban areas by integrating housing and workplaces (Stockholms stad, 2000: 55). Particularly the outer city districts were said to “lack urban public life in spite of there being big public spaces” (Stockholms stad, 2004: 18).

Pedestrian lifestyles are to be encouraged by increasing “urbanity” in the postwar suburbs, by creating “urban boulevards,” or streets with housing and shops/offices in the ground floor and parking places close to the houses (Stockholm Bygger, 2007: 10) and by removing functional

and traffic separation (Svenska Bostäder, 2007: 6) and other “physical barriers” (Stadsledningskontoret, 2007: 6). Jakobsson, the representative of the municipal housing company, explains the urban development strategy that is being applied to the area of Järva:

JAKOBSSON: We want to break away from this uniformity, not only when it comes to forms of tenure of the apartments but the whole urban environment. Here we have ideas about building urban streets, to get an urban environment with streets, pavements and shops, which we don't have at all out here. You know this area is planned according to the concept of vertical traffic separation. You have roads for cars and bridges over the roads for pedestrians, that you separate, so to say. And we want to break free from that. It has become too much separation and it is too uniform. So it is a central idea in our urban plans to reintroduce these urban streets, where suitable. [...]

KARIN: What do you hope to accomplish with these urban streets and a more traditional urban environment?

JAKOBSSON: Well there is a whole bunch of things we want to accomplish. One thing is these problems that you have on the current streets – you don't have a vivid environment with people walking on them, and it is not easy to park your car and go into a shop. Now you must, well it is very complicated to move from Tensta to Rinkeby, you have to drive out onto E18 and then go in again in the smaller road network. Well it is not built for traffic in the way where you easily can get from your car to a shop and where you get people moving about in all parts of the areas. So that is one of the things we hope to accomplish. And another is to get more mixed housing, not only to have these high rises with external galleries.

The idea is to create “attractive” districts and provide for local lifestyles, where one has the possibility to live, work, shop and cater to one's needs in the same area (Stockholms stad, 2000: 18) – which means less need for transportation.

In spite of the goal of reducing the need for transport, there is the assumption that mobility is necessary for growth and welfare; in the *Environmental Programme of the City* it is written that:

Transport plays an important role in our welfare society. We are all dependent on transportation and the possibilities that mobility implies. Well-functioning transport is a precondition for competitiveness and growth [...]. Experiences from the last years of

environmental work shows that there are good possibilities to, in the long term, lessen the adverse environmental effects of transport. [...] The work of finding solutions and modes of communication that are more resource efficient and use energy more efficiently than today has to continue. (Stockholms stad, 2007b: 5)

On the question of what kinds of lifestyles the City is encouraging apart from using public transport, Larsson, the planner, explains:

LARSSON: Before, in the building of the suburbs of Stockholm, the starting point was the family, in the building of the small one-family houses and in the multi-family neighbourhood units, definitely more so before. The family as a basis is not as explicit today. [...] It might be that we are facing a change, if you look at the inner city of Stockholm and the new [...]. The other day I was reading an article about Norra stationsområdet [an area that is to be developed adjacent to the inner city of Stockholm]. They are under a lot of pressure to get the finances together ... and this results in very high densities. They talk about how the children are to play on the roofs and things like that, and there will hardly be any common courtyards. And it is the same thing with Västra Kungsholmen, the planners working on this development say that one should not live and play in the courtyards but in the streets instead, one talks about an “urban life.” And that says something about the children, that one does not think of the children as much as one did before. And it is usually so that if you plan for children it will be good for all.

Introduce energy-saving measures to the building stock

Supporting households to save energy is another theme (Stockholms stad, 2000: 48), for example in the form of public housing companies introducing individual charging of energy use in multi-family housing, public authorities working with disseminating information about bio-fuels, district heating, choosing eco-friendly electricity or using low-energy light bulbs (Stockholms stad, 2003: 25-27). Also, the role the City has in terms of choice of energy sources and efficiency in the planning of new housing areas is emphasised (Stockholms stad, 2007b: 17).

Tidy up the local environment and recycle household waste

Recycling of waste has played a central role in the City's environmental work during the last decade (Stockholms stad, 2003: 37). This concerns encouraging households to recycle and minimise their waste (Stockholms stad, 2007b: 28) by providing recycling facilities and having information

campaigns (ibid.: 31). In Spånga-Tensta, the City has been working not only to encourage recycling but also to combat litter in common spaces; for instance, in the project “Spånga-Tensta nice and tidy”²⁸ the City encourages local organisations to adopt an area in the district and clean it regularly for a small remuneration, talk to and convince individuals and faith groups in the area of Tensta of the need of keeping the area tidy, recycle and use less packaging. The municipal housing company, Svenska Bostäder, sponsored recycling projects in the area of Järva, one in cooperation with a Somali association to combat litter and improve the recycling of household waste. Another project disseminated environmental information in the Swedish for Immigrants²⁹ language class, and the representative of the company explained plans to make the recycling rooms in transparent glass, with the ambition that this will improve the tenants’ performance in terms of recycling.

From the mid 1990s until 2006, the City of Stockholm had positions for Agenda 21 coordinators in the city districts and a central secretariat in the Environment and Health Administration. The activities of the Agenda 21 coordinators dealt to a great extent with interacting with and influencing the daily lives and habits of citizens through information campaigns, environmental competitions and advice services on the heating of houses, car pools, greening of common spaces and nature walks.³⁰ With the shift of political majority in the autumn of 2006, the Agenda 21 strategy of the City and the work of the coordinators terminated. In a political report, the Spånga-Tensta right-wing alliance prioritised “the urgent environmental issue” of cleaning public spaces over Agenda 21 activities (Stockholms stad, 2006: 43).

*Care for the local environment through ownership
and community feeling*

There is a deliberate strategy to increase the mix of different forms of housing which, in areas dominated by rental apartments, means transformation of rental flats into tenant-owned flats and construction of new tenant-owned apartments and houses (Stadsledningskontoret, 2007: 4;

28. See the project description of “Spånga-Tensta rent och snyggt”: http://www.miljobarometern.stockholm.se/content/pdf/hu/godaexempel/rentsnyggt_beskr.pdf, accessed Feb 21, 2008.

29. The webpage of Svenska Bostäder: http://www.svebo.se/Page_464.aspx, accessed Aug 14, 2007.

30. See the projects of “Goda exempel på samverkan med stockholmare och företag för hållbar utveckling i Stockholm”, <http://www.miljobarometern.stockholm.se/article.asp?ar=678>, accessed Feb 21, 2008.

Stockholm Bygger, 2007: 10). This is primarily thought to increase social and ethnic integration but it is also used as a strategy for increasing feelings of community and ownership in multi-family housing areas, an ownership which is thought to imply that dwellers care for their area and stay there (Stadsledningskontoret, 2007: 4). According to one of the City officials, Sarkan, the strategy aims at creating areas that become self-controlled through economic incentives, since littering in or damaging the area directly affects the dwellers in terms of lowered economic value of their housing. He explains:

SARKAN: Here [in Tensta] we have high rises, multi-family houses and immigrants that have eight, ten, fifteen children. And here it is rental apartments – one lives here, pays the rent and then if something is wrong Svenska Bostäder [the municipal housing company] will come and fix it – “it’s not mine, I don’t care about the stairway if it is dirty or broken or something like that, because it is not mine.” But if you look at the situation in Spånga, then it is Mrs Svensson with her husband, and one or possibly two children that own a single family house, and who is Mrs Svensson’s neighbour? It is Mrs Persson who also owns a single family house on the same street where all have single family houses. And if Mrs Persson would litter and behave irresponsibly, then Mrs Svensson would go to her and say “What are you doing? You must behave because otherwise people who come here will think that this is a slum area and then you are reducing the value of our property. If it is not tidy and nice and the hedges are cut and well managed, if that house has a value of four million then you have reduced its value to three million and you don’t have the right to cause me such economic loss. And besides, Mrs Persson, you must think of yourself, too, because if you don’t keep your house in good order, you will loose money, the one who will loose the most is yourself.” ... It is about invested money. It a business way of thinking, but here in Tensta allé for instance you don’t have that kind of thinking, because it is not yours. It doesn’t matter if I pay a rent of 5000 here or in Rinkeby, it doesn’t matter, I can move to Vällingby, it would be 5000 there as well, so I don’t gain anything on that sort of thinking.

Larsson, the city planner, describes how the city has mainly built tenant-owned apartments during the latter years, but not intentionally catering to the upper middle class:

LARSSON: One knows that it costs a lot to clear the land and we are

in a situation where owner occupied apartments have become very popular, and one may say that there is a certain category of people that have a certain lifestyle, but if that is, it is a consequence of that certain people have access to economic resources which become like an admission ticket. But it is nothing that you write about, it hasn't been like "Now we will build for the upper middle classes," it is more of a consequence. We want to build owner occupied housing because, well it wasn't possible to build rental housing, somehow it was too expensive, and also because it is a way of getting more return on the land since it was expensive for the City to clear it.

Linking this issue of ownership to ecological concern, there is the assumption that care for the global environment starts with care for the local environment. In the long run, a sedentary lifestyle based on private ownership is thought not only to improve the local environment but also to plant seeds of environmental awareness and stewardship. Larsson confirms this:

LARSSON: Yes, it is rather obvious for the current political majority that that is the case and that one sees such a link. To own one's house implies that one takes care of the local environment, cares about this place on earth more. And also that one gets new categories of people to the area that one sees as more stable so to say. One probably thinks that owner occupied housing can sort of raise the status and create more of a long term perspective on the housing area.

Take care of nature

A core principle in the planning of Stockholm is to protect the green wedges of land for biodiversity as well as for recreational purposes (Stockholms stad, 2000: 53). This means building on brown fields, or previously developed land (ibid.: 53-54). Sometimes valuable green areas are built on, and in these cases, the loss of green value is to be compensated for by recreating similar nature areas or restoring environments that have been degraded (Stockholms stad, 2007b: 25). It is stated that "Planning should strive for most Stockholmers to have a *nature area* in his/her vicinity" (Stockholms stad, 2003: 32, emphasis added). Furthermore, accessibility to green areas should be improved (Stockholms stad, 2007b: 25). "Through more developed information about lakes and nature areas and how to get there, the qualities of the areas can be developed" (ibid.: 23). One of the officials (Lindgren, at the Environmental and Health Administration) explained that the idea was that spending time in nature

and acquiring knowledge of flora, fauna and the ecosystem is not only enjoyable and healthy but can also imply environmental awareness and environmental responsibility.

For Spånga-Tensta, this has meant encouraging Tensta residents to use the nearby nature area of Järvafältet by, for instance, planning construction of wide decks over the E18 motorway to improve accessibility between Tensta-Rinkeby and Järvafältet. The high official Bergström describes here other ways to encourage residents to use the nature area more:

BERGSTRÖM: I think people here would understand it [Järvafältet] much better if it was more like a park, like Djurgården [a landscaped park adjacent to the inner city] and if it was, well nice and beautiful and well-kept and with activities like a frisbee golf area or something like that, which attracts people to the area. Then, the northern part of Järvafältet, which is located in other municipalities, it is more of nature area. It should be clear what the purpose is and what it is to be used for. Today Järvafältet is neither park nor nature. It is a mix of park and an area for birds, frogs and such.

On the City's website there is a page called Eco-friendly Living, where it says: "What can I do for the environment is a question that many people pose. The answer is: a lot. The more people recycle, compost, and use public transport, the cleaner and healthier our city will be."³¹ This perhaps captures the essence of the city's strategies in terms of promoting eco-friendly living.

4.2.2 Officials' reflections on the strategies

In the following section, officials' overall reflections on the strategies are described. These reflections concern the individual freedom and/or need of regulation, obscurities and biases in the compact city strategy, and the skewed policy focus whereby Tensta is seen as the problematic area whereas Spånga is not scrutinised in a thorough manner.

Reflections on the individual's freedom of choice

In the *Environmental Programme of the City 2008–2011* that the right-wing political majority has adopted, strategies and goals are increasingly directed towards tasks that the City has mandate over, such as reducing

31. The webpage of the City of Stockholm: <http://www.stockholm.se/Extern/Templates/Page.aspx?id=116021>, accessed March 18, 2008.

energy use on the properties and in the vehicles that the City owns, and are less and less oriented towards the roles and possibilities of citizens changing their habits. Lindgren, an official in the Environmental and Health Administration, describes how during latter years, with the change of political majority in the city, explicitly steering the lifestyles of citizens has become unpopular:

LINDGREN: We know that in fact the largest share of environmental pollution comes from diffuse sources. It is not anymore these apparent point sources like chimneys. It is rather how we use, how we consume, what products that are used – this is what is of most importance in terms of effect on the environment, which means that in fact there are strong reasons for focusing more on lifestyle issues and consumption patterns and such things, but it is sort of taboo. It is, we have noticed, that when we [officials at the Environment and Health Administration] talk about lifestyle issues, it has been like a red cloth for the right-wing politicians, “No, we shall not lecture, we shall not interfere with the choice of the individuals,” and such things. But if one is to be successful, one has to do such things, disseminate information or use some form of regulation. Isn’t it so? I think that one now leaves too much up to the individual with some sort of “freedom of choice” label where one in fact would need to regulate more.

Bergström argues along the same lines, yet criticises the previous Social Democratic project-based politics:

BERGSTRÖM: If one really wants environmental improvement and less pollution, then I don’t think it is enough with small projects in different city districts, or joint private initiatives among entrepreneurs in Spånga. I think if change is really supposed to happen one must take big decisions, like raising the tax on petrol. One *has to* use the economic incentives that are there in order to get people to change their habits. Such changes don’t come out of a small local project, and I think that the central governments thus far have been too much of cowards in this respect.

He argues that project-based politics that let individual enthusiasts and local organisations define what is to be done and then bid for funding is problematic. He argues that it would be better if the City and Svenska Bostäder chose one big project and carried it through:

BERGSTRÖM: There are quite many Swedes still here [in Tensta] and it is primarily they that get involved in these regeneration projects. Very few newly arrived Swedes, so to say, get involved, which I think is a problem in itself. Then I think people get used to the fact that there is money for this and money for that and one can really doubt the use of the money that has been invested here. A lot of individuals and groups have wanted to try things, which didn't prove to be successful [...] . If the city now has 200 million in its budget and Svenska Bostäder has 200 million, so use them for big plans and build new housing joining Rinkey and Kista [...] Tensta and Spånga [...]. Or build a big sports hall right here in Tensta. [...] Instead of giving them out to lots of different small projects, go for one big one!

Larsson, the planner, points at how reforms in other political fields, like increasing opportunities for individual families to choose schools, has a negative effect on the desired minimisation of need for transport:

LARSSON: One thing which works in the opposite direction is the possibility to choose schools. So now in five houses in an area each child goes to a different school and not to the nearest school. And this means that the parents are to drive their kids to school, which is not very good for the environment, or the kids use the public transport system which is already over-used, whilst before they happily walked to their nearest school.

Reflections on the compact city strategy

The strategy that is most doubted by officials is the “compact city strategy.” This concerns both possible inherent contradictions, unproven relations between the measures and desired effects and the norms that are embedded in the application of this strategy. Larsson, the city planner, points at the problematic situation that arises when the strategy is to be applied in an urban setting where there are no unused brown field sites left:

LARSSON: One can say that the development of the last decade in these fairly central brown fields, primarily former industrial or harbour areas, has been ideal from an ecological point of view. Because on these development sites you don't remove a single blade of grass and you build densely close to the central parts with good public transport connections, so they are very good examples of ecological thinking. But now we are discussing building in the green areas of the municipality, and then you get a conflict – okay you get more

housing in central locations but you also remove greenery which is very important for the air quality and for the ecology of the city.

It should be noted that the measures aiming at “increasing urbanity” are primarily directed towards the postwar area of Tensta and not to the same extent towards Gamla Spånga. Two of the officials, Larsson and Bergström, for instance, note how it is considered a problem that there are few workplaces in the housing area of Tensta, while the same lack of workplaces in a better off area is not considered to be a problem. Bergström explains:

BERGSTRÖM: Here one talks about the necessity of creating workplaces in Tensta, because there are so few workplaces, but there aren't any workplaces in Bromma either, well a few in Ulvsunda, but hardly any between Alvik and Nockeby [more affluent suburbs in northern Stockholm]. So why is it necessary to do it here?

KARIN: Yes, why?

BERGSTRÖM: I don't know. There are rather high levels of unemployment in Tensta, so I guess they think that if there are workplaces here they will get jobs, but that might not be the case, it might well be people who commute to Tensta that get the jobs.

Larsson, the city planner, questions the idea of removing the traffic separation in Tensta, and argues that it is based on an inner-city norm, which is problematic to apply to Tensta as this area has quite different preconditions:

LARSSON: The vertical traffic separation here in Tensta was a very exclusive solution. And now they say, “This is not good, the inner city is a very good example of where you have a more general structure with streets and street corners and shops in the bottom floors.” But I mean if you are to create something like that in Tensta, you must demolish several houses, and even if you do, it won't be any good. There is only one cross street in the east-west direction in all of Tensta, and, I mean, no inner cities look like that. So in order to really get it more inner-city-like, you would have to blast away the few green hills that are left. Well, even if you did that you wouldn't get anything that looks like the inner city because the houses are of lamellar type and pulled back from the street, and the entrances face the courtyards, because this is where the kids play, or played. In that case you have to change the courtyard system, which would be a huge cost. And it should also be

said that this system with vertical traffic separation is quite good. The people who live in these houses have a lot of children and for them the traffic separation means increased safety. And that was the whole idea with traffic separation. In the 50s, when Sweden was the country with the highest number of cars per capita, there were a lot of accidents, whereof many that involved children.

In contrast to the official statement that the linking together of the city districts “is demanded by many” (Stockholms stad, 2004: 79), Larsson argues that, overall, this strategy does not have support among dwellers and laypeople:

LARSSON: What we know, the experience indicates that this thing, linking together the districts through new buildings, is largely, how shall I put it, a top-down-perspective. It is foremost politicians, planners and researchers that talk about this thing. [...] Often these debaters have the norm of the inner city in their minds, a norm that they try to apply to the outer suburban parts of the city where the physical and historical conditions are entirely different compared to the inner city.

From his experience, consultations with dwellers in Bromsten and Tensta/Rinkeby about joining these two areas into one, by building between them on the open field, have shown that there is no interest from either side. There is a positive feeling on both sides and neither desire to become one nor believe that such a planning strategy would solve any of the problems of the area, social, physical or ecological. He points out that the green areas and open fields of the postwar high-rise suburbs are among the most appreciated qualities and perhaps the main reason to why people like living in these areas; applying the inner-city norm and its urban lifestyles to these areas would likely impair this quality.

Larsson furthermore questions whether linking together and building a dense urban structure in the outer city districts would lead to vivid urbanity and less motorised traffic:

LARSSON: The discussion about “urbanity” is very simplified. I don’t think any urbanity will appear between two established suburban centres like those we have around the underground stations. [...] It is hardly in these between areas that people would open shops and restaurants – these are in fact the last locations they would choose. In these suburbs we even have problems with getting shops to open in the centres next to the underground stations, so why

would they appear in the between areas? [...] And if you build housing in these between areas, these residents will have to walk really far to get to the grocery stores located in the suburb centres, which means that they will use the car to get to that grocery store or most likely they will take the car to the out-of-town superstore. [...] I don't think the desired urbanity will appear in these Stockholm suburbs, not after densification either. However there might be other reasons for densification, for instance because there is a need of housing, but I think there is a lot to prove before you can say that we have accomplished urbanity or increased integration.

Reflections on the skewed focus on Tensta

The interviewed officials describe how the strategies are mainly aimed at influencing the lives and habits of the Tensta residents and local organisations and not as much the Spånga residents. This is not only the case in the strategy of creating a more dense urban structure and urban lifestyles, as described previously, but also when it comes to Agenda 21 type of projects and information campaigns. The City official Sarkan said that 90 percent of the time devoted to Agenda 21-type of work has been conducted in Tensta:

SARKAN: So you might do a campaign there [in Spånga] about whatever and people will take a folder and you know that 80 percent of them will go home and read it. While here [in Tensta] if you distribute folders, then 80 percent will definitely be nice and take it, because it is impolite to say no, and then when they approach the waste bin they will throw it away. So it is quite the opposite situation. So it is different. If you are working in Spånga and meet Mrs Svensson, she will say "thank you and goodbye," and if you are working in Tensta you say, "Hello Mrs [Ali]," and before you let it go you say, "This is about the environment, it is about how you can have a better environment and how you can save money, so read it, it is really important. Take it and if you have time, read it, if you haven't understood it here is my phone number, call me and I can explain."

KARIN: I see, does it mean that you spend considerably more time in Tensta?

SARKAN: Yes, sure, nearly 90 percent of my time. Otherwise it won't work, otherwise it will never be nice and tidy and good.

Bergström also says that there have hardly been any projects in the district aimed at changing the lives of the Spånga residents. When reflecting

on the matter he finds it a bit strange as the Tensta residents in general might well lead fairly energy-efficient lives. He gives the example that only 25 percent of the Tensta residents have a car.

The strategy of densifying and building new multifamily housing near the public transport nodes in fact means densifying already dense areas, often where there are already multistorey houses. Larsson explains how there are no major plans to change the single-family housing areas, like Gamla Spånga:

KARIN: I assume it is more difficult to get densification plans through in areas dominated by single-family houses compared to the large scale multifamily housing areas?

LARSSON: Yes, sure. At the City Planning Office we try to promote densification in areas with single-family houses, but generally the residents don't appreciate the plans. Appeals are made against fifty percent of our plans. Some years ago it was around a third of the plans, but today the figure is fifty percent. It is about their local environment. They say, "This is our home. We moved here because of these and these reasons and not because we want some high rise nearby that might take away sunlight and create more car traffic." [...] But what happens in these areas are that people sell off a part of their plot so another small house is built on it. [...] But I wouldn't say that there is any developed plan to make any big changes in these areas. And within brackets, I would wonder how politicians think that want to carry out such plans when they themselves live there and all of the media crew. I don't think it is very easy to launch a campaign of tearing down the garden cities of Bromma and make them into more energy efficient multifamily houses.

4.2.3 Planning strategies in relation to diversity

The following section deals with how the strategies for sustainable urban development and the encouragement of eco-friendly lifestyles reinforce or conflict with the daily lives and values of different groups of inhabitants. Here, it is the perspectives of the officials that are described. In the analysis, chapter 6, I further elaborate on this and relate the strategies to the stories of the residents being described in 4.3.

In the interviews with officials I posed questions concerning how the strategies related to diverse groups of residents, what issues or situations one might encounter given that the residents in Spånga-Tensta are very diverse in terms of ethnic background, socioeconomic conditions, hous-

ing and lifestyles (see appendix 7). I also asked if and how the officials tried to handle social and ethnic diversity in planning for sustainability and environmental concerns and if there were ideas of how this could be done in better ways. These questions are examined here.

“No social aspects on environmental work”

In the strategic documents that have been analysed, nothing is said specifically about how the strategies for eco-friendly living relate to different societal groups. There are statements about the need for, and suggested measures to address, facilitating social and ethnic integration, but it is not linked to environmental concerns. In relation to providing local services and possibilities for local lifestyles it is pointed out that “commercial services should have a structure that cater to all households, including elderly and the households without cars” (Stockholms stad, 2000: 18).

All except one official had comments or thoughts on how the strategies related to different groups of residents, as will be described in the following sections. The one exception, Lindgren, the environmental officer, describes his point of view:

KARIN: When it comes to the fact that the inhabitants of Stockholm are quite different, have different lifestyles, different cultural backgrounds, speak different languages and so on, what does this mean for your work?

LINDGREN: Well, it is difficult to give an answer to that. [...] We hardly ever put any social perspectives on our work, not when it comes to the work with the Environment Programme, because it is about, well, facts: pollution levels, states of the environment and what measures are needed. That’s the way we work. What has been done perhaps, once we have produced information material, or there are discussions about how to get the information out to different immigrant groups, if one should translate the material to different languages. But there haven’t been any special measures to engage other cultural groups or anything like that. I couldn’t say that we have done anything like that, at least not from here.

Different usages of green areas

Most of the officials point out that different ethnic groups use green areas in different ways. Following the strategies, the nature reserve of Järvafältet is important for the biodiversity but also as a recreation site for people living nearby. As mentioned previously, it stressed that “the planning should strive for most Stockholmers to have a *nature area* in his/her vicinity” (Stockholms stad, 2003: 32, emphasis added). This is the case for the Ten-

sta residents, who have the large Järvafältet in their vicinity; however, as Bergström points out, a large share of the residents do not see it this way:

BERGSTRÖM: For me, a good environment would be plenty of green areas, meadows like it is here [in Tensta]. But many of the Tensta residents, there have been studies on what the people who live in different districts think about the green areas, and when they are asked whether there is enough green space and parks, our district has the lowest score. I mean people don't see Järvafältet or the meadows as parks or green areas. They think that parks are something that is right in the middle, like the courtyard between the houses. And there are so many people living in these houses that use the courtyards, so they become quite worn out, leaving hardly anything green. So in spite of that we who once upon a time planned these area, well of course I did not plan it but anyway, thought that we should have plenty of green space, big green wedges like this, people don't see it or perceive the green wedges and fields as contributing to their quality of life. Of course, this does not apply to all, there are a lot of people who barbecue on the open fields in the summer. But very few people use Järvafältet between Tensta and Kista/Husby.

KARIN: Why do you think it is like this?

BERGSTRÖM: Well I think it has to do with people having slightly unsafe situations, and then it is perceived as a bit frightening to go out on the field. And also, I think it is perceived as being quite far away. In the countries people come from you don't use nature like this. I think overall it is used much more by the people with Swedish background that still live here, they use Järvafältet considerably more compared to the immigrant groups here... . When we have had open meetings in relation to these regeneration projects, many people have said that they want to build a house of their own. But we say there is no space for it in Tensta, and they say, "But there is a whole field." So they think that one could just as well build on the field. They don't see the field as an asset. [...]

I think the residents would like green areas but just outside their door. So I think that they would very much like to have a bit bigger courtyards, well-kept courtyards in the housing area. Some blocks have very nice courtyards and they are very well used.

As has been described in 4.2.1, Bergström argues that Järvafältet would be more appreciated by the Tensta residents if it was more like a park with different types of activity spots.

Immigrants economise and Swedes think of environmental concerns

There is a widespread notion that so called immigrants are not very concerned with environmental issues. Several of the officials argue that the reason for this fact is that immigrants are busy with their daily struggles. Sarkan, who has worked in multiethnic areas, explains how he tries to turn this around:

SARKAN: Now I am talking about immigrants and refugees, they have bigger problems, environmental concerns are the last thing in this ladder of needs. The first is about surviving, providing for oneself and one's family, one must first have food, then clothes, then shoes, then winter clothes, and so it goes on with different needs. Then you are to save money and then at last comes concern for the environment. Then, when I talk to people, I try to turn this around and show how much they can save. Even if it is not about savings for their own pocket, it is about saving for society which we would all benefit from.

However, he points out that it is certainly not easy, particularly as there are constantly new people arriving in Tensta:

SARKAN: So I am never finished with my work in this area. Once you have informed all of the residents in this area, the next year there will be a thousand new residents. Even if you have reached all and informed them and made them environmentally aware, then you get another thousand. And who comes here? It is people from Baghdad, and the last thing you think about in Baghdad are environmental concerns, and rightly so. And all these persons that have fled from torture, disaster, depreciation, war and killing, you are to feed with environmental thinking. And you can guess how easy that is.

Nemrud, a former official with background in Kurdistan, describes how, at times, it has been difficult to work with environmental issues and particularly to care for the local environment, that it is seen as silly and irrelevant:

NEMRUD: My daughter often asks, "Dad, what are you doing? Why are you collecting waste? In the school they are laughing at me." [...] In school she was being picked on by her friends saying, "Your dad works with waste collection." And still my little daughter says, "In school they pick on me and say, If we cut down a tree, your dad will be angry."

KARIN: I see, I heard similar stories in England. There they told me that it was difficult to get people with Pakistani background to trim trees or work with waste management because it was seen as low caste work. Are there similar ideas among people from Kurdistan?

NEMRUD: It's like that in all of Tensta. It is not the Kurds, they never pick on my daughter, it is others. My daughter is born here in Sweden. It is others, Arabs, Turks, Somalis, *others*. But I told my daughter, "So, what do you tell them, your dad is a pizza cook?" I explained it is voluntary work, I tried to explain, and after a while people started to appreciate it. After a couple of years, my countrymen started to recognise my work, that I could do something. I could show that this is important. And now I am being supported by my countrymen even more. I have spoken on the radio about environmental issues, on the Kurdish radio. A lot of people have been laughing. Also this person, a politician, a social democrat with Kurdish background, he joined the Environmental Party. He has lived here since the 80s. He rang me up and said, "What the hell, you talk about environmental issues on the radio, you are crazy!"

KARIN: Meaning that it was irrelevant issues?

NEMRUD: Yes, that it was irrelevant, that there are other issues that are more important, like that. Now they don't say these things. Now they point at me and say, "You can answer this."

In contrast to the notion that immigrants in general, and refugees in particular, are not concerned with environmental issues, Nemrud argues that they are in fact very eco-friendly in a practical way. He explains:

KARIN: Would you say that becoming environmentally aware is a way of becoming more Swedish?

NEMRUD: I wouldn't say that you become more Swedish, but it is a way of working with the same issues as Swedes do, since the environment for Swedes is an interest in nature that you get from your upbringing. The way we work with environmental issues in Sweden is foreign for many immigrants, because it is a Swedish way of thinking. In many poor countries we work *practically* with environmental issues: we reuse, we recycle given our economic conditions, we don't pollute as much as Swedes do, because we have less money. Many people in Bangladesh, in Pakistan and in other countries reuse things all the time, but here we throw away a lot of things. While here we try to manage all the waste that we have created. In this way, immigrants can contribute with lessening the amounts of waste. In these countries they work with environmental issues

in a practical way. I think. But it is not conscious. It's here that I would like immigrants to get this consciousness as well. Perhaps that could influence the development, lessen the consumption, the amounts of waste, lessen littering in the water and the environment.

Nemrud further argues that there is a widespread notion that immigrants are not knowledgeable about environmental issues, sometimes expressed as "immigrants don't know anything, one has to teach them." He continues saying that in Sweden much weight is placed on education, writing and words in the environmental field as well as other fields so even if certain groups might, in a practical way, act resource efficient, they will anyhow not be considered eco-friendly. He emphasises the importance of environmental education and specifically that immigrants develop their environmental vocabulary:

NEMRUD: It is also a question of generations, for instance my children, not me, but many families we don't have any environmental vocabulary. You know much more words about the environment. If one grows up in your home, one will learn a lot about environmental issues [...]. But many immigrant families don't use environmental words. Our children, in terms of vocabulary, they are poor. They don't know much about the environment, through words, through language. And this also means that our children will have problems to get integrated into society. In Swedish families they will go out and pick mushrooms, learn about trees and other things. So a Swedish child knows three, four thousand words more about the environment, names of trees and birds, and monkeys, while my child knows nothing. And this will mean segregation.

Bergström argues that environmental awareness among immigrants with a high level of education is not different from that of Swedes, but for immigrants with low levels of education, the reasoning might indeed be different. Nemrud later developed ideas on how one could, in the future, work with environmental issues as a tool for integration and this time not only in a way whereby immigrants are to be taught but also for Swedes to understand and be inspired about the practical environmental work that is going on in foreign countries:

NEMRUD: There are a lot of prejudices among Swedes, like, "immigrants makes all things dirty, they litter a lot, they are not environmentally conscious." You see, one could make efforts both here and there, to approach them [immigrants] through environmental

issues. There are plenty of green areas in Tensta and Järvafältet but immigrants don't go there to take a walk or use the nature in their vicinity, but the Swedes do, they like nature for themselves, for their own enjoyment. You see, this is how I understand it, they want nature to relax in, to get some peace and quiet, but immigrants want nature for social gatherings.

One could somehow have, I don't know how, I have thought of this a lot, but one could make efforts on both sides since there is a different set of problems there and here. Here you need to increase consciousness through information and knowledge about the environment, but over there you need to approach how immigrants are more practical, how they waste less resources. One should do both, then you might get some more respect and common views of the problem, which we lack today.

Building trust in multiethnic areas

Sarkan points out that it is particularly important to build trust and work face-to-face in multiethnic areas. He explains how he has used the local mosque and linked environmental concern with Islam in order to reach out to residents:

SARKAN: ... and the importance of cleanliness and then, when I have been preaching a Friday at the mosque, I depart from the Koran. And then I said, well I am not an educated imam or priest, but when the priest had been preaching he introduced me and I talked about tidiness from the perspective of the Koran and Islam. Because a person who does not have clean thoughts and actions, that person will never become a true Muslim. So your thoughts need to be clean, and your actions, and you need to keep clean outside your door and in the courtyard and in the street you walk on. And that is just the truth from an Islamic point of view – a true Muslim can never litter or leave trash around, never. And that did the trick! There were a couple of hundred persons there and when they left the mosque they would say, "No that is haram, you cannot do like that," when a person throws a pack of cigarettes, "that is haram." And haram is what is not allowed, the opposite to halal.

KARIN: Interesting. So when you have been at the mosque, have you been invited or have you contacted them?

SARKAN: Well I see to that I get invited because I know everybody, I know everybody irrespective of religion, ethnicity and things like that. And I think everybody knows me. I have been working here since 1988 on different issues so I know quite a lot of people, and

the newcomers get to hear about me through their fellow countrymen and in that way I easily get in contact with them as well. [...] That [trust] is important because if you are not respected, people don't listen to you, they need to respect you and what you do.

Sarkan gives another example of trust building and how he uses economic arguments of acting eco-friendly, in this case using less packaging:

SARKAN: And for instance when I went around to the businessmen here, the ones who sell food and such, they are mostly immigrants who import things from other countries, because if you have Arab customers you need to import from Arabic countries, you need to get specialities for Arabs. And in the Middle East there is this strong idea about packaging, because it is the packaging that makes the product sell. If it is nice and wrapped and with some glitter and stuff like that, and preferably rather big packaging, that's important for the product to sell. But here in Sweden people want to pay for the product, not for the packaging. So it makes no difference if a kilo of white beans are wrapped in gold paper or if they are in an ordinary plastic bag, it doesn't matter. So I have talked to them and said, "When you make your orders, talk to the suppliers and say that we don't want it like Russian dolls, the product in a package that is in another package, which is an another package. To get to the product it's like ten packages."

KARIN: And has it worked?

SARKAN: Yes, when I used this economic reasoning and pointed out how they can save money on it. [...] It creates a real domino effect. So it is that kind of thing that I sit and talk to people about. And sometimes I can sit in a shop and talk to the owner about history or Arabic literature or Kurdish history or religious history or something like that. We sit and talk and talk, and then I have established a contact. I have become like a friend, like a brother, and the next time the brother comes with a message it means something, because we have established trust.

The housing company official, Jakobsson, also points out the importance of working face-to-face in multiethnic areas; however, his company is searching for alternative ways of interacting with the tenants. He explains:

JAKOBSSON: We do information work when we do special projects like renovate a courtyard or a staircase or some other renewal, or when we evacuate people, then we have special information

projects to those specific tenants. And these often start with a big meeting where we invite all the tenants and so on. And historically we can see that doesn't work at all, really bad in fact. In the studies that have been done on communication with tenants one has come to the conclusions that it is four-five persons that show up and these are Swedes. In this way, we don't reach the other tenants. So we are thinking, well these are difficult issues, and we are thinking how it could be possible to handle this. There are several examples of how one has worked in similar projects in Gothenburg, in Gårdsten or Älvå, and they said they have bus trips to Ullared [a shopping centre] with women only to get a dialogue going, and all sorts of things. It seems really good to work in such ways, but is it the method to get a continuous dialogue with the tenants? It feels like it is only isolated measures. So this is a difficult issue that we really ponder over.

Jakobsson describes how they at times also knock on the doors of the tenants and meet them one by one:

JAKOBSSON: I think it was in Rinkeby that we hired a person for a project who knocked on each of the tenants' doors and told them who we were and were then allowed to take a look in the apartment and see to that everything was okay, give information about how to use a stove and how to handle water usage in relation to energy use and things like that. And of course a family from Somalia with wok pans and everything like that, of course it doesn't work with the facilities that we have. This project was really good. We got an opportunity to see to it that everything worked in the apartment, but it required a lot of resources, costs a lot of money. And even in such a project we don't reach all the tenants, not the ones who don't open the door. But for the ones we do reach, it is a very good way of communicating in spite of it being costly.

Just like Jakobsson, Sarkan, argues that distributing information via post does not generally work in multiethnic areas like Tensta; one has to work more face-to-face and with trust building. As described previously considerably more time is spent on environmental work and information in relation to the Tensta residents compared to the Spånga residents. Sarkan, explains that one of the reasons for this is that it is also more difficult to interact with people in Spånga:

SARKAN: Well it is just another way of thinking, it is a totally dif-

ferent way of working [in Spånga], entirely different. And then it is also so that when we are in Spånga there aren't that many people around who sit on benches and enjoy the sun or things like that. They are in a hurry, they don't have time, they do their errands in the centre and then it is goodbye. So, but if you go out here [in Tensta] you will see fifty persons of different ages that sit on the benches and talk to each other. So it is a question about workload. In Spånga you have to do a lot of things, send folders to them, put them in the mailbox, but not here.

Clearly, these officials see a need to adjust the ways of working and communicating with residents to the composition of residents and their ways of life. Sarkan concludes by saying that the guidelines and policies that he receives from the central authorities in the City of Stockholm need to be adjusted so that they fit the local conditions and population, which is of course easy to say but quite demanding in practice.

4.3 ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING AMONG SPÅNGA-TENSTA RESIDENTS

In this section, 4.3, the reasoning and perspectives of the Spånga-Tensta residents on environmental concerns are described. The accounts are divided into three main sections: *Notions of eco-friendly living – Who is eco-friendly and why?* then *Perspectives on nature, green areas and the local environment* and, at last, *Becoming environmentally aware*. Under each thematic subheading I have included a combination of results from the individual interviews, pilot interviews, focus groups and, when relevant, the postal survey. Some themes have been covered both in the postal survey and the interviews while other themes, like notions of eco-friendliness and perspectives on nature and what it means, have only been covered in the interviews.

4.3.1 Notions of eco-friendly living – Who is eco-friendly and why?

How do residents reason about the environmental impacts of their and others' ways of life, in terms of housing, transportation and practices in daily life? Are there different ideas of how one can lead environmentally friendly lives? In the residents' perspectives, who acts in an eco-friendly way and why? And what are the possibilities or difficulties of leading more environmentally friendly lives? These questions are examined here.

Recycling, district heating, organic milk and keeping it tidy

Most, but certainly not all, of the residents say that they think of environmental concerns and often also in relation to their own life and habits. When it comes to ways that one can live in a more eco-friendly way, the most frequent issue brought up is recycling. This is mentioned by Tenssta as well as Spånga residents with different kinds of educational and cultural backgrounds. For many people it has simply become something you do.

Idris, a 31-year-old assistant nurse with Somali background, says, "I recycle here in *miljöstugan* [the recycling room of the rental block of flats]. It is become like a hobby for me." And Merwan, a 32-year-old pizza cook from Kurdistan, explains:

MERWAN: Yeah, we recycle. I think that in Sweden the waste management is quite good. We have basement down there were you can put plastic, glass, everything in separate places.

KARIN: And it works?

MERWAN: It works perfect. But otherwise I haven't thought of, when something works, you don't think about it. You just follow.

Hanna, a student in her twenties who has grown up in Spånga, describes how she cares for the environment and how this is manifested:

HANNA: I care a lot about the environment. I feel very strongly for it. But at the same time I don't know very much about it. My father is very environmentally aware, he votes for the Environmental Party and always recycles. We had a compost, didn't use the car. So I am raised like that. I try to do what I can but I don't have the time or possibility to get more involved. I buy organic milk and get angry with people who don't buy organic milk and I always push my friends to make an effort.

KARIN: How do you mean?

HANNA: I argue with them when they don't recycle or if they waste hot water – for instance, do the dishes under running water – or if they don't buy organic food.

Ulrika, a public official in her forties and resident of Spånga, describes similar eco-friendly activities:

KARIN: When it comes to global environmental problems [...] like the eutrophication of lakes and so on, is that something that you think of or makes you worried?

ULRIKA: Yes, I am not fanatic, but we do collect glass, plastics and paper and recycle and try to be, I mean, try to be eco-friendly, buy organic produce and so on. But there are different perspectives on this in the family.

KARIN: I see.

ULRIKA: But often I buy organic food, if the price differences are not huge, because I think that is good. Then I feel like I do something good. So I do [...]. So I buy, and we have been talking about getting a new car, and then we have said that we should try to get one that is more eco-friendly. But I have heard things about that, it's kind of, how shall I put this, those who are not very into the environment, they always find arguments for why you should continue to drive a petrol car or why you shouldn't buy organic milk and so on.

Eija, a Finnish journalist and teacher in her fifties, is one of those who describe herself as a person who *really* tries to live in an environmentally friendly way:

EIJA: Yes, I have always been, it's always been entirely, I have grown up with it, it is entirely natural for me that I don't do use more than [...] I mean small things like that I would never wash up under running water. Or this thing with using fabric softener when you do laundry, well now I use it for certain things, in some machines, but I have been in Sweden for 37 years and around 25 of those years I was against all such things and said, like, "No, we shall not flush down things like softeners." And I bought eco-labelled washing detergent and things like that, until some report said that they weren't more environmentally friendly than others [...] like that, and then of course I think of electricity, because there is no reason to use more than necessary. [...]

And then, in the local environment, I recycle waste and I have a compost since I live on the bottom floor, so there is like a small green plot outside where I can grow things, flowers, and I try with compost, and yes, all in all, I think of these things, I do, and try to live accordingly, in fact really economising with resources.

A few other persons, Miranda, a Chilean-born assistant nurse and Dagmar, a retired housewife, also bring up their overall efforts to try to economise with resources, primarily energy and water. One of the ways of living in a more environmentally friendly way that are brought up is to replace the oil heater or direct heated electricity with geothermal heating or some other more eco-friendly heating system. Alexandros, a job-

seeking chef, like a few other interviewees, talks about the importance of shutting off electronic equipment:

ALEXANDROS: There is this theory that if all people in Sweden, if they would turn off their electric equipment and not have them on standby, the video, the TV, the DVD, anything [...] then we could close down [...] how many nuclear plants do we have in Sweden?

KARIN: Four I think.

ALEXANDROS: Yes, then we could close one. That's a theory, but I don't know if is true.

An issue which often came up in the interviews, primarily with Tensta residents, is littering. This is often spoken about as an environmental issue and sometimes interviewees link keeping the local environment tidy with a general idea of being eco-friendly. This can for instance be illustrated in the line of argument of Zada, an assistant nurse in her forties with Syrian background:

ZADA: It is the kind of families that have come from countries where nature doesn't count, from the balcony they throw the rubbish bags straight out [...]. I think they are not informed about what environment is, why it is important that we have it green and nice, that it has to be clean. It is of course for our health. I don't think that they are aware of that.

Highly educated Scandinavian women believe that the individual can influence the environmental development

In the postal survey the following question was posed: How important is it for the environment that you act and live in an environmentally friendly way? The respondents with university education believed it to be somewhat more important than those with lower level of education (71% of those with university education state that it is "very" or "fairly" important, while 63% of those with elementary education believe so). Furthermore, those people classified as Swedes value acting in an environmentally friendly way slightly more than those classified as immigrants (69% compared to 61% state that they believe it is "very" or "fairly" important).

Dagmar, the retired housewife, Riitta, a librarian in her sixties with Finnish background, and Eija, the journalist and teacher also with Finnish background, explain their low-energy lives by their being brought up in times when one was used to saving electricity, water and fuel simply because these resources were exclusive. Ulrika, the public official, reasons

in a similar way, and argues that it is important that she contribute in the small way she as an individual is capable of. Among the interviewees, it is foremost highly educated women with Scandinavian backgrounds who believe that they as individuals can and ought to make a change in environmental developments.

In contrast to Ulrika and Eija, Merwan, the pizza cook, argues that it is the companies and governments that must act:

MERWAN: It is not us that should be punished if the environment, it is those who pollute, they should take responsibility [...]. The big companies that make money on polluting the environment, they should take responsibility.

KARIN: So you mean as an individual there is not much one can do, or?

MERWAN: I think that all can do something. Each individual is one voice. But how much we can influence, that's another question. Right now [...] a few companies that do business, some multinational companies that have [...] everywhere. So I don't think that a few individuals can influence their international politics.

KARIN: How do you think they can be influenced?

MERWAN: Our governments must take responsibility; influence their governments, who in turn can do something. For instance the US, they even don't want to sign this environmental pollution agreement, they have new alternative programmes. When the US acts like this, then Sweden takes out congestion charges in central Stockholm. They don't want to pollute the air.

KARIN: Do you mean that the congestion charges are negligible compared to what the US does?

MERWAN: Yes, it is a small part [...]. The US pollutes more than all of Europe together.

KARIN: So in your life, when you move around, use energy, shop or so, do you think about the environmental effects?

MERWAN: No, I don't, I have not thought of this. But I have thought that one could find alternative forms of fuel for instance. One doesn't need petrol for the car, one could find something cleaner. We have enough technology to solve the problem. But the problem is that we cannot come around the big petro-oil companies. For instance in Sweden I have seen cars that are run on electricity, but they are mostly on exhibitions. People don't dare to take them into serial production as long as oil companies use oil, then people must sell petrol.

Kennet, the electrical repairer, argues in a similar way:

KARIN: In everyday life when you buy things, transport yourself, do you try to reduce the environmental effects?

KENNET: No, I don't. My daughter wants me to, but [...] organic milk instead of ordinary milk, what kind of difference that does make? A rather small difference, I think.

KARIN: You mean that as an individual one cannot influence that much?

KENNET: Right, of course if it was banned [...]. If one could only buy bananas that were grown in a good way, or potatoes, or whatever, maybe it would be better. But I mean the little things I do in relation to, I don't know, ASSA or some big company, some mining company or those that produce pulpwood or paper, they must emit outrageously more. So my small contribution cannot possibly be noticed.

KARIN: So you think it would be better to try to influence the big companies?

KENNET: Yes, I think so. Because that must be of more use, to go to the big crooks that [...]

KARIN: And whose role is it to influence the big companies?

KENNET: Well, I suppose it is those guys in Brussels who decide what levels one should have.

It is primarily male interviewees who state that they do not think of environmental issues and how they act as individuals does not really matter. Kennet, the electrical repairer, Merwan, the pizza cook, Idris, the assistant nurse, Abdalla, the taxi driver and Jonna, a high school student with Finnish background, and Henrik, another high school student, all say they do not think about environmental problems. To the question of how he views global environmental problems, like deforestation or climate change, Idris, the male nurse with Somali background, responds:

IDRIS: I never think of those things. I don't know. It is nothing that we talk about at work. I am not knowledgeable about those things.

The reasons for not caring or thinking of environmental issues vary though, some, like Idris, state that they know too little about these issues, others that they are simply not interested and yet others that the earth is durable and that for instance changes in the climate are "natural." Common for these interviewees are that they have a rather low degree of education – an explanation that is in line with the findings of the postal survey as described previously.

Some motivate their non-action in terms of environmental issues by saying they are not sure of how the recycled material is handled and argue

that all the different fractions still end up in one, that organic food and ecocars are not necessarily more eco-friendly. Another explanation from people living in rental apartments for not thinking about resource use is that there are no economic incentives to do this in terms of costs for electricity and water. Ashur, a 45-year-old turner who has emigrated from Syria explains:

ASHUR: We are bad [at saving energy and water], but it is not our fault. It's the fault of the housing company because the electricity is included in the rent. And then nobody bothers, sort of.

Another reason for not caring about environmental issues is that there are overriding problems. For instance Alexandros finds it difficult to care about environmental and energy issues as he has other problems to solve in his life:

ALEXANDROS: I don't think, well energy is not, I don't think very much of where it comes from. There are other things in my life that I firstly try to change. Right now I am unemployed and looking for a job. Then I don't think very much about turning off the standby switches, but once I have found a job. So maybe if I would get a good job and get my life in order, then I would be that kind of person who would think of standby switches and everything. But there is so much in the way right now.

In the Kurdish-Iraqi focus group it is also described how environmental issues were not prioritised when they lived in Iraq during the war, even though the environmental destruction might be severe:

GULNAZ: Before I never thought of it [environmental issues] because there were other things one was worried about. Air pollution and such, actually there was a lot of pollution and bad air quality but since there was war, one didn't think of it that much. But then when I have lived in Sweden I saw this about oil discharge in Norway or, then I thought this is terrible, one must do something.

SIRVAN: Environment, it was new for us. A new thing [...].

GULNAZ: People are also scared in Iraq now, maybe the earth has become poisoned. One worries that vegetables and such might have become poisoned due to emissions during the war.

MEDIYA: In the long run one also thinks of what it [the war] has destroyed, all vegetables and fruit and things that come up, one cannot eat it. In spite of that, people do so. We that have gotten

used to, we that have learnt about environment, how environment is here in Sweden, then one wonders why the others in the home country don't think of it. Now we have a lot of knowledge.

In the interviews there are, as has been described, several ways of reasoning when it comes to possibilities of leading environmentally friendly lifestyles. One can however group the types of reasoning into different categories, interviewees who:

- think what an individual does is important act accordingly (for instance, Eija, Ulrika, Maj-Britt)
- think what an individual does is important, but who do not think that they themselves live up to this well enough (Charlotta and Riitta)
- think that environmental issues are mainly a concern of governments and/or large companies and thus do not try to live environmentally friendly lives (Ashur, Merwan, Harald, Ahmed, Ali and Bodil, Sten and Birgitta in the Spånga pilot group)
- doubt that there are any serious environmental problems, often with the explanation that one hears contradictory messages, and that the research community seems not to be in agreement about the state of the environment and the man-made contributions to it (Harald, Kennet, Ashur)
- state that they simply know too little about environmental issues (Idris, Abdalla, Jonna, Henrik, Aygöl).
- live low-energy life styles in the sense of compact living, that they save energy, do not use cars, do not travel by airplane, but do this for economic reasons rather than labelling it environmentally friendly (Dagmar, Idris, Abdalla, Jonna, Aygöl, Riitta, Miranda, Merwan).

Better-off groups and Swedes have larger houses, travel more but buy more organic food

The postal survey clearly shows that the respondents with higher education have access to private cars to a greater extent compared to those with lower levels of education: 75 percent of those with university education own a car (or lease a car), while 46 percent of those with elementary education own a car; 76 percent of the Swedish respondents own a car, while only 43 percent of the immigrant respondents do.

Of the 23 persons born in Sweden that have been interviewed, 18 live in one-family houses or row-houses, while none of the 22 persons that have migrated to Sweden live like this. Overall, the interviewees that have

migrated live in flats and on fewer square metres per person. Idris, the assistant nurse, for instance, lives with his three brothers in a two-room apartment. In Merwan's household, there are four persons in a two-room apartment and Abdalla, the taxi driver, lives with his four children and wife in a three-room apartment. Among the Swedish interviewees, there are several that live one or two persons in large houses. Even though I have not posed any direct questions on energy use for heating, this most likely means that the Swedish interviewees generally use more energy to heat houses than those who have migrated.

Furthermore, the great majority of the Swedish interviewees have access to country houses, which most likely also adds to their energy use. Also, many of the Swedish and better-off interviewees describe that they go abroad once or several times a year, to Thailand, China, Central or Southern Europe, or the US, which of course add to their resource use.

When it comes to buying organic groceries, though, the Swedes do this more often than the immigrants. According to the postal survey, 22 percent of the Swedes declare that they "always" or "often" buy this kind of groceries, while 14 percent of the immigrants declare so. Of the respondents with university education, 21 percent state that they "always" or "often" buy organic groceries, while 11 percent of those with elementary education do the same.

In the interviews it is also generally the better-off Swedish women that say that they buy organic food. Several of the interviewees, primarily the male interviewees, doubt that there is any point in buying organic food. Harald, an electrical engineer in his fifties, explains that he very seldom buys organic food:

HARALD: My wife is more into that compared to what I perhaps am.

I have problems with this because when somebody tells me, "Now you should buy organic milk," I wonder what is organic milk? And what on earth have you done to get the milk *un*organic? I mean, the milk can never be as organic as it is when it comes out of the cow.

Ulrika, the public official, has similar differing viewpoints in her family.

ULRIKA: Most often I buy organic food if there are not huge price differences because I think it is good. Then I feel that I can at least contribute with something [...]. [But my husband] says that I get fooled and have to pay more because, how could I really know that it is, that they do right when they produce organic milk? [...] and so on. And he also thinks it is too expensive, that if we should have this it should be for the same price. But then I think sort of,

well, from what I know, I think it is worth paying a little extra.

Who recycles waste and who does not has been a topic of debate in the interviews. As described previously, several of the interviewees with immigrant background argue that Swedes know more about how to take care of their waste and recycle to a larger extent compared to immigrants. The postal survey includes several questions on waste management, and the Swedish respondents generally recycle their waste more often than immigrant respondents, and respondents with higher levels of education generally more often than respondents with lower levels of education. Ahmed, however, a 37-year old unemployed man with Somali background, thinks that there is too much focus on recycling in Sweden, he argues:

AHMED: It is recycling fundamentalism here. So much writing about recycling. Of course it is important with environmental concern [...]. People talk a lot about the environment here in the west and in Europe, but in reality, their companies are polluting the environment in Africa, they used it like a dump site.

Swedes keep it tidy

In several of the interviews it is brought up that Sweden is the best when it comes to environmental management, and that the problem is that other countries pollute, primarily Eastern European countries, Russia and the US. The participants in the Gamla Spånga pilot group interview discuss this:

BODIL: The big pollutants, it is industries, isn't it, and of course the cars, but there are guidelines for them, and there are guidelines for industries as well, at least here. But in other countries it might be that they don't have anything like that. And then one can wonder if what we do in Sweden is just in vain – that we are so careful when several other countries just pour things out, directly in the Baltic Sea and [...] it is the same small sea.

STEN: It has been a problem for a really long time, this thing that we clean so well here in Sweden while the problem is that other; in Warsaw, there, everything goes directly into the sea. Same thing in Riga, Estonia and Latvia, they have this inferior cleaning of their water, which is just poured directly out. So I mean, shall we contribute, we are eight million, and then the Poles, how many are they, fifty to sixty maybe?

BIRGITTA: Forty.

- STEN: Forty, yes, it's in a totally different range. And from what I understand they have the same needs to go to the bathrooms as we do. True, isn't it?
- BODIL: But of course, it is really important for us, I think.
- STURE: And still, I think that nuclear power is among the cleanest we have. It is only the thing that we cannot make use of it.
- BODIL: It is others' nuclear power plants that are dangerous.
- STURE: Yes, that's true.
- RAGNHILD: Ours are always good.
- BODIL: But it is from them we buy nowadays.
- STURE: Yes.
- BODIL: [...] and energy from coal.
- STEN: Yes it is awful with the coal.
- STURE: Then one can wonder how Vattenfall [a Swedish energy company] buys old coal power plants. It's insane. It might be that they close some. There are several things that one feels that one cannot really influence, because they are so huge. It hasn't to do with us in Sweden all the time, it has to do with the whole world [...] that one realises this. And I mean, if one looks at Russia now, the state of the country is awful. But one never hears any discussion about that it ought to be changed, improved. Then one rather prefers to invest in some war equipment and [...]. There is like almost no forest left, it's insane the way Russia looks.

And this perception that Sweden and Swedes are good at environmental management also goes for tidiness and a general caring for the local environment. In the interviews with Tensta residents, it is pointed out that Tensta is much dirtier than other places, for instance, Spånga, or the inner city. And it is emphasised that it is "immigrants" who leave trash in public spaces and do not recycle their waste. In some of the interviews with persons with South American or Middle Eastern background, it is more specifically argued that it is primarily immigrants with African background that leave trash around and pee in semipublic places. Miranda, the Chilean-born assistant nurse in her fifties, says:

- MIRANDA: We have lived in Tensta since we came here [to Sweden], in the same apartment on Kämpingebacken. When we came here [20 years ago] it was calm and good, but now it has become dangerous. In April we are moving to Flemingsberg. Kämpingebacken is the dirtiest place in all of Sweden. Every day they pee in the stairs and there is rubbish in the stairway[...].
- My husband and I have told Svenska Bostäder [the housing

company] several times that it cannot continue like this with pee and rubbish. But nothing happens. The cleaning woman who cleans the stairway is tired. And I understand her. Svenska Bostäder puts up notes in the stairway about this but it hasn't changed. We don't know what to do, whose responsibility it actually is, if it is the responsibility of Svenska Bostäder or the City administration.

We are depressed, it is so dirty here. Sometimes one wonders if one is really in Sweden. It is like we are in Africa. My husband reprimands them. Recently they threw a mattress out of the window that landed on our patio [...].

In the beginning there were many Spanish speaking people here in Tensta and Hjulsta. And many Swedes. But the Swedes have moved and the Spanish-speaking have also moved. Also in this house there were before many Swedes and Spanish-speaking people, but last week my Chilean neighbour also moved. They all want to get out of here and they say to me, "Miranda, you must also move."

However, in another interview, a person of Somali background says it is young boys with Middle Eastern background who throw rubbish in the common spaces. The explanation given for immigrants leaving more trash around is that certain groups do not know what to do with their waste and that more information and the presence of neighbouring Swedes might help solve this problem – if there were more Swedes in the area, they could teach the newly arrived immigrants to pick up their waste and to recycle. Zada, the assistant nurse of Syrian background, describes how it would be better if more Swedes lived in Tensta and could teach the immigrants not to throw rubbish from the balcony:

ZADA: See, a Swede would never throw rubbish from the balcony. And if there were four or five neighbours that were Swedes, then the immigrant would not do it.

She argues that the families that throw rubbish from the balconies often come from countries where circumstances have been very different, countries in war or conflict, and where nature or environmental issues are not prioritised.

Mediya, an NGO official in her forties with Iraqi-Kurdish background, reasons in a similar way:

MEDIYA: It is a big problem. In Enbacksskolan [...] only one per cent Swedes. If they would have mixed with Swedes, there

wouldn't be so many problems. One learns from them: "I see that my neighbourhood is Swedish, okay, I should not be loud after 10 p.m." One learns very good, good environment and so, it works much better. But now, it doesn't work.

There have however been vivid discussions in the group interviews about why Tensta is dirtier than other places and whose responsibility it is to keep the public and semipublic spaces clean. Some argue it is the fault of the residents, that they simply leave more trash around compared to people in better-off areas. Others argue that the housing companies and those hired for cleaning the public spaces do not do this as well as they do in other places, that Tensta is mismanaged. In the Kurdish-Iraqi focus group there is a discussion about this:

MEDIYA: There is no justice, not here. You live on Södermalm, if one looks at that area it is much nicer and cleaner, it is cleaned a lot, it is clean. But if you look here, it is different. [...]

SIRVAN: What do you mean? That has to do with how much money the municipality has. For instance in Tensta, the municipalities that are poor, they get a lot of money to their school and things like that. But I don't know how the people here use the money, it matters. It is dirty [...]. In the school they fight and they throw things.

KARIN: Do you mean that it is the residents in the city district who are responsible, that it's the residents' fault that there is more litter in certain areas, like Tensta, compared to Södermalm?

SIRVAN: Yes. I don't understand what Mediya is saying.

MEDIYA: No, it's not like that. If we take this example: how often does the housing company make investments in these places? Clean them? At my workplace [in Södermalm] they clean every day, in Östermalm it is every day. But here [in Tensta] I don't think it is every day.

SIRVAN: You mean the streets or the houses?

MEDIYA: I mean the streets, the houses and everything.

SIRVAN: But I don't think that they clean every day in Stockholm, I don't think so.

MEDIYA: Well perhaps not every day, but it's maintained better. Snow for example or grit, we do not have grit, when we walk, I usually go around like this until I find a good place [where it is not so slippery]. There is not so much grit on the roads. But in Östermalm or in other place, we say Sollentuna, Solna or [...] there is a lot of grit.

SIRVAN: But people [...]

HEYBELAR: They litter and throw everything.

SIRVAN: Here they litter on the streets.

MEDIYA: If I litter, my son will litter as well. If I behave, my son will behave. If the housing companies would maintain these buildings, people would behave.

GULNAZ: In this specific area it is fairly clean, but at Hyppingeplan it is really dirty. People here try to keep the area clean. I think that the Swedes are tired of cleaning everyday when it gets dirty right away. [...]

HEYBELAR: But maybe in these other places people themselves strew grit on the roads outside their houses?

MEDIYA: No, it is not like that. The Swedes, they know that if they fall and break their leg, it is the state that is responsible. But here people don't know these things, they don't know that they have the right to gritted roads.

SIRVAN: But it works fine to walk here.

MEDIYA: No, one *cannot* walk here. One has to go around to the main road.

KARIN: You mean that those that are responsible for the gritting here just don't bother doing it very well?

MEDIYA: Yes, I don't blame the people, I always blame those in charge.

KARIN: I see, and you [turns to the others in the group] blame the people a bit more?

SIRVAN/BENDEWAN/GULNAZ/HEYBELAR: Yes [laughter].

GULNAZ: Perhaps they don't grit very well, but then people litter a lot and dog dirt and things like that. It is the people who do that, or young people who don't help out, they don't care.

MEDIYA: But they shouldn't become tired. If the housing company gets tired with people who litter, they[...].

4.3.2 Perspectives on nature, green areas and the local environment

In this section the following questions are discussed: How do the residents perceive their local environment? How are their local environments or habitats delimited? What issues are seen as qualities and drawbacks in the local area? And furthermore, how do the residents relate to nature and green areas? What is seen as the role of nature and green areas?

Better off-groups have larger habitats

In the interviewees' stories about their movements, where they go, meet friends, do errands and where they feel comfortable, it is clear that some of them live more local lives and others more regional. In general, the

better-off and Swedish or Finnish interviewees describe that they use a large part of the Stockholm region. They do errands or meet with people locally in Spånga, in the neighbouring areas of Vällingby, Bromma and Kista, as well as in the inner city of Stockholm. Many of them have lived their whole lives, or at least several years, in the Stockholm region, often in different areas before moving to Gamla Spånga. This means that they often have friends not only in the local or neighbouring areas but also in other parts of the Stockholm region, which can explain that they visit and feel at home in several other places as well. The great majority of the better-off and Swedish interviewees (all residents of Gamla Spånga) also own or share country houses in Sweden that they spend time at in the summers and sometimes also on the weekends – something that also extends their habitat.

The interviewees that have migrated to Sweden, in combination with having low-status jobs generally lead their lives more locally and primarily visit the neighbouring areas of Rinkeby, Kista and Hjulsta, but not the neighbouring area of Spånga. When asked where they do errands or meet with friends it is generally in the small centre in Tensta or in Kista where there is a big indoor shopping mall with restaurants. Idris, the assistant nurse with Somali background, describes the following:

KARIN: What do you do when you have time off from work?

IDRIS: I go to Rinkeby and meet friends. I mostly socialise with Somalis. I stay here in Hjulsta, Tensta, Rinkeby. During the summers I have mostly been here and sometimes I visited the inner city, looked around and went to an outdoor café, and once I have been to the archipelago. It was very nice.

Merwan, the pizza cook with Kurdish background, uses similar wording about his spare time:

MERWAN: I spend time with the family, go shopping, take a walk, meet friends, relatives. I have quite a lot of relatives here.

KARIN: Where do they live?

MERWAN: Some live in Vällingby, Kista or here in Tensta. [...] During the summers we usually, there is a parking space here, we usually go there, or sometimes to the waterfront in Hässelby or Vällingby.

KARIN: So mostly in the northern part of the city. Do you ever go to the inner city or to the south of the city?

MERWAN: No, no. It happens that we go there just for a change, but generally there is nothing for us there. We usually keep ourselves to our part of town, if it is possible to say so.

Of the interviewees that have immigrated to Sweden, some visit their home countries once a year, while others have not been back at all, or perhaps once. Other factors that seem to influence the spatial extension of the interviewees' habitats are gender and age, where the elderly generally lead more local lifestyles. Some of the women with immigrant background describe that they mostly spend time in the local area but that there are public spaces in the local area – cafés and parks – where they do not feel welcome.

According to the postal survey, low- and high-educated respondents use local parks and green areas the same amount. However, immigrants and Tensta dwellers use local parks and green areas more often compared to Swedes and dwellers of Gamla Spånga. This could probably be explained by the fact that more than three quarter of the Gamla Spånga dwellers (which overall means Swedes) have their own gardens³² and, as mentioned previously, in many cases also summer houses. What is shown in the postal survey is also confirmed in the interviews – the Tensta-dwellers and residents with immigrant background appear to use the parks and green areas in the neighbourhood to a larger extent than the Spånga dwellers and Swedes. There are however exceptions. Miranda, the Chilean-born assistant nurse, describes how she does not visit the local parks as she thinks that these are mismanaged. She prefers to go to a park in nearby Rissne or Rålambshovsparken – a park in the inner city.

However, when it comes to visiting “forestland and the sea,” according to the postal survey, the Tensta dwellers as well as immigrants do not do this as often as the Gamla Spånga dwellers or Swedes (20% of the Tensta dwellers answer that they never visit “forestland and the sea,” while the figure for Gamla Spånga dwellers is 6%).

Tensta: a well-planned area, but problems with litter, traffic and the reputation of the area

Overall, the interviewed residents of Tensta liked the physical aspects of their area; they particularly appreciated the well-planned structure of the area, the air, greenery and light between the blocks of houses, the traffic system, the playgrounds and the surrounding green fields. Several persons with immigrant background (Syrian, Turkish-Kurdish, Somali, Iraqi-Kurdish and Finnish) particularly emphasised the physical qualities of the area and, for example, the good standard of the apartments. Ashur, the turner and his wife Zada, the assistant nurse, both with Syrian

32. According to the postal survey, 77% of the G:a Spånga dwellers live in one- or two-family houses or in row-/chain-houses, while only 10% of the Tensta-dwellers live like this.

background, explain:

ASHUR: I think it is just perfect actually. It is special if you ask me who comes from abroad. When it comes to housing environments I don't think there is any other country like Sweden [...]. I mean where one lives with noise, traffic, roads, biking lanes and so. It is entirely perfect in fact. I have been in many other countries, Holland, Canada. Housing environment in Sweden, it is the best so far [...].

ZADA: Yes, because it is planned so that there are apartments and then some greenery just out front. It is not like this in Holland or Belgium for example. It can be one house after the other and no greenery between. And they do not think that the children need a playground where they can play. Then you have to take them further away, not in front of the apartments.

Also, a large part of the elderly interviewees (in this case 55+), residing in Tensta as well as in Gamla Spånga, point out that the area is very nice and well planned.

Those who say they do not like the appearance of Tensta are generally those who do not live there (i.e., Gamla Spånga residents). Some of them describe the area as unattractive because of the high-rise buildings and too much concrete. However, there are also Tensta dwellers that are critical about the physical appearance. One entrepreneur in his fifties, with Iranian background, says that the architecture of the area is dull and that it is time for the cultural diversity of Tensta to be mirrored in the architecture and the facilities, like more oriental architecture and perhaps a place for a hammam.³³ Some interviewees also bring up that Tensta Centrum is run-down and that the choice of shops and facilities is too limited – that it would be good to have some more shops, chains like H&M, for instance, or a cinema.

If the planning of Tensta is often described in positive ways, there are, however, other problems in the area that the interviewees bring up. Something that bothers a majority of the Tensta dwellers, of all cultural backgrounds, is that so few Swedes live in the area. Merwan, the pizza cook, explains this:

MERWAN: We as adults like [Tensta] but it is not a place where we would like our children to grow up. There are almost no Swedes that live in the area. It is only us immigrants. So it is not good for the children. For me it does not matter, I was

33. A Turkish bath, common in Muslim countries.

grown-up when I came here so there is no problem with living here. But for the sake of the children we would like to move.

He and his wife are worried that their children will not learn “proper Swedish” or get integrated into the Swedish society. This is also something mentioned by several other interviewees who have children in nurseries or schools. Ashur, the turner, and his wife, Zada, describe how they have fought for their two children to be allowed to go to another school, in an area where there are more Swedish pupils, so that they would learn “proper Swedish” and participate in Swedish traditions. Many Tensta residents point out that they would not like to live in an area with only Swedes, but rather an area with a mix of Swedes and people of other cultural background.

Those who have lived in or know the area for decades point out that Tensta’s character has changed. Patrik, a 33-year old media consultant who grew up in Tensta but now lives in Gamla Spånga, describes this:

PATRIK: Tensta was entirely fantastic when I was a child. It was an idyll when I was younger. It is indeed well planned, particularly for families with children. But then the better-off families started to move to Spånga, Bromsten and other areas. And so the area became an ‘immigrant hole’.

But it is still a very good area, good solidarity. But more criminal elements have come there and more people with lower education and without jobs. Before there were many people with university education who lived in Tensta, people who each year went on vacation abroad. Back then there was nothing strange about living there as it is today.

But still it is a really good place, it is green and there are many good playgrounds and sport fields. If one compares with other similar areas, like Blåkulla in Solna, then Tensta is much better really. But now the houses have decayed, many landlords don’t give shit about the houses.

What bothers several of the Tensta residents is the bad reputation that their area has received the last years, not the least in the media – that Tensta is all the time mentioned together with crime, unemployed immigrants, segregation problems and religious fundamentalism. Almost all of the residents point out that the area is not as bad as people from better-off areas think. Alexandros, the job-seeking chef with Greek background, describes how he avoids telling potential employers that he lives in Tensta:

ALEXANDROS: When I go to interviews I am nowadays ashamed if they ask me, “Where do you live?” I don’t like to say Tensta because it has such a bad name. Well it is like this. Okay the reputation of Tensta is not as bad as that of Rinkeby but it is still like a ghetto, so usually I say Spånga.

Ashur, the turner, describes a similar situation:

ASHUR: It is like this. My friends at work for instance. It is only me and another guy who are foreigners, the others Swedish, maybe 70–80 employees. And they, some, they only heard this about Tensta and they say, “So, how is it over there? Is it like another country?” And they are even afraid to come here and visit. But the Swedes that live here, if one asks them, they like the area very much. I have met several on sport fields and so, and I ask them, also young guys, and they say, “But we like it here.” It is like this. It is just rumours, this about Rinkeby-Tensta, that the media makes.

Riitta, the librarian with Finnish background, and Miranda, the Chilean-born assistant nurse, are concerned with what others think about Tensta. Their children constantly tell them that they should move from the area – that it is not safe. Riitta really likes the area, but she admits that she gets influenced when her son says that it is not safe and that she ought to move. Miranda on the other hand has really come to dislike the area and indeed wants to move. She however does not explain this by the bad reputation in the media; rather, she says that Tensta has become unsafe and she exemplifies it with a series of events that have happened to her and her family: repeated burglary in their car and in their storage room, sexual assaults, damage to their home and that there is more littering in the area.

According to the postal survey, 20 percent of the Tensta residents claim that they are “very discontented” with the safety in the area (while the figure for Gamla Spånga is only 6 percent). Zada, the assistant nurse with Syrian background, argues though that she feels much safer in Tensta compared to other ‘more Swedish’ areas and that she is sure that people would help her if something would happen and she would scream. She argues that:

ZADA: We immigrants are more inclined to see what is going on [...] and to intervene and act. I am sorry that I say this, but Swedes can say, “But I don’t know this person, what do I have to with this?” Honestly speaking, I have experienced this. I work in a hospital and

I have really met people that have been seriously assaulted. “But was there nobody there that could intervene?” “Yes, there were, but they didn’t do anything.” But here people really intervene.

A problem that is brought up in several of the interviews is the road situation in Tensta. Maj-Britt, a retired clerk, Eija, the journalist and teacher, Ahmed, the unemployed and Ali, a 32-year old student with Somali background, all argue that the fact that the six-laned road E18 is going to be extended next to Tensta and Rinkeby and then be submerged in a tunnel further south is unjust. Maj-Britt explains her view on this:

MAJ-BRITT: We, I mean Järva Folkets Park [a local organisation], have written to the National Road Authority or whoever it is that are doing this with E18, expanding it, and protested as much as we can. Because they can afford to place the road in tunnels in the southern part of town, but they cannot afford it here, because they say, “It is not all that important here, among all the immigrants.” This is the way it is.

Maj-Britt and others have furthermore tried to get the authorities to lower the maximum speed level on the road that goes between Tensta and Rinkeby, where many children cross, but that it has not succeeded – something that Maj-Britt finds upsetting since it has been possible for other areas like Bromsten or Bromma to get such limitations.

Like Miranda, a great majority of the Tensta residents complain about the trash in the area. Some are however careful to point out that there are differences within Tensta, some blocks of houses and open spaces are very well kept, while others are very dirty. Turkish-Kurd nursery staffers Nilüfer and Tahira describe a place which is very dirty:

NILÜFER: People throw, I don’t understand [...].

TAHIRA: [...] out of the bathroom window, napkins, women’s pads and [...] I mean, one doesn’t throw bloody pads out of the windows [...]. It is the worst place in all of Tensta. I have been working around and I have several friends that live here. It is so [...]. It is dirty.

The great majority of the Tensta residents point out that Tensta is much dirtier than other places, for instance, Spånga or the inner city. There are also other complaints regarding the management of the area. Eija, the journalist and teacher with Finnish background, as well as Abdalla, the taxi driver with Somali background, describe how the bus service in Ten-

sta is mismanaged, that there are more delays and cancelled lines compared to other “more Swedish areas.” Abdalla who previously worked as a bus driver for the company, explains this by saying that the immigrant population of Tensta and similar areas are not so inclined to complain when there are problems, and if they do, the bus company does not take it as seriously as when Swedes complain. Eija’s story is similar:

EIJA: They say that they have invested a lot, but a couple of years ago it got worse with the buses in Tensta, fewer trips, fewer buses, different routes, which means that we for instance have to go to the other side of town to get [...]. One hasn’t done anything here, and I think one simply doesn’t care a damn about it. I am inclined to think that this is the way it is. One doesn’t care about the people [...] in Tensta. [...] And people here don’t have much of a say, and irrespective of how much people protest, nothing happens. Well I, I know people that protest, but what more can we do [...] buses that come twice an hour, either it comes five minutes early or it doesn’t come at all. When this happens several times, then I call SL [the public transport company] or e-mail or something. But nothing has changed, nothing. So you know it depends on who calls and where this person lives. This is the way it is. I mean, what I am saying now, if you would interview somebody in a fancy area by the sea, like Lidingö, they would speak of entirely different things. They would talk about the boats to Finland that bother their little balcony or so, I mean it all depends on the situation.

Gamla Spånga green and nice, and Bromsten on the verge of “tipping”

All interviewees in Gamla Spånga liked their area; some use superlatives and say they like it very much and even that it is the best place they could ever think of, that it is just perfect.

Many interviewees raise the joys of having a garden of their own, that the area is green and that there is good transportation. Gamla Spånga is described as combining the best of two worlds: the calmness and greenery of the suburb with mainly detached houses and yet in 12 minutes you can be in the inner city of Stockholm. Ulrika, the public official, describes what she likes about the area:

ULRIKA: I like that it is old, that I know that there have been people living there for a long time. And then I like Spånga Centrum very much. Not because I go shopping there so very much, but it feels genuine. It is not a place that has been planned to be a suburb to Stockholm. It was there before. I even think it was a

town with its own administration for a short period and I think that is good. For this reason among others I am proud to be a Spånga resident. And then I like the area, both with old houses [...] and it is amazing, have you been around? Because there is so much densification going on and sites that have been parcelled out and then built on so it can be quite difficult to find one's way around [...]. But I like it, it is like a mix. It is not like a posh area but it is like [...] well, nice. At least Solhem.

Patrik, the media consultant, also stresses that he moved to Flysta in Gamla Spånga because he wanted to live in an *old* area with detached houses where there are no possibilities that high-rise buildings will suddenly be erected.

According to the interviewees, Solhem is the most exclusive area, yet quite similar to Flysta and Sundby, while Bromsten is described as more mixed and in different terminology. Harald, the electrical engineer who has lived in Bromsten for 25 years, describes how the area is changing:

HARALD: What is negative [about Bromsten] is evidently a phenomenon, as you know we have several immigrants that have come to Rinkeby and Tensta and many of them have become established, started to make a lot of money and then want to move from these areas. So this means that we have people moving from Rinkeby and Tensta into the areas with one-family houses, and more are coming, more and more of the neighbours have immigrant background so to say. For good and bad. In many cases it works all fine and in some cases it doesn't work at all. For us, we have been lucky, we haven't had any trouble close to us.

KARIN: When there is trouble, what kind of trouble is it?

HARALD: Well, a good friend that lives some blocks away from us has trouble in that there is a family, or if they now are three families, that bought a house together. So they moved in, 18 persons in what was a one-family house, which means that there are several people that move around, with a little bit different traditions, a little different noise levels, different behaviours, and that easily becomes troublesome. So he has started to think about if he is forced to sell and find somewhere better to live.

Several interviewees argue that Bromsten's nearness to Tensta and Rinkeby is what makes the area less attractive. People fear that their children might be placed in schools in Tensta or that the young Tensta and Rinkeby residents who are up to mischief might come into Bromsten.

Susanna, a 35-year-old nurse living in Solhem, says that the local newspaper often reports about thefts or trouble in Gamla Spånga caused by residents of Tensta or Rinkeby, which makes her feel unsafe. Lennart, a retired bank official, argues on the other hand that the fear of mischief has no real ground, that Bromsten is not unsafe compared to other areas. Kennet, a 55-year old electrical repairer living in Bromsten, describes the same transformation of the area as Harald but in more positive terms:

KENNET: Here are mostly detached houses, but now one can see it in my area as well, that when a Swede moves out from a house, then foreigners or immigrants, or whatever you say, come in. So now there are immigrants in our houses, very nice I think.

Generally, the residents of Gamla Spånga think that the area is well-kept, that the societal services work well – water, waste management, buses, sport facilities – and that there are good commercial facilities around as well. Some do complain about the recycling stations, however, that they are often crammed and have trash lying around. Also, several interviewees complain about the area around Spånga station, where the commuter train and the buses stop, that it has deteriorated, is grey, dirty and unsafe. Some people who have lived in Gamla Spånga for a long time mention that the management of the public greenery is inferior, that trees have been cut down as they are thought to be too costly to manage and that the few small local parks or sports fields are threatened and might be sold off to companies that want to build houses there.

Another problem that is brought up in several interviews is the nearness to Bromma Airport and the disturbances from the airplanes that fly over parts of Gamla Spånga, particularly Flysta and Sundby. Some appear to be quite disturbed but the majority that bring up the airport emphasise that they have become used to it and that it does not bother them that much.

Lennart, the retired bank official, who has lived in Flysta all of his life, describes how he and others in the area are disturbed by the noise and the emission from the airplanes, particularly in the summer when people spend time outdoors. However, he points out that it is not as bad as before when one could smell kerosene all the time and the fruits from the garden were oily with kerosene. For several years he has protested against the airport through the homeowners' association, but many people in the association also wanted to keep the airport. This is also the case for several of the other interviewees who argue that they want to keep Bromma Airport because they use it themselves or that it is important for the economy of Stockholm to have such a central airport. Lennart

describes how the whole issue is complicated: in spite of that people who have houses nearby are disturbed, they think that it would be even worse if new blocks of houses would be built there. Lennart explains this ambivalence:

LENNART: If one would develop Bromma [the airport field], then there are people who would have their houses close to this type of new built-up area where there might be this kind of rental apartment blocks or rental barracks, with immigrants also, and yes, children and youngsters of Swedes that would move in and that would be up to mischief. There is this fear; I have heard it from people that live close [to the airport field]. Because now we actually have a green area there, the closest green area is in fact the airport field, 900 metres from here. And then there is a new pedestrian and bicycle path that goes around this creek [...]. The airplanes pass quite close to this area, but one can, well there is a green field there we often go to, where one can walk with dogs as well. There are in fact both pollution and noise there, but it is still nice to go there.

Nature as a site for recreation, education, contemplation or food source
The view of and usage of nature is slightly different among the interviewed Gamla Spånga residents. As mentioned previously, most of the Gamla Spånga-residents have access to country houses and these places are where they mostly spend time in nature, walk in the forest, swim in lakes or in the sea or sail. Several of the interviewees have quite primitive country houses, sometimes without electricity and running water, where they say they can really rest and get in touch with themselves. Ulrika, the public official describes her country house – a couple of hours north of Stockholm:

ULRIKA: It is in the middle of the forest so it is only us, and we heat the place with a wood stove. The wood stove heats the water. Unfortunately, though, the wood stove is dependent on electricity... . So then it is about nature, in the middle of nature, and it is so nice.

The residents of Gamla Spånga, just like the Tensta residents, describe how they go to the waterfront areas of Nälstabadet, Kanaanbadet or Malteholmsbadet in the summer. Several of the Gamla Spånga residents describe how they take the car to forests or green areas further away, where they go for walks or – depending on the season – ski or pick mushrooms or berries. It is the middle aged or retired Gamla Spånga interviewees that describe mushroom or berry picking and overall not the residents below 40. Among the Tensta residents it is only Finnish librar-

ian Riitta and Finnish journalist and teacher Eija who do these kinds of more extensive trips to forests or green areas and pick mushrooms or berries. In the Kurdish-Iraqi and the Somali groups, they say they do not pick mushrooms since it can be dangerous and one really needs to know the different kinds.

When asked what they do when they are out in green areas, the interviewees with backgrounds in the Middle East or Africa almost all say they have picnics and barbecue on Järvafältet or the green fields surrounding Tensta. Kennet, the electrical repairer who lives in Bromsten but visits Tensta quite often describes what he sees:

KENNET: And during the summers if one goes here [points to the fields between Tensta and Rinkeby and the field south of Tensta] there are hundreds of immigrants, barbecuing, barbecuing and barbecuing, every damn night. And big groups, like 20 persons. Chatting for hours. It looks quite cool.

Some of the Tensta residents also describe how they go for walks or go jogging in the green areas and, during the summer, go to the waterfront areas where one can swim. The Kurdish-Iraqi focus group describes the barbecuing as well as visiting the water:

MEDIYA: We go out quite a lot and barbecue in the summer.

BENDEWAN: Barbecue.

MEDIYA: It is nice in the summer, the field between Rinkeby and Tensta where one can sit. Nice lawn. It is only natural grass. And our children swim, but not us, we do not swim. And we do not go very much to the forest; we don't have so much forest in our country.

KARIN: So is it more the open fields you like?

SIRVAN: Yes, the green lawns here outside Rinkeby and Tensta.

Ahmed, the unemployed man with Somali background who grew up as a nomad, describes how nature and animals, in his upbringing, were something one's whole life was dependent on, but that the view of nature and the environment was generally quite instrumental – nature was there in order to provide people with material and food, but had no value of its own. Both he and Ali describe how in Somalia one would be considered insane if one would go for a walk in the forest.

ALI: If we would go to Somalia and say, "I need to relax, I will go for a walk" [...] they would say, "Yuck, what are you saying? Going out on your own?" They would think that I have become

insane if I would go out in the forest on my own [...]. If you have some time off you want to spend this time with your family and friends, preferably inside, or go for a joint walk on the streets.

As described above, it might vary between ethnic or age groups how one uses nature but a common denominator is that the interviewees primarily talk about nature in the sense of a site for recreation. There are however other aspects that are brought up in the interviews as well, one of them being nature in the role of education. The nursery staffers Nilüfer and Tahira describe how they take the children out in the forest to teach them about nature, different plants and insects. They also mention the activities of *Skogsmulle* (a Swedish phenomenon where a man is dressed up as a goblin who sings songs and comes to teach children about nature). Some of the elderly Spånga residents describe how they are interested in birds and plants, just to watch and register them. Hans, a retired economist in his seventies, describe his interest in plants:

HANS: I grew up on Öland [in southeast Sweden], and my aunt was then a teacher in botany and these subjects and she came home to us during the summers and taught me about plants and how I should assemble and display them and so on. And in fact I still have my old herbarium in our bookshelf. I think my plants in the herbarium are from 1943, and many people are fascinated that I still keep them, and so we are interested in, so we write, me and Gertrud [his wife], in Spångabladet [a local journal] about our small parks and ponds and so on, how sometimes these have been mistreated. And we have a big kitchen garden [...] and a big garden and we are interested in it. And this has influenced our children a lot, and now we have a grandchild who is only six and she is, she will become a plant collector.

Ali, the student, and Ahmed, the unemployed man, both with Somali background, describe how children in Sweden devote a lot of time to learning about nature, something that he is not used to in his upbringing in Somalia:

AHMED: And in the nursery, the children have to be outside, the staff is very concerned that the children get out in the forest, spend time in nature, get to know different trees, plants. For us you're insane if you go out in the forest. It is nothing you would ever want to do. And the parents are surprised and say, "What a waste of time."

ALI: I worked in a school for a period and we went out and picked

plants and different leaves from the trees and then pasted them on paper and taught the children what kinds of trees they came from. This is unthinkable in Somalia. They would learn important things like math, language, theories, geography, the Koran. But here we are taught differently [laughing].

KARIN: What do you think about this? Do you think it is waste of time?

ALI: No, it is important. We have changed our attitude, of course. I was 20 years when I came here so one has adapted to a lot of the thinking and one can see why nature is important and such. One changes. Environmental thinking, that it is important with the environment and all of that. It's like a socialisation process, so irrespective of what one's parents think of nature, we think differently.

Factors influencing relationship to nature:

education, faith, gender, ethnic and urban/rural background

According to the postal survey, level of education and having immigrant background or not seem not to matter for "interest of being in nature." However, when it comes to how often people actually go out to "forest-land or the sea" during the summer-spring period there are quite big differences among people with different levels of education as well as ethnic background: 52 percent of the respondents with university education claim they go out in nature several times a week or once a week, while only 29 percent of those with elementary education do this. Also, ethnic background appears to matter: 45 percent of Swedes go out in nature at least once a week, while 33 percent of those with immigrant background do the same.

Several of the interviewees point out that the interest in and care of nature relates to ethnic background in the sense that some groups come from countries where there are other overriding problems, such as war. Ashur, the turner, and his wife, Zada, both with Syrian background, describe how different groups appear to care about nature to different degrees:

ASHUR: This [that there is a lot of trash in the green areas] might have to do with that certain people don't care about nature, about order in the area they live. They don't care about keeping the place where they live tidy [...].

KARIN: What do you think makes some people care more about nature?

ASHUR: It is almost natural in people, that some like nature, pine trees and that it should look nice. And then there are some that don't care. They sort of don't see the green place. For example,

if children are playing football on a lawn. Some would not allow destroying the lawn, so there are not so many that say to them, “Children, aren’t there any other places for football than this lawn?” So in this area [Tensta], fewer things are done. Of course, it is not that people are wrong, maybe it is the information, that they don’t know what they are supposed to do [...].

ZADA: In some places there are many big families. And from what I have noticed, nature is not what they care about. It is the kind of families that have come from countries where nature doesn’t count.

Both Ahmed and Ali, describe how they found Swedes’ relationship to nature and the environment very different from what they were used to. Ali explains:

ALI: People in Somalia don’t view nature in the way Swedes do [...]. Like, you do sports in nature, like orienteering, go out in the forest with a map. In Västerbotten [northern Sweden] I saw this and was totally fascinated that people went out in the forest all the time, looking for different things with a map [...]. When I lived in Västerbotten I picked berries, blueberries [...].

KARIN: Did somebody show you, or?

ALI: It was my Swedish contact family, they showed me how to do it. They invited me to their house, they picked rhubarb in the garden and made pie with the rhubarb, very good.

In the Swedish Spånga focus group it is discussed if there is a so called Swedish view of nature and what might characterise this. Lars, a retired architect, Margareta, a public official, Folke, a retired farmer, and Hans, the retired economist argue that there might be something of a Swedish or perhaps Scandinavian relationship characterised by closeness to nature, the forest, the sea, which is also made possible by the Right of Public Access to nature and the countryside (*Allemansrätten*). Folke points out that this is a rather unique legal right which makes it possible for all people to for instance access shores or open land, which is not the case in many other countries. Lars, however, notes that Swedes might take this closeness and easy access to nature for granted while Europeans living on the more densely populated continent value the qualities in Swedish nature even higher than what Swedes actually do.

There might be other factors, not captured in the postal survey, that are influential when it comes to interest in environmental issues. For instance, all five persons, in their sixties and seventies, in the Gamla Spånga focus group grew up in the countryside and see this as an explanation for

their interest in nature.

FOLKE: Nature has been very important to my whole lifestyle, particularly because of my background [as farmer south of Stockholm and upbringing in the countryside], the nearness to forest and land and interest in both plants and animals and, for many years, also a passionate hunter. So there were reasons in all seasons. Mushrooms and berries have always been there, just like going out an early morning and sitting down somewhere to study birds or animals and things like that.

MARGARETA: Yes, I think if one has grown up in the countryside one gets it through the mother's milk somehow, that one needs that light and the mushrooms [...].

FOLKE: That was of course one of the difficult things when we left the farm in Sörmland to move here that we didn't really have any space to breathe so to say [...].

LARS: I have also grown up in the countryside, in Norrbotten [northern Sweden] and I think that one gets close to nature in a different way, and the animals also, and the changing seasons. I think this is very important. One sees that all seasons have their characteristics and their benefits, I experience that a lot, so I like it very much here also. We have a big garden and it changes [...] so I would not like to live in an apartment in the city like people do. This thing about having direct contact with the ground and the garden and seeing the plants and working with it.

Also, Ahmed who grew up as a nomad, notes how the relationship to nature relates to urban/rural background, and furthermore how nature and the countryside has come to signify backwardness as more and more people in Somalia move to the cities.

Another factor that has come up in the interviews that might influence peoples' relationship to nature and the environment is faith, outlook on life, or belief systems. Ulrika, the public official and resident of Solhem, Dagmar, the retired housewife in Bromsten and Susanna, the nurse in Solhem, are all Christian believers and it seems as if this influences the way they think about the environment as well as the world and their role in it. Ulrika describes how her engagement in environmental issues is connected to experiences in nature and her faith in life:

ULRIKA: I have a very strong feeling that I am part of something larger, a totality somehow, and I don't think that all people have this feeling, and if one doesn't, I think it is much more

difficult to feel, I'll do this at least and it matters [...].

KARIN: From where do you think that you got this outlook?

ULRIKA: I think I have it from home, very much from home. My father is a priest and also a son of a farmer, and then we have been in the country house, and there I have kind of seen well, what I do in nature, it's like we belong somehow. So what I have read about Indians and so, I feel like I understand them, I understand exactly! When we lived in the US I read an Indian fairy tale for the children, I don't think it was Sitting Bull, but some other big Indian chief who was about to leave the last piece of land he had [...] and then it was about the environment, "If you want to, take land from us, we don't own any land because we are part of everything and in the river runs grandmother and in the tree sings grandfather," and so on. And then I felt, this is exactly how I feel, that I kind of, well what I do matters and we are a part of, or I am. We need the trees because they produce oxygen and we need the mosquitoes that the birds can eat and so on. And then I think this spiritual thing is also there, that there is some greater meaning with life somehow, which makes, well, that also matters of course.

Aygül, an assistant nurse with Turkish background, and Mediya, the Iraqi-Kurdish NGO official, point out how their Muslim belief matters for the way they relate to things that are "larger than themselves." They both describe how Ramadan – the Muslim fasting period – particularly is important for connecting and feeling solidarity with poor or starving people in the world and for being a good fellow being – which could extend to environmental concern as well. Bendewan, Sirvan and Mediya, in the Iraqi-Kurdish focus group, discuss the relationship between humans and other species:

BENDEWAN: It is like a puzzle, I can say. We cannot live without animals. Nature – it is the same. This is what I think.

SIRVAN: But it is not logical to liken animals with people. If one meets a lion, it will eat you, right? Humans are over animals. Since humans cannot survive otherwise, therefore they must rule over the animals [...]. The animals cannot rule over humans [...].

MEDIYA: I think animals are part of nature, just like we are also part of nature. We need nature, just like the animals do.

BENDEWAN: We come from each other. We are dependent on each other.

It can be noted that it is primarily the female interviewees who see themselves as being part of nature or a larger system. However, differences in terms of gender were hardly brought up at all by the interviewees themselves.

4.3.3 Becoming environmentally aware

Several, but certainly not all, interviewees describe themselves as “environmentally aware” or “concerned with environmental issues,” being more or less knowledgeable about environmental problems and having ideas about what measures ought to be taken, on an individual or more structural level. How have these persons then become concerned with environmental issues? This question is discussed in this section.

Environmental awareness as a result of personal experiences in nature

As has been touched upon in previous sections, one way of becoming environmentally aware is through knowledge of and personal experiences in nature. Ulrika, the public official, describes how she has observed changes in nature and how this appears to have direct influence on her interest in more eco-friendly consumption:

ULRIKA: And about nature, since we have this vacation home in Dalarna, and that is really in nature, with lots of forests, and when I am there I can see the environmental changes, because there is a lot of forest clearing and it is really unbelievable how the environment is being affected. And then there are those who think that this might be positive but I think it is scary to see. And there I have also noticed that the lichen on the trees, before when I was a child I remember how the trees, they had lots of such lichen, like beards. And I have read somewhere that the lichen needs fresh air, not too acid I think, well I don't know exactly, but I have always been happy about the lichen but now I notice how it is disappearing more and more. And then I feel, well you can really see it. So in that way I buy and think and we have discussed buying a more eco-friendly car.

Eija, the journalist and teacher, describes how she has personal experience of environmental degradation and from these experiences has become very concerned with environmental issues, particularly water issues:

EIJA: Water, it is [...] for me, since I come from northern Finland

where they built dams, and I didn't realise it until 25 years after it was built. And it was so beautiful [...] during night time I went there with my father and just watched it. But then it wasn't long until my father and my stepmother [...] both got mercury poisoned from the fish they ate from the dam. So it has been, there has been a lot of misery, a lot of environmental issues there. So one shouldn't play with nature like that, I don't think one should, definitely not.

Apart from these two examples, there are many other stories of how the interviewees have been, or are, personally exposed to environmental problems or environmental degradation; for instance Folke, the retired farmer, describes how he has seen bird species disappear; the Kurdish-Iraqi women describe a lack of access to clean water and severe pollution in Iraq. Alexandros, the job-seeking chef, describes how he is worried about climate change:

ALEXANDROS: One is a little bit afraid. This summer I thought it was really nice weather here in Sweden, and for a very long time, it was almost warm for four weeks in a row. Maybe it rained twice, it wasn't that bad. And everybody was really happy. I was really worried, well I was glad that it was sunny, but then I still got sort of worried that there was something wrong. It shouldn't be like this in Sweden. So it is something that is changing. It's not only here; it's all over Europe. So some things one has to think of, which certain people don't do, they don't reflect in general, not even on their own flaws or their problems, people who just live on, live by the day. But I got really worried; I was happy, but still really worried. Because I heard, all over Europe, that it was [...] or maybe it had rained too much in Spain? It was something like that, it was like, you could call it small catastrophes or totally wrong weather. Well, so one, I got really worried, particularly this summer. Then one has known for a long time that the ice on the South Pole and North Pole is melting and what this means, I read it two weeks ago, the polar bears don't find any ice floes to lay down on, so they drown. And these things are nothing, so many things have just happened in front of our eyes.

Environmental awareness through media and coming to Sweden

Ahmed and Ali, with Somali background, describe how they are worried about environmental degradation in Somalia and Africa in general. In latter years, deforestation has become widespread, which implies that many of the animals are fleeing to Kenya. They explain:

ALI: In the countryside, people cut the forest and sell it to get money. It is because we have no functioning government or institutions that protect it [...].

AHMED: Before the government used to protect nature and the animals since it was a tourist attraction [...]. And in the sea there are boxes and one doesn't know what they contain, they were just dumped there and people wonder [...].

ALI: It is a company which collects waste from Europe and dumps it in the Indian Ocean. They are real hypocrites.

AHMED: There is no coastguard protecting the Somali coast, no functioning government [...]. Many women who live close to the sea have had children with birth defects.

ALI: It was shown in a documentary on Swedish television.

As Ali points out, watching television is another way of being informed about environmental issues. Several interviewees mention how their concern for environmental issues has been aroused by reading newspapers, watching television, or learning about such issues in school or places such as driver's education, and not necessarily personal or bodily experiences. Harald, the electrical engineer, describes how his interest in environmental issues began:

HARALD: I remember the first ecology course at the Institute of Technology, '67, it was in connection with that we read Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. Well that was, it must have been before your time, but that was an overall really important document. It was this that awakened the interest. So we went from evening course in ecology to voluntary course. And from then on things have developed from, well, being unconscious about things to being something that I found very important and then into a state where one doesn't know anymore, if one should believe in people. I mean, where is the limit, to what extent are they right?

A few, primarily elderly, persons point out how their economising with resources, saving water and energy, has to do with how they were brought up in times when electricity and water was exclusive. Thus, this behaviour is not foremost a manifestation of eco-friendliness but rather a general perspective of not using more resources than you need, a combination of environmental and economic thinking and just being modest in life.

Furthermore, many interviewees of immigrant background, more specifically from Somalia, Iraq, Turkey and Syria, describe how they

have learnt about the environment and become environmentally aware since they came to Sweden. This was illustrated by a conversation in the Kurdish-Iraqi group when Sirvan, the cleaner, said, "Environment, it was new for us. A new thing," and Mediya, resident and NGO official, continued, "We that have gotten used to, we that have learnt about environment, how environment is here in Sweden, then one wonders why the others in the home country don't think of it. Now we have a lot of knowledge."

4.4 FIGURES, SPÅNGA-TENSTA

1. Map of the Stockholm region
2. Map of Spånga-Tensta
3. Houses in Solhem
4. The centre of Spånga
5. New houses in Solhem
6. Houses in Tensta
7. Courtyard in Tensta with playground and residential entrance
8. House with external galleries
9. Central Gamla Spånga
10. Children in Tensta
11. Houses in Flysta
12. Shop in Spånga Centre
13. Shop in Tensta
14. Vegetable market in Spånga Centre

SOURCES

Figure 1: maps.google.com

Figure 2: The City of Stockholm, www.stockholm.se

Figures 3-14: Photos taken by Karin Bradley



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

5 The Burngreave case

This chapter contains four parts. In the first part (5.1) I give a brief background to the case study area, its location, infrastructure, housing, services and inhabitants. In the second part, 4.2, the strategies for urban sustainability in the area are described, drawing from the documents as well as from the interviews with professionals. In the third part, 4.3, the perspectives of the residents on environmental concerns are described. The fourth part, 4.4, consists of maps and pictures of the area.

5.1. BACKGROUND TO BURNGREAVE

5.1.1 Location, housing, services, green areas and transport

Burngreave is located just north of the Sheffield city centre and the Don Valley, around which the steelworks were located (see figures 16-17, p. 219). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Burngreave was transformed from agricultural land to a housing area for the city's industrialists and professionals. At this time it was a wealthy area, which can be seen in the large Victorian villas that you can still find along some of the main roads. The elaborate and leafy Burngreave Cemetery from the 1850s is another reminiscence of the period. The many new houses built during this period and on for industrial workers included terraced houses and high density back-to-back houses. During the postwar period many of these houses were demolished and new estates of council housing and flats were built.

Today, Burngreave is an urban area dominated by housing, intermingled with some commercial facilities and services. There are also two fairly distinct employment zones in the area with some manufacturing industry as well as offices and a large hospital area. There is a variety of housing in Burngreave: the old large villas, terraced houses of different sizes from the early 1900s and on, blocks of council flats from the 1960s and 1970s as well as town houses from the 2000s. The area is indeed characterised by a mix of housing: in terms of size, history, gardens, tenure and location. Around 50 percent of the housing is council housing, 30 percent owner occupied, 7 percent housing association and 8 percent privately rented.³⁴ However, the share of council housing has become

34. These figures apply for the BNDfC area, i.e. Woodside, Burngreave and Abbeyfield. BNDfC (2001).

lower during recent years as large estates of council housing have been demolished, particularly in the Woodside area. There are current plans for a large new housing area on this site as well as more small scale development on other sites. The average household in Burngreave has around 4.8 rooms, which can be compared with the city average of 5.2 rooms (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 28). The average household size is 2.4, which is just slightly above the city average of 2.3, however behind Burngreave's average figure there is a comparatively high share of single households as well large households (*ibid.*).

The area is hilly and from several points there are views over the city. There are several different parks and open spaces, some old Victorian parks and other open spaces that have never been developed or that have emerged from the recent clearance of houses or allotments. Adjacent to Burngreave is a large open space with a landfill site, Shirecliffe.

In relation to the recession and the decline of the steel industry in the 1980s and 1990s, Burngreave became an area of high unemployment and poverty – a downturn that also made clear marks in the streetscape of the area. In official documents from the early 2000s it is stated that “the physical infrastructure is in a dreadful state” (BNDfC, 2001: 4) and “when travelling through the area, however, it is impossible to ignore the numerous derelict sites, boarded-up homes and fly-tipped areas” (*ibid.*: 5). Several of the large villas as well as other houses are rundown. Also, some of the parks are rundown and overgrown whilst other are fairly well maintained.

The area around Spital Hill and Ellesmere could be described as the centre of Burngreave with a number of shops, cafés, restaurants, mosques, a surgery, library, post office and other community facilities. However this area is described in official documents as “shabby” and “rundown” and that it “depreciates the area as a whole for the visitors passing through” (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 10; BNDfC, 2001: 4). There are other road stretches where there are convenience stores, take-away shops and one or more pubs, but it is Spital Hill that has the largest agglomeration. There are also a number of churches, mosques and a Sikh temple scattered around Burngreave as well as several nurseries, primary schools and one secondary school.

The area is accessible by car and bus; there are no assigned cycle routes or other forms of public transport apart from bus. However, it is possible to walk from central Burngreave to the city centre in around 15 minutes.

5.1.2 Inhabitants

The city of Sheffield houses around half a million people, a figure that has been relatively stable the last decades. Around 24 000³⁵ of these live in Burngreave and in latter years the population of the area has grown more rapidly than the rest of the city (Sheffield City Council, 2008).

At the turn of the previous century Burngreave housed industrial workers from the steel, tool and cutlery industries as well as upper and middle class families. From the 1950s and on Burngreave became the home of migrants mainly from the Caribbean, Yemen and Pakistan that generally worked in the city's industries or public services.³⁶ From the 1970s and on refugees have come to the area from Somalia, Iraq, Sudan, Eritrea and several other countries.³⁷ During recent years groups of Eastern European people have come to Burngreave in search of work and a better life.³⁸

The ethnic composition of residents is described as follows in the City Council's data: "Just one half of the population of Burngreave is of white ethnic origin. About one-quarter of the population is of Asian origin (mainly of Pakistani heritage), with substantial communities of African/Caribbean heritage, Somali or Yemeni origin. [...] 35 percent of births in Burngreave were to mothers whose home language is Urdu/Punjabi, 32 percent of births to mothers who spoke English (black and white and mixed heritage women), 11 percent to Arabic speaking mothers and 9 percent to Somali speaking mothers. Altogether, children have been born in households in which 35 different languages are spoken."³⁹

Overall, the five neighbourhoods of Burngreave do not score very well on the city's statistical comparisons of employment, education and health of its 100 neighbourhoods. For instance, around 5 percent of the residents are employed in higher managerial and professional occupations, which can be compared to the city average of 10 percent (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 10). Two of the Burngreave neighbourhoods – Woodside and Burngreave – are among the ten most deprived in the city.⁴⁰ As an example, the life expectancy of men and particularly women

35. Data from 2006, The Sheffield Neighbourhood Information System (SNIS) <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/in-your-area/snis>, accessed Sep 1, 2008.

36. Burngreave Voices, http://sheffieldgalleries.org.uk/coresite/burngreave_html/immigration.asp, accessed Sept 4, 2008.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Data from 2006, taken from Sheffield City Council (2008: 3).

40. In 2006 Woodside was rated the 2nd most deprived and Burngreave the 8th most deprived. The Sheffield Neighbourhood Information System (SNIS) <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/in-your-area/snis>.

is considerably lower than the city's average (for women, life expectancy is seven years below the city's average; and sixteen years less in Abbeyfield than in one of the most affluent neighbourhoods in the city) (Sheffield City Council, 2008). However the neighbourhoods of Abbeyfield and Fir Vale score considerably better in terms of education and economic activity, just slightly below the city average.⁴¹ It should be noted though that there are pockets within these neighbourhoods where the inhabitants are quite well off.

5.1.3 Reputation and urban regeneration projects

As in Spånga-Tensta, the area of Burngreave has been subject to numerous regeneration programmes. Since 2001 Burngreave has been part of the long-term urban regeneration project called Burngreave New Deal for Communities (BNDfC).⁴²

Conditions are improving in Burngreave, but it has a bad reputation. In the BNDfC document from 2001 it says, "The area has bustle! There are plenty of people to be seen on the streets. A significant number of the people who live in Burngreave like living in Burngreave and don't want to live anywhere else." However, "It is this perception of the area as 'crime-ridden', coupled with its reputation as a drug dealing area, which fuels very strong negative (especially strongly held externally to the area) perceptions of the area" (BNDfC, 2001: 5).

The regeneration project is part of the national government funded programme called the New Deal for Communities, directed towards the most deprived neighbourhoods in the country with the aim of alleviating multiple deprivation so these neighbourhoods come closer to the overall standard of English neighbourhoods.⁴³ Burngreave has been given 52 million pounds over a ten year period (2001–2011), and the resources have been devoted to a wide array of issues, such as improving the physical and green environment, improving safety, raising education levels and

sheffield.gov.uk/in-your-area/snis, accessed Sep 1, 2008.

41. For details, see: The Sheffield Neighbourhood Information System (SNIS) <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/in-your-area/snis>, accessed Sep 1, 2008.

42. The BNDfC-area includes only the three neighborhoods of Woodside, Burngreave and Abbeyfield.

43. For more information about New Deal for Communities, see: <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/page.asp?id=617>, accessed May 15, 2008 and <http://www.ndfc.co.uk/>, accessed May 15, 2008.

supporting local businesses.⁴⁴

It should also be mentioned that communities bid for the New Deal regeneration money; it is not just assigned to them by the government. A criterion for receiving the money is that there should be evidence of a strong and well-organised local community.

This regeneration programme is visible in the area. There is a local information shop on Spital Hill. Many of the residents are involved in community learning projects and entrepreneurship programmes and are being consulted on different topics. There is renovation and rebuilding going on in the area with signposts announcing that it is funded by BNDfC. Thus, residents are likely to be aware that the area is undergoing regeneration.

5.2 PLANNING FOR ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING IN BURNGREAVE

In the sections below the planning strategies promoting eco-friendly living are described, structured similarly to the Spånga-Tensta case study. The description is divided into three sections. The first, 5.2.1, is an account of the main strategies for eco-friendly living, primarily drawing from statements in the public strategic documents, sometimes complemented with quotes or descriptions from the interviewed officials or NGO representatives, whereby they clarify or further explain the strategies. In the second section, 5.2.2, I let the interviewed public officials and NGO representatives reflect on the strategies and describe different perspectives or obscurities in relation to the strategies. In the third section, 5.2.3, the public officials and NGO representatives comment specifically on how the strategies and their work relate to different groups of residents in multicultural and socially diverse areas like Burngreave.

5.2.1 The main strategies for sustainable urban development and eco-friendly living

What planning strategies for ecological sustainable development are then being applied to the city district of Burngreave, and what lifestyles are thought to accompany them? Furthermore, upon what kinds of assumptions and cause-and-effect relations regarding ecological change and the

44. The website of Burngreave New Deal for Communities: <http://www.bndfc.co.uk/about-bndfc/>, accessed May 15, 2008.

inception of environmental responsibility are these strategies based?

Overall, one of Sheffield's ambitions is to become "an attractive, sustainable low carbon city" (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007b: 3). The rationale behind this ambition is simultaneously phrased in terms of the need to reduce carbon emissions and the potential for green growth this creates, which is assumed to lead to attractive and economically strong communities (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 5). As a background to this "challenge/opportunity" information on the make-up of the city's carbon footprint is provided, see figure 15 below.⁴⁵

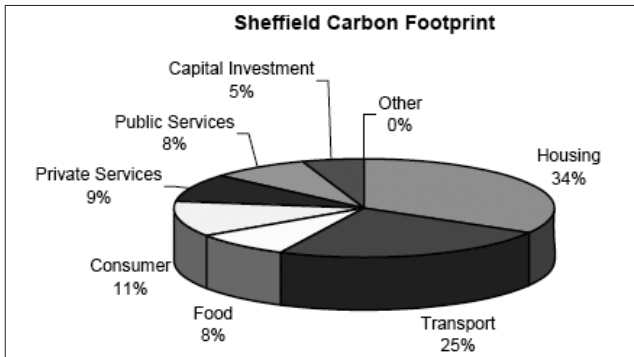


FIG. 15.

How does this overarching ambition to create "an attractive, sustainable low carbon city" then play out in the rhetoric of the strategic planning in the city and in Burngreave in particular? The recurrent themes are grouped into five categories below.

Strong local communities, reduced need to travel

In the city's main strategic document, it is pointed out that an objective

45. The Carbon Footprint is defined as: "Typically, the Carbon Footprint is a measure of the total amount of carbon dioxide emissions that can be attributed to the life cycle impacts of an activity, product or process. The carbon footprint of Sheffield is a measure of the total amount of carbon dioxide emissions that can be attributed to the life cycle impacts of all Sheffield activities, products and processes. Activities include those of organisations, businesses, households and individuals. Performance Indicators for local government will refer to carbon footprints at a city level from 2008. Sheffield's carbon footprint has been calculated by the Stockholm Environment Institute at The University of York." (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 11) The impacts are housing (34%), transport (25%), Consumer (11%), Private Services (9%), Public Services (8%), Food (8%), Capital Investment (5%), and Other (0%).

is to reduce the need to travel (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 18). This is motivated by environmental and effectiveness arguments and it is also noted that “many people would prefer to have a good range of more local facilities and services, and the legacy of district centres, parks and other facilities can contribute to this” (ibid.: 8). However, it is acknowledged that there lies a potential tension in the fact that “some growth in mobility will be essential for the future economy” (ibid.). The specific objective of encouraging local lifestyles and reducing the need to travel, is closely connected with the aim of creating “sustainable,” strong and self-managed communities, which is not only motivated by transport arguments but also wider social, environmental and economic reasons. The *Burngreave New Deal for Communities Delivery Plan* (BNDfC, 2001: 32) as well as the *Environment Strategy* of the partnership organisation Sheffield First emphasise the importance of promoting local economies for achieving environmental sustainability:

Achieving a behavioural shift in consumption patterns and waste generation can come about through a policy of localisation. [...] We should recognise the significance of local sourcing of goods and services and commit Sheffield First Partnership and its partners to making the full contribution to moves in this direction. Localisation supports local supply chains and keeps money circulating within the local economy with local benefits of wealth generation. (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 24)

In line with this reasoning, the City Council developed “sustainability guidance” for developers. Two of the key questions are about how their proposals can be made sustainable and “support and help revitalise the local economy” and “reinforce Sheffield’s neighbourhoods and communities.”⁴⁶ The idea is that strong local economies can be supported through physical planning in terms of locating development on easily accessible locations and increasing the mix of land uses (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 18). As an example, the central commercial street of Spital Hill is being refurbished in Burngreave, and space is being constructed to support local offices, community facilities, shops and services (ibid.). Also live-work units are being constructed in order to encourage people to live and work in the same area. In the Burngreave Master Plan it is noted that a sustainable community is one that has:

46. The Sustainability Guidance is available on the City Councils webpage: <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/planning-and-city-development/development-control/making-an-application/sustainability-guidance>, accessed May 13, 2008.

- an identified centre,
- areas of density around the centre, and
- distinctive character (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 52).

Russell, one of the interviewed council officials, describes how one prevalent interpretation of sustainable community is communities that are not reliant on the state for additional funding, that they sustain themselves. In the Burngreave Master Plan one of the urban design principles is to “provide diversity and choice through a mix of housing types and tenures to attract and retain a mixed and stable community” (ibid.). Self-maintenance is also mentioned by Roberts, one of the environmental NGO-representatives. A goal of the NGO is to support a feeling of ownership in the community so that the maintenance of green open spaces can be done by community members themselves on a voluntary basis. Roberts notes that his organisation’s strategy of using a localised workforce also appears to have been taken up by the city council:

ROBERTS: The council uses a centralised workforce. What we do is to use a localised workforce. So we want Burngreave people to maintain Burngreave’s green spaces, so hopefully we get people that actually care for that green space. It’s not just a place for work but a place they feel some ownership for. So hopefully somebody who lives close to Abbeyfield Park will look after Abbeyfield Park. They would be known as somebody who is local and that might generate a little more respect for the work that they did among local people, so you create bonds between workers and local people. The council is wanting to move towards reintroducing what we used to call park keepers, but under another name. We actually think it is better for the social local economy, to have people working in their own area. It makes no sense to me to have three gardeners who live on the opposite side of the city driving across here to work in this area, and then three who live here driving across to their part of the city, working on their parks. It makes sense to put people where they live.

More use of public transport, walking and cycling

Apart from reducing the need to travel, the importance of supporting public transport, walking and cycling is pointed out (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 9). In the council’s strategic document it is stated that “Sheffield has already had experience of an excellent and well used public transport network but this legacy has suffered decline and much needs to be done to make sustainable transport a more genuinely attractive choice for the

future” (ibid.). Sheffield First Partnership organisations argue as well that the city needs to “re-establish excellence in Sheffield’s public transport” (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 15). However they note that major efforts are needed in order to reverse the current trends. “Car ownership has risen as wealth has increased, despite sustained investment in public transport. The cost of motoring has reduced slightly whilst public transport fares have risen 35 percent since 1990” (ibid.). The Sheffield First Partnership organisations thus recognise that they “need to deliver an attractive and effective transport network providing *real* opportunities for active, low carbon lifestyles” (my emphasis on real) (ibid.: 5).

In the council’s strategy this translates into improving cycling and walking routes (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 52) and locate new transport intensive development in areas accessible by sustainable forms of transport (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 19). Other concrete initiatives funded by the Burngreave New Deal for Communities include *walking buses*, or organised forms of groups of children walking together to school with a volunteering parent so that traffic to/from schools is reduced, and *DIY (Do It Yourself) streets*, whereby residents through formal and informal means can transform their local streets into more pedestrian friendly spaces.⁴⁷

Hanif, a city council official, describes the kind of lifestyle the council is trying to promote in its urban development plans for Burngreave:

HANIF: We try to get a lifestyle where you have got new family homes, you have got some apartments in some locations, but we try to get them to actually utilise the assets which are in the area. So where there is an open space we try to encourage people to use it, where there are local shops, we try to get them to use the local shops instead of getting in the car and driving up to somewhere else. So we are trying to get a lot of localised movement in there. Even at Spital Hill we have got an employment zone, we got the Tesco, so we are trying to get a lot of local employment uses there. There are also training facilities which have been provided, so try to get everything, as much as possible, try to get people to use what is in the area better, so that it is more sustainable. [...] trying to get people to use public transport more as opposed to private cars. So it is all that. [...] Even walking and cycling, get people to walk down to their local shop, to their open space or within the community, when they need to get to the hospital or wherever.

47. For more information about DIY streets see: http://www.sustrans.org/webfiles/liveable%20neighbourhoods/Pocket%20Guide_FINAL.pdf, accessed May 06, 2008.

Miller, another city council official, argues however that the council does not explicitly want to steer the lifestyles of people. He explains:

MILLER: We are not preaching to people, but just saying these are things that you might want to consider. [...] Certainly in the way planners will look at new housing developments, sustainability in its wide sense is considered, so you know how access from people's homes to public transport, to local shops, to community facilities and encouraging things within the designs with things like home-office work, live-work units, those kinds of things are encouraged. But you can still live in a house like that and drive a big BMW and work in Leeds and not recycle your waste. So it is about facilitating things and encouraging things.

Bin it, and perhaps recycle or minimise it

According to the professionals interviewed, a problem specific to Burngreave is littering, fly-tipping on public land and using private gardens sometimes as dump sites. In the Delivery Plan of the Burngreave New Deal for Communities the goals include "reduction in litter and dumping" (BNDfC, 2001: 32), and the BNDfC has supported several projects to this effect. Across the neighbourhood there are public bins with posters saying: "Bin it for Burngreave!"

Providing good local recycling facilities is often brought up as a means of promoting eco-friendly living (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 68; BNDfC, 2001: 32). Moreover, encouraging composting through providing small scale community composting schemes is also mentioned in the official documents (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 68). An environmental NGO, funded by the Burngreave New Deal for Communities, has had a local shop providing help and information about reuse, recycling and composting to local residents.

The focus in the documents is not only on recycling but also on minimising carbon intensive consumption and consumption that creates a lot of waste (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 12; 24; BNDfC, 2001: 32). Here, the importance of the local infrastructure is recognised, because it needs to be easy to choose sustainable lifestyles. Furthermore, city-wide information and education campaigns are planned on how householders can reduce their carbon footprint in line with "one planet living"⁴⁸

48. In the Appendix of the Sheffield First Partnership's *Environment Strategy* (2007a: 31) the following definition of One Planet Living is given: "One Planet Living Principles
1. Zero Carbon - Minimising CO₂ emissions from heating, cooling and powering our buildings

model (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007a: 7; 25).⁴⁹ The complexity of such changes is, however, acknowledged:

Success will involve tackling complex factors, which affect consumption and production patterns. Social and cultural values lie behind people's aspirations and choices. Manufacturers and retailers have a major influence on both consumers and supply chains. Individual choices are often determined by local infrastructure, such as housing or transport links. Change will require innovation in both technologies and behaviours. The challenge is straightforward – we need to start making the right choices to ensure resources are more fairly distributed around the world and we conserve our natural environment for the ecology of the planet and the enjoyment of future generations. (Ibid.: 25)

Increased use and care of local green spaces

One of the goals of the Burngreave Master Plan is to “promote safe and attractive parks which relate well to the communities around them” (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 51). A problem, recognised by the interviewed professionals and the Master Plan, is that several of the green spaces in Burngreave have been or are rundown and perceived as unsafe and places for drug dealing and antisocial behaviour (ibid.: 18).

The city council has employed a community forester for the Burngreave area who works specifically to engage residents with regards to

-
- 2. Zero Waste - Minimising waste and flows of waste to landfill in a resource-efficient society
 - 3. Sustainable Transport - Reducing the need to travel and providing sustainable alternatives to private car use
 - 4. Local and Sustainable Materials - Optimisation of use of materials, in terms of their source and their performance
 - 5. Local and Sustainable Food - Maximisation of opportunities for use of local food supplies
 - 6. Sustainable Water - Minimisation of water consumption
 - 7. Natural Habitats and Wildlife - Protection of the natural environment and the habitats it offers to flora and fauna
 - 8. Culture and Heritage - Protection of the cultural heritage and the sense of local and regional identity
 - 9. Equity and Fair Trade - Promoting equity and fair trade within the community
 - 10. Health and Happiness - Promoting well-being and healthy lifestyles
- More: <http://www.oneplanetliving.org/ouraim.html>.”

49. See for instance the information campaign “Sheffield is My Planet”: www.sheffieldsmyplanet.com, accessed May 14, 2008.

trees, increasing awareness of trees, awareness of environmental issues through trees and the role of trees in the urban and global environment. A local environmental NGO has been contracted by the city council and BNDfC to renovate and maintain the majority of Burngreave's green spaces. The rationale in the commissioned work of this NGO is that use of green spaces implies possibilities for raising awareness of global environmental issues and perhaps eventually eco-friendly behaviour. Roberts, a representative of the NGO, is careful to point out that he has "no tangible evidence" of this causal relationship, however, yet it is the assumption that they use in their work.

Also one of the goals under the Environment section of *Burngreave New Deal for Communities Delivery Plan* is to achieve "a network of high quality, safe parks and open spaces, play areas and allotments which are accessible, culturally appropriate and well used" (BNDfC, 2001: 31). In the BNDfC Delivery Plan it is emphasised that well equipped green spaces are particularly needed "for young children otherwise occupied in the streets" (ibid.: 32). Roberts, the environmental NGO representative, explains how the first step is seeing to it that the green spaces are attractive and safe so that people use them; then, this might lead to further environmental awareness:

ROBERTS: You can get people on to the green spaces. Some of them might never go further than thinking, "It's interesting how the world works." Some of them will just sit there and enjoy a can of beer and go home again. And then there are others who will start noticing different plants, different wildlife, and it stimulates an interest. If we put on Tree Trails, if we put on Health Walks, if we put on activities that encourage people in that direction. [...]

For me, if you can get the kids into parks, some will play football, and if they for some reason start showing an interest in anything else that has to do with the environment, there are different routes they can take. They are not all going ahead to study climate change, but if they start asking like, "Why are them trees dying?" or, "Why are we planting these trees?" if you get them on a tree planting session, you can explain, We desperately need more trees in the world, etcetera.

In the BNDfC Delivery Plan, the educational aspects of being in green spaces are also emphasised (ibid.: 31). Roberts further argues that increased use of green space is not only important for environmental reasons but also for health reasons and community cohesion. Public or publicly funded NGO measures to promote green spaces are not limited to public

spaces, however, but also include private gardens. The city council has run a project called the Facelift Programme to improve the external appearances of properties on major thoroughfares in the area. In the Master Plan it is explained that “the choice of location to benefit from Facelift has been made by the Council with a view to securing maximum strategic impact. Works are limited to the front of properties where they will have the maximum impact on the street scene” (Sheffield City Council, 2005: 86). The Facelift Programme has thus included supporting private residents in transforming their front gardens, making them greener and more attractive. The local environmental NGOs support private residents in greening and maintaining their private gardens as well, as the gardens are seen as an important part of the shared green space in Burngreave. The Burngreave New Deal for Communities has also given financial support to projects that concern growing your own food⁵⁰ and an NGO-run project called the Green Gym.⁵¹ Baker, an official for BNDfC, explains:

BAKER: There are some allotments in Burngreave, we support them.

There is something called SAGE about health, exercise, growing your own, eco-friendly, a lot of things, environmental sustainability. There is a whole bunch of things with growing your own food. We should encourage people to reduce their energy usage, awareness-raising about green electricity, buying organic food, buying local food, supporting local food producers. Awareness-raising is probably the main one, because people are so confused about environmental sustainability. [...]

KARIN: I have noticed that here in Britain there seems to be very much of a tie between being in green areas and gardens, that it is a way of becoming eco-friendly?

BAKER: Yes, sure, with growing your own food, you don't buy things that have flown half way around the world, you exercise and you get direct contact with the environment, and you are reusing things. It puts a value on the things you throw away because you can compost it. You reduce your use of resources because you don't need to buy heavily packaged food.

50. The project was called “SAGE GreenFingers A Horticultural Therapy Project” that had the aim to improve the mental health of local residents through engagement in gardening activities. See: <http://www.bndfc.co.uk/projects/greenfingers/>, accessed May 12, 2008.

51. The Burngreave Green Gym was run by the NGO BTCV with funding from Burngreave New Deal for Communities, in the Spring of 2007 the project had come to an end. For a description of the Green Gym, see: <http://www2.btcv.org.uk/display/greengym>, accessed May 12, 2008.

Miller, the city official, also brings up the importance of growing your own food and composting in what he sees as the officially promoted eco-friendly lifestyle.

Eco-efficiency in buildings

The city council has formulated an *Environmentally Sustainable Housing Strategy* (2006) that includes measures concerning greater use of renewable and low carbon energy and higher environmental standards in existing and new housing stock. Council officials Hanif and Miller describe how the council, in line with this strategy, tries to promote sustainable lifestyles by pushing private developers to supply renewable energy, sustainable waste management systems, sustainable urban drainage schemes, green roofs and sustainable transport. When the council sells land to private developers, it requires the bidders to use certain percentages of renewable energy generated on site and/or other forms of eco-efficient building technology.

The city council also runs a city wide programme called Achieving Affordable Warmth (Sheffield City Council, 2001) whereby low-income householders get a grant from the council to cover insulation and more efficient heating. The programme includes general awareness-raising, and information dissemination on these issues and investments in the council owned housing stock. From the user's point of view, the programme is not motivated by environmental reasons. Rather, the advice is centred on how you can lower your energy costs and improve well-being by sufficient heating in the house.

The city council also provides information booklets to private residents, "Save energy, save money," containing practical recommendations on how one can lower one's water and energy consumption.⁵²

5.2.2 Officials' reflections on the strategies

In the following section, the officials' overall reflections on the strategies are described. These reflections primarily concern the larger societal context wherein the planning measures take place, the difficulties of combining environmental concern with traditional economic growth, and the role of the government in promoting eco-friendly living.

52. The booklet called "Save energy, save money – Sheffield City Council's guide to energy efficiency" is available on: <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/EasySite/lib/serveDocument.asp?doc=84774&pgid=67486>, accessed May 13, 2008.

Indicators of economic success at odds with low-carbon life

Several of the professionals describe examples of how they in their work on promoting environmental concern encounter structural difficulties and counter messages within the city council, the government, the current market system and/or politics. Baker, the BNDfC official, points out how politics, on a rhetorical level, promotes green living while it is simultaneously geared towards raising affluence and consumption:

BAKER: In Burngreave we should celebrate the fact that we have got a low car ownership level [...] but car ownership is a measure of affluence. [...] The whole system is skewed.

People are so confused about environmental sustainability. You hear people on the radio confusing ozone with carbon dioxide. It is quite simple, reducing the amount you use. It is about being more efficient, reusing as much as you can. It is not that complicated.

KARIN: Yes but then you get messages like being successful is having a car, a big house.

BAKER: Yes, being very unsustainable. Having a jet-set life-style, having big cars. In fact, the more environmentally unsustainable you are, the more successful you are seen as.

Jones, a representative of an environmental NGO, also notes how the environmental concern of the city council comes into conflict with the demands on them to be economically efficient. As described previously, when the council sells land to private developers it tries to push developers to use high environmental standards. However, there is a balancing act: if the council sets high environmental demands it will not be able to sell the land as expensively, thus bringing in less money to public services. Jones describes how her organisation has tried to push BNDfC and the city council to use eco-friendly material in refurbishment projects:

JONES: We have pushed for all environmental dimensions, but the argument we get back from the council people is, "To source re-used material is costing a lot more, we have got to keep the prices down. We are not allowed to take anything but the lowest tender."

Another example of the double-edged practices of the city council concerns recycling. This issue was brought up by several of the professionals and appeared to be a highly debated subject.

In the Sheffield Development Framework, a council goal is to increase recycling and composting (Sheffield City Council, 2007: 68). Yet, according to the interviewed officials, recycling facilities in the city are

currently deficient and particularly so in Burngreave. Paper is collected at the home, but, as several of the interviewees point out, to recycle other material you need a car to go to a recycle station. Roberts, the NGO representative, argues that:

ROBERTS: In Sheffield, at the moment, there is no incentive for people to recycle, none whatsoever [...]. [Council members] don't do enough on recycling, they don't force [...] bringing more sites on into commission. They are happy with what they got basically, but I think they need more local sites, because what they have is great if you have a car, but that is counterproductive. For recycling to be really good we should not use cars. So they need more localised sites, but they don't get their act together.

Russell, a council official, explains what he has understood to be the reason for this disincentive to recycle, encountered when the council and a local NGO tried to open a local recycling facility in Burngreave:

RUSSELL: It is the immense difficulty that we have got with Veolia [the private company that has been contracted by the city council to provide waste management services] that are responsible for providing the recycling facilities in the area. And the woman who is employed by Veolia as a recycling officer is nice enough but there seems to be so many constraints on her, so many demands on her time. It seems to be inordinately long time to put in proposals, suggestions or requests for more community based recycling stations, and for them to be assessed and developed. It just seems an awful process. Through [a local NGO] we have tried to do a very modest attempt at a household recycling programme, I think we were looking at a green compost and a glass and plastics recovery programme in the area around Abbeyfield park amongst [the NGO's] membership. We were then told very firmly that, [laughing], I was amazed that, if we started doing this, then we were in danger in breaking the contract that the council had with Veolia for waste management, because we would be diverting some of the waste stream that belongs to Veolia. I am not expert of any of this.

KARIN: Yes I heard this as well, that there is some agreement that they should have 80 percent of the waste or something.

RUSSELL: They were claiming 100 percent of the waste! And even if Veolia would have had [the NGO] to undertake a local household recycling scheme, they would still have to get a waste management license for moving the glass and the plas-

tics around. You just think [...] God, you know! Developing something at the local level that you would think people would celebrate and support just seemed to add difficulty.

Jones, the NGO representative, describes the difficulty her organisation has encountered when trying to get better recycling facilities in the area:

JONES: We have suggested fifty sites for recycling facilities but all the sites have been rejected for different reasons except a car park that will soon be removed since there will be housing built there.

Williams, a city council official confirms that the council, or Veolia, cannot support more recycling because, according to the contract, the waste needs to go to the incinerator that Veolia runs. If too much is recycled there will simply not be enough waste to make the incinerator profitable. Williams however points out that the incinerator also has good aspects to it as it generates energy for the district heating system. However, the incinerator and the deal between Veolia and the City Council upsets Jones, who remarks:

JONES: You have seen all the bins that say “Bin it for Burngreave!” Okay, you don’t want people leaving waste in the streets, but they are saying to people, “Bin everything.” They are saying, “Just bin it.” They want plastic in the bins because plastic gives a high heat when it burns. It gives off toxins, but they want it.

Baker, the BNDfC official, acknowledges that there is a problem with waste management, overfull bins and fly-tipping in the area but is careful to point out that people also produce more rubbish than previously. Food is often more packaged and overall consumption has risen, which means increasing piles of rubbish. Roberts and Baker both talk about how lives were better 30–40 years ago in several respects: in terms of the health of children, in terms of more leisure time in public parks and spaces rather than in the home and in front of the TV, in terms of active lifestyles, in terms of less resource use and waste generation, knowledge of nature, food production and in terms of the city’s public transportation system. Roberts states:

ROBERTS: I just think it is sad the way our society has gone. And I think one of the reasons, poor green spaces is not the reason why it has gone like this, there are massive forces at work, but people have generally become quite lazy, people have become reliant on the car, the TV and the quick dinner. And I think we need to take a step backwards.

Stronger action from central government needed

Several of the officials and NGO representatives describe finding it difficult to work for eco-friendly living on the local level as they feel they have not got sufficient support from the central government. Baker, the BNDfC official, describes his point of view:

BAKER: My main criticism about environmental sustainability in Burngreave and in Sheffield in general is lack of leadership from the central government, because there is no leadership as far as I can see. They claim it to be a priority but they obviously don't do much about it.

KARIN: In what way? What do you think they could do, or should do?

BAKER: There is everything from strengthening the planning system to preventing sprawling communities so that people are less reliant on cars, more integrated planning with public transport. The airport expansion is in direct contradiction to reducing carbon emissions. For example, reducing packaging, putting a tax on plastic bags, stuff like that. It is just simple things that have got general public support and have been done in other countries for example in Ireland, quite successfully. There is no political will to do it in this country, no central will.

KARIN: You feel like the responsibility is given over to local organisations?

BAKER: Yes, I think they are just washing their hands and saying that it should be based on voluntary agreements and it should be local people doing it, but the point of the government is to lead. It is very difficult to successfully develop environmental sustainability projects or initiatives when you don't have the backing and funding that goes with it from the central government. Because the main thrust of the government is economic development and that economic development is hand in hand with unsustainable growth.

Graham, a city council official, argues that the project based and/or short-term public funding system relying on local grassroots deters citizens from becoming engaged or volunteering since one does not know how long the funding or infrastructure will be there, or in what form. "If our government, who is designating where our money is spent, cannot make that long-term commitment, why should people really?" Graham argues that it is necessary for the central government to take radical decisions such as banning private cars in cities.

In line with this, Roberts, the NGO representative, argues that the Sheffield City Council, as well as the majority of citizens, would like to

return to a subsidised public bus system:

ROBERTS: We have to understand the constraints that the council operates in. I grew up in a city where the bus system was great, cheap, two pence you could go anywhere on that line, equivalent to around ten pence today. Because it was subsidised. No incentive to use your car, lots of buses. Central government privatised the bus system, so prices went up and people got into their cars and the road clogged up. [...] The council cannot alter the system of the buses because it is the central government that needs to alter it. The council would love to go back to, and I think most Sheffielders would love to, go back to that kind of bus service when it was very cheap to go on the bus and it would alleviate the vast amount of cars that are on the road.

Williams, the city council representative, agrees with Roberts and argues that it would be good if the city council ran the bus system, but that today they simply cannot. Going back to the debated question of recycling, Roberts argues that not only the council but also the central government needs to be tougher:

ROBERTS: But we got a very poor attitude towards recycling because they [the city council of Sheffield] don't need to do it, because they are not being penalised by central government, so their attitude is they talk big and do little.

5.2.3 Planning strategies in relation to diversity

The following section deals with how the strategies for sustainable urban development and the encouragement of eco-friendly lifestyles reinforce or conflict with the daily lives and values of different groups of inhabitants. Here, it is the perspectives of the officials that will be described. In the analysis, chapter 6, I further elaborate on this and relate the strategies to the stories of the residents that are described in 5.3.

The strategic documents that have been analysed do not discuss how eco-friendly living might relate to different societal groups. There are of course statements concerning the need to facilitate social and ethnic integration, equal opportunities and social cohesion, but they are not linked to environmental measures.

In the interviews with officials, I posed questions concerning how the strategies relate to diverse groups of residents, what issues or situations

one might encounter given that the residents of Burngreave in question are diverse in terms of ethnic background, socioeconomic conditions, housing and lifestyles. I also asked questions concerning if and how the officials try to handle social and ethnic diversity in planning for sustainability and environmental concern? If there are ideas on how this could be done in better ways? If one needs to adjust the strategies and working methods in relation to different groups of residents?

All but one of the ten professionals who were interviewed had thoughts on how the strategies were in concordance, or discordance, with the lifestyles of different groups of residents. Overall, these questions appeared to be something that several of the professionals had reflected upon earlier and tried to handle somehow in practice while not necessarily being sure of their own attempts or of how to go about it in the future. In this instance, it is interesting to note that it was foremost the White male middle-aged British professionals who had been reflecting and acting on this issue, while the younger and female professionals appeared not to have given this much thought or action. And perhaps surprisingly, the one official that had no reflections whatsoever on this matter was a young woman with Pakistani background.

White British residents dominate the planning process

An issue that was brought up in several interviews was the problematic fact that it is primarily White British middle class people that participate in the planning process, in environmental projects, in voluntary groups, and voice their opinions at meetings overall. Roberts, the NGO representative, describes the situation in Burngreave and how his organisation has tried to handle the fact that the formal democratic process fails to include ethnic minorities and low-income groups and thus their interests:

ROBERTS: Now in Burngreave, one of the most deprived areas in the country, you've got pockets of housing with high levels of education, PhDs. Now those areas are also economically better off. They are who they are, they have good intentions, but they have skewed the direction of the programme, so Verdon Street, Pitsmoor Road, Ellesmere Park where you got predominantly multiethnic transient populations that are not articulate, that don't have the confidence to voice their opinion, their sites were left low priority and yet they were the sites, in my opinion, most in need of investments.

So what we have done is get rid of all the steering committees, which the people on the steering committee did not like, but nobody else noticed. In a way we have made it more democratic by making it less democratic. In other words, those areas where

people didn't have a voice, we go down and leaflet the houses around and say, We are now going to tidy this area up, whilst we are working. Come and talk to us and tell us what you'd like to be done. And we have regenerated playgrounds, we have put new stairs in, new footpaths and made it accessible. We have got drug users out, we have actually cleaned up areas, in areas where there had been 200–300 needles there have been no needles for a year.

Williams, the city council official, is also clearly aware of the fact that it is the affluent people that have a stronger voice in the planning and consultation process, something the city council tries to handle, but not necessarily in successful ways:

WILLIAMS: It can be difficult to reach some groups, in particular ethnic minorities, where there is perhaps a language barrier, or they're just not, I mean that it's not just ethnic minorities, but people are just not aware of the planning system and how it works. It is not the easiest thing to understand, I don't think, so that would mean, I guess some groups don't have as much of a voice as, for instance, then again, it tends to be the more affluent people that get involved more and have a stronger voice, whereas some of the more disadvantaged communities don't perhaps get as much of a voice. We do try to reach them, but you know, you can advertise a meeting and still nobody comes. It is difficult to do and we don't have the resources to sort of literally knock on people's doors.

Graham, another city council official, notices how his forestry and environmental work is primarily appreciated and supported by the White British middle class.

GRAHAM: My experience is that in Burngreave, these are from the experiences I have gained from Burngreave and other places I worked in across the city [...]. I think that the people who find the job I do the most appealing and support me the most, I tend to try not to pigeon hole but I will do so because I think it will be the only way that is going to make any sense to your research, would be the native British middle class. That has traditionally been the conservation base, the environmentalist base, the hobby aspect of environmentalism. They are the people who will support me and are also the most active for the green spaces in Burngreave. When you go meet the Friends of Parks, they tend to be led by that particular bracket. There are exceptions, but usually. When it comes to the

actual environment as such, that is the group of people that actually benefit from the natural environment the most, those people who understand its appeal and understand its value.

I think when it comes to different sections of the community, at the moment there is a big influx of Eastern European people, and having worked across the city I have seen different groups of immigrants coming in. And I think it is interesting the views towards the environment are obviously initially established in their own country, the first thing that they are thinking of, and absolutely correctly so, is, "I need to sort out my accommodation, my job, my wife, my family and all the rest of it." I think in Burngreave with it having such a large transitional population, great amounts of people involved in those simple intrinsic decisions, they are just not interested more than, "Here is park where I can take my child." I think it is certainly that it is a class thing as well, not so much now. The class system that used to prevail in Britain is changing, the middle classes grow, the other classes are shrinking. Generally speaking it is the middle class people who have got the money and time to experience the environment. The working classes often see it more as a resource and site for sport, something to be used.

KARIN: More than conserved.

GRAHAM: Yes absolutely. And please don't get me wrong, there are always exceptions from the rule and I know many of them. But I do think that is the case. I think also, talking about the two British classes, the large ones [working class and middle class] are very much of the opinion or view of the environment as an enormous adventure playground.

In line with this reasoning, Kwame, an NGO representative, states that overall black and ethnic minority groups have not been part of the environmental movement in England and thus feel that environmental issues are not a topic for them. On the question *why* they have not been part of the environmental movement Kwame explains:

KWAME: The reasons for that [...] are historical. Ethnic minorities often come from rural background. [...] I think that when you settle in an urban centre, having the opportunity to be involved effectively in the [...] they are rather preoccupied of their daily survival, because there is a lot of institutional racism, minorities are constantly struggling to survive. The environment is entirely differently perceived in the [global] North and in the South. In the North the environment is perceived as conservation because here we con-

serve the environment for leisure and recreation. In the South we call it preservation because the environment is preserved because it is a resource, it is something people's livelihoods depend on.

Middle class demands – the key to achieving sustainable communities

City council representatives describe, sometimes reluctantly, how it is primarily the White British middle class families that they plan for, envision and see as the key residents for achieving sustainable communities. This is illustrated with a passage in the interview with council official Russell:

KARIN: When it comes to promoting environmentally sustainable communities, what kind of lifestyles is it that is being promoted, you would say?

RUSSEL: [laughs]. Officially?

KARIN: Yes.

RUSSEL: We are complete hypocrites, you know. We advocate a form of lifestyle that is based upon 1.2 children of a family that travels to the supermarket every week to get a weekly shop, that is conscientious, that puts litter in our pockets, that doesn't fly-tip, that keeps their garden in good order, you know all those things. And I think that is more often the underlying message that is being carried, yet at the same time we officially celebrate diversity, and in my view that means that we celebrate families that aren't middle class, that maybe have got more than 1.2 children, where income is tight, and household budgets really stretched, who don't have access to a cars, which rely on local shops, where people, parents particularly, got a lot of concerns which don't automatically mean that they are able to recycle every single thing they use as a household. But we celebrate supposedly the fact that communities like Burngreave have got people from both kind of types and yet we kind of look down in horror at the latter, the single parent with seven children, whilst we celebrate the conscientious recycler who takes every scrap of material from their home to Sainsbury's on a Saturday morning.

In a slightly different way, Williams, the council official, argues that it is primarily the better off groups that lead eco-friendly lifestyles:

KARIN: In the low carbon lifestyle that you want to promote, in what ways do you see that it relates to different groups of people? I mean, does it appear to suit some better than others?

WILLIAMS: I think, generally it is quite a new concept for people.

Anyway, it is quite new for the planning department. I was employed two years ago when the emphasis towards environmental things started changing and we realised actually we need to deal with this. It shows that for the council it is a quite new thing. And for residents as well, I think it is not perhaps a primary concern. But I think that those who are concerned, perhaps this is a generalisation, I haven't got any evidence to back it up, but it tends to be the more well-off, I would think, because they tend to be the people that have got the time and the money perhaps to adopt that kind of lifestyle, whereas in some of the poorer communities, you know, there are more important priorities for them than recycling or something.

KARIN: So do you think is it more difficult to live a low carbon life if you have scarce economic resources?

WILLIAMS: I think in some ways, it depends, because it partly depends on what kind of house you live in. For instance if you live in a poor community and you live in a council house, you are therefore reliant on the council to make sure that is well-insulated and things like that, so that is out of your hands really, whereas if you have your own house you can insulate it. [...] But then I guess if some of the poorer people move into new housing that is well designed and with lower carbon, which is what we try to do with the Housing Market Renewal, I guess that would help them anyway to be more low carbon. [...]

KARIN: What about transportation patterns?

WILLIAMS: That is another thing, in some parts of Sheffield, the public transport is better in the more affluent areas. [...] I know there are areas where the buses are less frequent and less reliable.

KARIN: I see, so that means that it is perhaps more difficult to use?

WILLIAMS: And then the fact that it is generally quite expensive, I think that would discourage people.

Here, Williams argues that the public policies indirectly support the lifestyles of the better off groups, in terms of their focus on tenant-owned housing and assumptions about a well-functioning public transport – features not as common in low-income communities. Williams's colleague Miller argues, in a similar way, that the critical issue is having the time and knowledge that a green lifestyle requires, to use the often slow public transport, walk or cycle, to grow your own vegetables, and to cook from scratch or recycle. Miller concludes that is generally the better off social groups that have such time.

Russell, the council official, points out that the central government and Burngreave New Deal for Communities see the middle class residents and their demands as keys for achieving sustainable communities. As mentioned previously, according to Russell, one definition of sustainable communities is a state “where working class communities provide the resources in and of themselves to provide the public services required by local residents.” In order to reach such a state one can strengthen the working class residents, or one can see to it that middle class residents move in and change the composition and thus preconditions of the community. Russell explains:

RUSSELL: However there is a shortcut that the central government and New Deal are investigating which is to make communities like this sustainable you call them mixed communities, which means mixed in terms of income. And the way that is done is almost artificially by migrating into the communities. [...] If you want to build a new estate in the area you want that housing at 200 000 pounds which will in itself create an inflow of high earners to Burngreave and the argument being that these people will create a stronger demand and voice for good quality public services and in the medium or the longer term will start to be part of the ingredients that will create a more sustainable and less dependent community than you got at present.

Russell adds that he is critical of this approach and argues that the city council should realise that more resources are needed in deprived areas like Burngreave and that the Council should deliver good quality environmental services, whether the community “demands” it or not:

RUSSELL: We don’t deliver the kind of quality of public services that we maybe should be doing, particularly in terms of environmental quality. [...] I think that the council could do a lot better in terms of environmental maintenance in this area. It has nothing to do with Burngreave, it has to do with in which way the allocation of funding within the local authority for the environmental services doesn’t seem to me to take into account the differing intensity of the need of environmental maintenance in an area like Burngreave compared to areas southwest of the city.

KARIN: You mean that you need more resources here?

RUSSELL: Yes. There is an acceptance of that in terms of street cleaning, which is more intense in parts of north and the east of Sheffield than to the south and the west. Apart from that I can-

not see any evidence of that there is any allowance made for the additional demands of environmental maintenance services in working class communities and multiracial communities than there is in the monoethnic rich community in the west.

Williams, Russell and Miller thus argue that being poor means less possibilities to live an eco-friendly life, in terms of living in rental housing where one cannot secure an energy-efficient heating system, in terms of a deficient public transport system, deficient environmental services and as has been described in previous sections, in terms of having deficient access to recycling facilities, time for living the slow eco-life, growing vegetables and cooking from scratch, and difficulties overall in voicing one's opinion.

Rubbish in open spaces and gardens – an issue of dispute

It is clear from reading the documents that waste management and combating fly-tipping are prioritised issues. Baker, the BNDfC official, describes how rubbish is the issue that engages most of the people in Burngreave:

BAKER: If you ask people about what pisses them off the most at the Residents' Forum or a community meeting, a lot of it comes down to litter, fly-tipping, dog mess, a lot of it is small environmental issues, bins, the amount of rubbish.

He acknowledges that waste management is only one small part of the whole environmental problem complex; however, since rubbish is visible at the local level, it easily engages people and consequently becomes a hot topic for the councillors and for the priorities of BNDfC. Baker explains how the problem with rubbish in people's private gardens and fly-tipping has to do with these groups of people not knowing how and when the waste collection service operates:

BAKER: In some places it is just, it is a poor country [where they come from] so they don't have the facilities, it is rubbish everywhere, they are probably used to that, they are not used that the council will come and collect it if they place it in the right place at the right time.

KARIN: Do you meet this?

BAKER: I see them and I hear it through partnership organisations. People from different cultures may not be used to having gardens, and up-keeping their gardens. The concept of the

garden is a quite an English thing, really, they may just use it to dump things in. And you get that with English people as well.

KARIN: You do?

BAKER: It depends, if you are in rental accommodation you got less incentive of looking out for the open space.

KARIN: Different ethnic groups might have different ideas, how do you deal with that?

BAKER: I think it is about education. Small example, my next-door neighbours, it is a rented accommodation, it is about four Indian men there, they didn't know when the bin collection would be, they thought the bin collector would come into their yard and take their bin for them, so their front yard just became full of garbage, so I told them how it works that they had to put it out on a Friday. It is lack of awareness.

Roberts, the NGO representative, also tells similar stories of fly-tipping and rubbish in private gardens:

ROBERTS: Recent immigrants to the area have been Slovaks and Eastern Europeans. The amount of fly-tipping that we have experienced next door to where Slovaks live is incredible. Yeah. Because they live multi families in single houses, so we get three four families sharing a three bedroom house, each family having three four kids. We have got a lot of kids playing on the street, we have had lots of problems with trees being snapped and things, but also they produce so much rubbish in the house so that the wheelie bin can't take it. So here it is. So what do you do if you are Romani living in Slovakia on persecution? It's over the wall. Here? It's over the wall. So we are finding patterns of behaviour that in Slovakia is normal. They are surprised when we tell them that it is *not* normal in Britain. This seems to be repeated in other areas of Sheffield. It is in the poor areas that Slovaks are settling.

Roberts's and Baker's explanations to the fly-tipping both deal with lack of knowledge of how waste management works and habits in countries of origin. However Roberts adds that particularly the Romani people often have a fear of authorities, due to the rough treatment they have met historically from authorities, and simply do not dare to contact the city council and ask for an extra waste bin. He also adds that it is sometimes a problem of language:

ROBERTS: We work with a group of young Somali people to actually

do up people's gardens and one of them had a washing machine in the garden. We asked, Why do you have a washing machine in the garden? Well, they don't have a car, they can't take it to the tip. They don't understand enough English to know what to do with it, so they put it in the garden. So we call it a Somali water feature for the garden. So there you've got another set of barriers that are there – people haven't got the language, which is obviously a political football at the moment, how much language do people have before they are allowed to come and live here? My answer is, some, at least so that you are able to get by.

Roberts devotes much time to discussing how ethnic minorities often do not care for their own private gardens and do not keep them tidy and green, something he finds upsetting. He explains:

ROBERTS: In a way you have got to understand why environment is not high on their [ethnic minorities'] agenda. Some of the things that we have talked about with people, one of the interesting things that has come up many times is that Pakistani people, and it is Pakistani people in particular, who see trees as a nuisance. If you have got a tree in the garden they tend to see it as a nuisance. The number of inquiries we have each year for chain saws, when we ask them why they need them, they say, "To cut trees down." We say, Is the tree a problem? "Well, I just don't want it in the garden." They don't want the tree in the garden, they see it as something that is going to be a problem and want to get rid of it. It is really weird. Lots of them every year. There is one councillor in particular [...] bless him, he can't wait to send people here for chainsaws, for trees.

Too little space for grass-roots environmentalism

Jones, the NGO representative, brings up a reflection that does not have to do with different perspectives on environmental issues in terms of ethnicity and/or class. In her perspective, there is too little room for environmentalists and grass-roots environmental projects in the practices of the city council and Burngreave New Deal for Communities. She describes how her NGO has taken several environmental initiatives – concerning green roofs, planting flowers and managing composts – that all have been met with resistance from the city council or BNDfC. She takes one example:

JONES: We wanted to put a green roof on here [the premises of the NGO], but the architects working for New Deal objected and said, "People would climb on it to look at it and it would fall

off.” Now, who in the right mind would do that? Things like that, and yet Sheffield is supposed to be the centre for green roofs.

She argues that the city council and BNDfC has a skewed focus in its practices and are particularly concerned that the area should “look nice,” which in their interpretation means flower boxes, renovated façades and colour coordinated shutters on the shops. She describes another situation in which her environmental group and the management of BNDfC were in disagreement on how to improve the area:

JONES: If you look on the grass just outside here, we planted hundreds of daffodils, there was a meeting down at Forum House and [the director of BNDfC] had got somebody from the government coming up to visit him and he was saying to us, “You environmentalists are making this place look untidy.” We said, What do you mean [...]? He wanted all the daffodils to be sheered off so that it doesn’t look ‘untidy’ for the government person that was coming to visit. [...] He does not agree with this environmentalism, and he is the director. They had plans of making a gate to the area, and we joked and said that if we are going to have a gate it should say, “Welcome only if you have an enviro-friendly car.” He said, “I buy what I want, I go where I want, I do what I want, nobody is going to stop me from going anywhere.” If you got that at the top.

Jones argues that the characteristic of Burngreave is that it is in fact untidy and diverse. She goes on to argue that also the council is focusing on making the place tidy:

JONES: One of my NGO friends that has a productive allotment has been given an eviction notice about her allotment from the council because it does not look tidy. All the other allotment people seem to be quite happy with what she is doing. [...]

With the front gardens, they [the council] do what they call ‘enveloping’ and they will come and make the front of roads look nice, the front of the house, but not the sides or the back, and the criteria is whether they can be seen from the bus routes, so they are not interested in houses that are in a much worse state, they only care about what can be seen by people passing through.

Jones says the argument of the city council and New Deal is that unless the area looks tidy, it is difficult to get new residents to move to the area and difficult to get new private investments to the area.

Different practices in green areas and links to green lifestyles

Several interviewees bring up the issue of who goes walking in the countryside and who does not. Among the White British middle and upper classes, walking in the countryside is described as a common and distinguished activity. However several interviewees point out that you hardly see any black or ethnic minority groups in the countryside. Roberts's explanation to this fact is that, for many immigrant groups, walking is associated with poverty. On the trips that Roberts's NGO has arranged to the nearby Peak District National Park, persons from ethnic minorities have not come along. Kwame describes how his environmental NGO has arranged a course particularly for black and ethnic minority youngsters to become more acquainted with the nearby countryside. He explains how the course also linked into wider environmental concern:

KWAME: The course was taking the youngsters, showing that the countryside is at their doorstep, first how to access information, what time does the bus go, where do you catch it, where are leaflets about the activities going on there, so we took them to the bus interchange, and then to the equipment centre. You need to dress appropriately to go to the countryside, right trainers etcetera, especially in winter. First we went to Castleton, and then they can empower their friends and family.

And then they can link that to climate change, the local resources, they can take holidays and enjoy the local resource. They don't need to fly and all that hassle. They save money, they save the climate.

As has been described in section 5.2.1, the primary goal of Roberts's NGO is not to get Burngreave residents to enjoy the countryside, but rather to use and enjoy the local parks. Both Roberts and Graham note how it is primarily White middle class British residents that are engaged in activities in green spaces and in Friends of Parks organisations.

GRAHAM: In terms of actually getting people doing something on the environment we have found that it is predominantly the white members of the community that get involved. It is predominantly the white members of the community that are vocal. We actually see that in practice, if you have any kind of activity on green spaces, apart from the children, it is predominantly the white community.

Both Roberts and Graham argue that children from all different ethnic communities use the playgrounds. But here the resemblances end. Gra-

ham notes that in working class and multiethnic communities, people use the parks more for sports, while in areas with more educated and health/environment conscious White British residents, as the area in the city of Sheffield where the interview with Graham is conducted, there is more focus on using the parks for reflection:

GRAHAM: In this park, it is in what we call the muesli belt.⁵³

People here would not only use the park for play and sports but also for admiring the trees and thinking. And that will become less so in other parts of the city.

There are also other ways of using the parks, apparently undesired. Graham and Roberts talk about how some of the Burngreave parks in particular are used for drug dealing and activities that deter many people from using the spaces. Graham explains:

GRAHAM: I think there is to some degree a negative perception of parks and green spaces as places where antisocial behaviour takes place. Certainly it is true at night. There is not much lighting, gangs of youth gather, drugs and everything. In some areas, certainly in Burngreave, Devon Gardens would be a good example, no one goes in there after dark. All the residents I have spoken to in the area would be very much afraid of drug dealers, or there has been dog fighting in there, and all sorts of different things.

Just like Kwame, Roberts and Graham see spending time in green spaces and the outdoors as connected with environmental awareness and resource use. Roberts explains, and also connects this to the up-keeping (or not) of private gardens:

ROBERTS: [An] example that was given to me by a guy from the Pakistani community: he said to me, “[Roberts], how many Pakistani men do you see working on building sites?” I thought he would say something about racism, that they can’t get jobs. I said, Well, none, and he said, “Do you know why? [...] They very rarely apply,” he says, “because it is seen as low-caste work in Pakistan.” You see? It is low-caste work, you see? You must understand, these people came here to get away from a subsistence culture, most of them,

53. The muesli belt refers to areas where ‘muesli people’ live, i.e. mainly White middle-class, highly educated, health conscious with a range of leftist and/or green perspectives on society.

so they came here to get a way from living in a small village or being reliant on relatives in the villages for food. They came here to work in a modern economy, to become consumers like you in the west. So it is not having a pair of trainers that counts, it is having *the latest* trainers. It doesn't matter if the others aren't worn out, they are no good anymore, they go in the bin. And you can count on that in so many things. [...] And he says, "If they would work as gardeners, they would be looked down on, or they feel that they would be looked down on, in their community, so they don't apply for those jobs." That's where you come into the cultural barriers. It's bringing with them a lifestyle that they are used to in another country. I am sure that in Somalia, drawing terrible parallels here, I have never been in Somalia, but I have been to Egypt, but I am just looking at how they deal with refuse and rubbish and it's thrown in a corner, on a plot of land and it is left to rot. And we have actually seen that with Somalis that throw rubbish in their gardens. So anything that is of no use to them, they put it in their garden.

Graham describes how he finds it particularly difficult to engage people from the Asian Muslim community in environmental projects. However, his explanation to this is slightly different compared to that of Roberts:

GRAHAM: In Tinsley [an area of Sheffield where Graham had been working], 40 percent of the population are Asian. I found that they are very religious people. And the reason that I found a connection with the environment and spun my life around it is because I haven't got much of a religion. To me, nature is my religion. My conclusion is that it really depends on how close nature. [...] For instance, the Muslim people are people I find very hard to engage in environmental projects. It is interesting, the way their culture actually perceives the environment [...] I am not an expert, I have made attempts over the year to engage collectively people from that culture, generally without success. I think once again, I don't want this to come out the wrong way, I often see things in quite simplistic ways. A lot of the Asian families I have met, I have also lived in Burngreave 4–5 years next to a couple of Asian families, so I have come to know them quite well, are more worried about those core survival type of things: food, family and security. I think that the Asian culture *here* is still, this is probably going to sound awful, but it has still got their thoughts in that other country. [...]

My interpretation of that is very difficult, to tangibly find something to aim at that cultural group. They're religious, but

the religion won't touch you, seeing themselves very much connected to their country of origin, even a lot of the younger people as well. A lot of the younger people are still sending money to their country, so their financial interest is still there, their time, their earning to support someone else over there, so the parks or green spaces here don't play a big part because people abroad will not be able to visit the parks. So I think that, I don't know if there is anything more I can say about that. It is over the years I have seen this. I don't think that will change.

Roberts describes how the fact that Burngreave is a multicultural community is often described in simple and positive terms, while it is in fact very complex and at times problematic, for instance when working with environmental issues:

ROBERTS: Now if we say that the host community was predominantly white before 1950, after 1950s and 1960s immigration from the West Indies, the host community in Burngreave then could be described as black and white and the immigrants in the 1970s were predominantly from Bangladesh and Pakistan, then you got followed on by the Yemenis and Somalis, well the Yemenis came quite early. So you have had a changing. [...] Some people see it as a quite simple picture, "We've got a multicultural community," but we have got a multicultural community that is even more complicated relating to the length of time that those communities have existed, how they have interacted and what sets of relationships they present. A lot of Afro-Caribbean people resent the influx of Pakistanis because of the Muslim culture they see as alien. They see their culture as quite close to the host White community and the set of western values. So there is a kind of whole complex, then we got the complicating factor, the dominant opinions in some of these cultures do not rate the environment as important at all. [...]

So I think that we've got two major problems in Burngreave. That is, breaking through the barriers that are caused by lack of education and ignorance, and breaking the barriers that are caused by culture. What we have to understand from some communities is that they come from impoverished parts of the world, or parts of the world where the environment takes very little priority. Recent immigrants to the area have been Slovaks and Eastern Europeans. The amount of fly-tipping that we have experienced next door to where Slovaks live is incredible.

Russell gives another concrete example of how meeting the demands in terms of waste management services in an area like Burngreave with a low level of car ownership and high rate of in-and-out-moving, can contradict encouraging eco-friendly living. The council organises a bring-out-your-rubbish day when all households in the area can dump unwanted material and rubbish on the pavement which is then collected by the waste management company. Russell describes the difficulties with this:

RUSSELL: It is been quite an interesting discussion between people who say, "In an area like this where people do not have access to cars, where people change tenancies quite often, you want a service like this that allows people to clear out their house once a year." On the other hand, people are saying, "But the emphasis should be on recycling, reusing" and, yeah, the environmental mantra about sustainable living, and therefore we shouldn't be encouraging this – this thoughtless getting rid of rubbish by offering a free removal service of all rubbish. [...] There seems to be a halfway house where you can have a bring-out-your-rubbish day, but it can be the rubbish that you put up front and can be looked at by scrap matches, glass recyclers and by everyone else, to kind of find a way of making it a sustainable initiative. Or what [...] we have to do to get households to put out wood one day, metal the next day, plastics the next day, will never work.

Attempts to engage minority groups in environmental planning

As described previously, a widely recognised problem is that the standard formal planning procedures and consultation meetings primarily attract White British middle class residents. This applies to environmental and green space activities as well. How have the governmental and non-governmental organisations then handled this?

Overall, there have been several attempts to engage minority groups in green space projects. The city council supported a Chinese community forestry project, one of the environmental NGOs has run a green space projects together with a Somali association, the Burngreave Green Gym offered specific women's sessions and the horticulture project was primarily targeted towards residents with mental health problems. As mentioned previously, one of the environmental NGOs has been promoting the use of nature and the countryside specifically among young people in the black and ethnic minority communities. This organisation has also been working with general awareness-raising of environmental issues among black and ethnic minority groups in the city, highlighting issues like exposure to local air pollution, possibilities to get more

actively involved in decision-making processes and the environmental movement.

One of the environmental NGOs has also changed its way of working in order to better include ethnic minorities and working class residents. As described previously, instead of arranging big consultation meetings about renovating green spaces, they distribute leaflets to all houses nearby and describe their preliminary proposals and ask people to informally come and talk to them whilst they are working and describe what changes they would like to see. Roberts, the head of this NGO, describes how they seek out residents:

ROBERTS: What you have to do is actually, instead of calling to a meeting in these buildings at seven o'clock on a Thursday night, when you see a group of residents talking on the street, pull up your vehicle go out and talk to them, ask them what they think of that piece of land across the road. And then when you got some first opinions, then we leaflet all the houses backed onto this particular piece of land and we ask them what [...] might be done with it to improve it.

Roberts also recognises that it has been a problem that the staff of his organisation has been predominantly White British. In order to be trusted among other groups it is important that they are represented as well. Roberts's idea of how to better involve the Muslim community for instance, is to recruit key persons that can champion the work of the NGO. He explains:

ROBERTS: So if we could say, Muhammad, how about *you* going into the mosque and speaking in the mosque on our behalf, instead of me going in, why don't you go in, they *know* you, they know you are a Muslim. We know that there are lots of things in the Koran about that it is your responsibility to look after the Earth and such things. I know these things because we did a joint event with one of the Muslim societies on Islam and the Environment, and what we need is to have several people like that onboard that can go out there and champion it [the work of the NGO], because to me, that's the best method. To be honest, as much as I like doing it, they wouldn't listen to me.

Roberts had an idea to develop collaboration with local mosques or other community organisations and get them to adopt a local green space and maintain it on voluntary basis, whilst the NGO would assist them with advice and equipment. Graham already tried to go via mosques in order

to get more Muslim people engaged in the environmental work, however, with little success:

GRAHAM: One thing that I found very surprising [...] is that when I have, and I have only done this twice, made approaches to the people involved in the mosques, there is a very clear disinterest with anything that has to do with community or environment. And I wouldn't try that particular matter again, because it is almost more negative as to what you get back.

KARIN: What did you do?

GRAHAM: I asked people if I could be introduced and talk to the imams, and they said, "Absolutely not." When I talked to one lady and she said, "The mosques do not want to have anything to do with community, that it is not their job."

Graham says that now he does not really know how to proceed in relation to the Muslim residents. Kwame and Miller raise the importance of having ethnic minorities represented among the staff of public organisations and environmental NGOs. However, Miller and Graham point out that it is not only a question of the representative being of the majority/minority ethnicity but perhaps more about being a sensitive and trustworthy person. Miller for instance recognises the importance of the members of his insulation team that will knock on people's doors having established good connections with the local community organisations, being able to imbue trust and handle delicate situations that the targeted vulnerable households might be in, in terms of legal trouble, family conflicts, fear or distrust of authorities or language barriers. One of the city council official also point at how their appearance plays a role in the trust or distrust of community members. He says, "This sounds crazy but I don't look like the average council worker, and I think that helps me. People trust me, having been on the other side of the quarry [...] having been in an insecure scenario, running on a shoe string."

5.3 ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING AMONG BURNGREAVE RESIDENTS

In this section, 5.3, the reasoning and perspectives of the Burngreave residents on environmental concerns are described. The accounts are divided into three main sections: *Notions of eco-friendly living – who is eco-friendly and why?* then, *Perspectives on nature, green areas and the local environment* and last, *Becoming environmentally aware*.

5.3.1 Notions of eco-friendly living – Who is eco-friendly and why?

How do the residents reason about the environmental impacts of their and others' ways of life, in terms of housing, transportation and practices in daily life? Are there different ideas on how one can lead environmentally friendly lives? In the residents' perspectives, who acts in an eco-friendly way and why? And what are the possibilities or difficulties of leading more environmentally friendly lives? These questions are examined here.

From low-energy light bulbs to freeganism

Engagement in environmental issues and eco-friendly living varied greatly among the interviewed residents. Firstly, one group of residents can be described as *highly engaged* in these issues and consciously tried to lower their energy consumption and waste generation. These residents describe how they for instance use little or no heating in their homes, how they primarily use public transport, recycle, grow their own food in their gardens, buy locally produced and seasonal food and overall try to minimise packaged food and high energy products or services.

More detailed examples of actions within this group include making one's own cosmetics and consciously choosing not to fly anymore. Jack, a White British architectural consultant in his thirties, explains, how he, as well as several other people he knows in Burngreave, are so called *freegans*, which means that they try to eat and live off things that are home-grown or free – leftovers from supermarkets or restaurants – food or things that would otherwise be thrown away. The idea with freeganism is to limit consumption and participation in the conventional economy and minimise pressure on environmental and human resources.⁵⁴

Many of the residents termed as highly engaged in environmental issues bring up how they have participated in different forms of envi-

54. According to the UK Freegans website: "A freegan is someone who tries to live simply, reducing their consumption and the pressure they place on the environment, through such things as recycling, sharing resources and using one's time to help others.", <http://freegan.org.uk/pages/faq.php>, accessed July 7, 2008. On the website "Freegan.info - Strategies for Sustainable Living Beyond Capitalism" the term is defined as: "Freeganism is a total boycott of an economic system where the profit motive has eclipsed ethical considerations and where massively complex systems of productions ensure that all the products we buy will have detrimental impacts most of which we may never even consider. Thus, instead of avoiding the purchase of products from one bad company only to support another, we avoid buying anything to the greatest degree we are able." <http://freegan.info/>, accessed July 7, 2008.

ronmental organisations or action groups, protesting against polluting companies, promoting reusable women's pads and nappies. Dorothy, a White British architect and PhD student in her late twenties, describes her activist background:

DOROTHY: When I got to the university I joined a green action group. I became a vegan, we used to cook for each other. I was an activist you could say. Anticapitalism, all of that. Then during the nineties I was part of a quite radical environmental movement, protesting against companies and how they discharged leftovers of paint in the local river [in another city]. We took over their offices, distributed leaflets, campaigned in different ways, used drums and banners. [...] This was at the time when there were these huge anticapitalist demonstrations in London 1998.

Concern over environmental issues plays an important part in the lives of this group of residents, who they are and what they do for a living. Most of them work as artists, community workers, journalists or architects. All of them are White British, and several of them have chosen to move to Burngreave because of the tradition of radicalism and multiculturalism in the area. One of them describes himself as Buddhist, one as an evangelical Christian and another as an atheist. Faith or nonfaith did not come up in the stories of the other eco-oriented residents.

Secondly, a large group of interviewed residents could be described as *moderately concerned with environmental issues*. They are a bit worried about the state of the earth, foremost about climate change, which is something they have learnt about in recent years. They try to adjust their lives in a more eco-friendly way by recycling paper and cardboard, using low-energy light bulbs, reusing egg cartons, cultivating their gardens, turning off the standby switch on electrical appliances, using cloth bags instead of plastic bags and turning off the lights when they leave the room. In this group we find people from various professions – health workers, fashion designers, librarians, nursery staffers, community workers, housewives and students – and from various ethnic backgrounds – Somali, Pakistani, Yemeni, African-Caribbean, White British and Irish. However their environmental concern appears to be primarily a private issue and not part of their professional role or identity.

Thirdly, there is a group of residents who can be termed as *unconcerned with environmental issues*. These residents say they neither think about environmental issues nor try to act in any specific environmental way. Some of these residents have no or a very vague idea of what might constitute environmental problems, local or global. In this group we find

accountants, teachers, housewives, community workers and retired steelworkers, with backgrounds in Pakistan, Yemen or Somalia.

In the group interview with retired steelworkers who have come to England from rural Pakistan 30–40 years ago, environmental problems were not an issue of concern. When asked about global climate change, loss of biodiversity or local air pollution, they replied that that they did not think about these issues. The overall explanation was that they have been working long hours in the steel industry and been occupied with supporting their families and their daily struggles. They might be worried by work-related accidents, health problems and now in latter years perhaps the local lack of good green space for the local children.

Ghedi, an accountant in his twenties with Somali background who grew up in Yemen and then lived in the Netherlands, says he does not think about environmental issues. What concerns him all the time is his family, eating together, sharing everything, and thinking about what he can do for his family. He argues that this goes for many Muslims and perhaps refugees in particular.

Nadifa, a middle-aged housewife with Somali background who previously lived in Norway, explains how she does not act eco-friendly (anymore):

KARIN: When it comes to environmental issues, do you think of things like air pollution, energy use, recycling [...]?

NADIFA: No. We did in Norway, I recycled in Norway, but not here.

We don't have any recycling bins, you can't come to the site.

KARIN: In Norway, you could recycle in your house?

NADIFA: Yes, we recycled for a long long time in Norway.

They came and collected the things at the house. [...]

KARIN: What about energy use, consumption and things related to climate change?

NADIFA: I used to go to Tesco, you use everyday a lot of small bags. In Norway you had to take a box or shopping basket. I think something like that is good for the environment.

Here I use a lot of plastic bags, then I put them in the bin.

KARIN: So you found it easier to live environmentally friendly in Norway?

NADIFA: Yes, In Norway we didn't use the car to get the children to school, there was a bus.

Ayanna, a community worker in her twenties with Somali background who was working in a project with young Somali residents' attitudes towards the environment, explains that their lack of interest in being

engaged in environmental work is related to lack of education and language skills:

AYANNA: In terms of the environment in the longer term, we taught them about recycling, we brought things that were made out of recycled material. [...] In terms of recycling, it is something that is quite new. Many people didn't think that recycling was for them. If you show things like, but it is going to take some time for them to realise how the environment changes and how they change it [...]. To start off locally [...]. Some hardly read or write English. Many of the Somalis cannot even read Somali. You need to show people how to use the blue bin for instance. Veolia did this, came out and showed it. They have outreach workers. There is text on the bin, but people cannot read it.

Story 1: White educated residents care more for the environment than ethnic minorities

When discussing eco-friendliness and perspectives on the environment, the interviewees often came to talk about what “the others” do, or how “the others” are. In this first story it is White educated residents who speak of their environmental behaviour and the behaviour and attitudes of the others.

The stories of who lives eco-friendly and why are generally centred around differences in terms of ethnic background or culture. Several White British residents describe how ethnic minorities (or Pakistani/Asian/Black people) care less for the environment, often in an understanding way. Emily, a middle-aged White British artist and community worker, explains:

KARIN: The people you socialise with, would you say that are you part of a group with similar attitudes [towards environmental issues]?

EMILY: Yes I think so. A lot of my friends are similar to me. But I also mix with people here like Palestinians, and they are different. They have much less idea about the environmental impacts of things than they do about people. They feel quite strongly about how people are treated, since they come from places where people have been oppressed, and they have less thoughts about the impacts on the, just as a thing as animals, they don't think about at all.

KARIN: Are there other such examples?

EMILY: I think there is definitely a thing about how cultures have different views. I think probably, in this area as a whole, White people are more concerned for the environment compared to

other groups. [...] I don't know if it has to do with that less information gets to them. There are people who don't speak as good English, and I don't know if they read as much information or as much information that gets to them. Or they are concerned with their own struggles, as well. I think there is that, and a lot of people are only second generation living here and daily life is still something of a struggle for them. They face a lot of difficulty, and their parents did, and that takes generations for people to get rid of. There are a lot of people in struggles that are more important to them than worrying about the environment.

Megan, a middle-aged health worker with Irish background, describes what she sees as the reason why "Pakistani people do not care as much about environmental issues:"

MEGAN: I don't know if it is racist to say this or not, but I think that if you come from somewhere like Pakistan, and your background is Pakistani, I don't think things like front gardens and growing things in the same way, they came to the big cities and lost that kind of that contact. [...]

If you don't have a lot of money you are not that concerned with the environment, you are more concerned with making sure that you've got nutritious food and cheap nutritious food and you are not too bothered about where it comes from really. The level of poverty in the area influences people more than environmental issues. [...]

I think that many of the Pakistani community, I am using them as an example, have come from a rural area, but when they came here they met a lot of racism, as my parents did, as did the African Caribbean community. My dad would tell me when he came to this country, he was Irish, my family background is Irish, you saw signs like, No Blacks, no Irish, no dogs, if you were looking for somewhere to live, and things like this. So you are not going to worry too much about the big things in the world if you are struggling to find a roof over your head. The difference between my family and many of the black families around here is that I am white. So unless I tell somebody I am Irish, they don't know, whereas if you've got black skin, that stays with you. And that approach stays with you through the generations even if you are brought up here. As many of the communities here, there are three, four generations since anybody lived in Pakistan, but they are still regarded as Pakistani. While I am [...] just treated as British. [...] If you are meeting that

everyday you are not going to worry about some of the other things that are around, you've got enough grief and hassle to worry about.

Here, Megan brings up explanations that have to do with rural backgrounds, poverty and racism, aspects that are brought up in several other interviews. Andrew, a White British teacher/community worker in his forties, argues just like Megan that ethnic discrimination plays a role in this:

ANDREW: I think a lot of the ethnic minority groups are more keen on getting a car and driving. I live with a Caribbean guy and he doesn't even walk down to the shop which is like three, four minutes' walk. He gets in his car and drives down to the corner shop and then drives back again. I guess that has partly to do with that there was a time when if a black man walked down the street he might get stopped by the police and searched and harassed and you know what I mean. So it may be that people in the black community feel safer driving around in cars.

Overall, the more educated and White British interviewees try to influence local and/or international environmental development and think that it is possible to do so, either through their own lifestyles or by pushing for structural changes within environmental organisations or in other forms of community work. Several of these residents describe how they have managed to change small things, like getting an extra waste bin on the street, improving the council's maintenance of parks or street cleaning. Megan gives an example:

MEGAN: It [rubbish on the street where Megan lives] has improved a lot. I did a little personal campaign about 10 years ago at the council because the street was filled with rubbish and it is a street, although it is blocked off at the end, it is opposite a school on the main road. A lot of people that live in other parts of Burngreave or Firs Hill walk down this street to go to school. [...] They go into the local shop [...] there was no bin.

So I argued and argued, very personal, it was just me, including writing to my MP. When I rang up [...] I would read the legislation to them. So I got my bin! [laughing] So there is now a bin outside the corner shop. Then the corner shop started to use it for their things. So I called the council again.

However, when it comes to issues like traffic planning or pushing for higher environmental standards in new housing development the White

British residents have found such issues more difficult to influence. Together with other local residents and shop owners, however, Emily actually experienced making an impact on planning decisions and thus argues that it is certainly possible to change things:

EMILY: I think the best way is for people to get together in small groups. [...] If you don't get together in small groups, the council can do anything. It is amazing what a smallish group of people can change, something quite big actually.

However when it comes to global environmental issues Emily is not as optimistic about making a difference:

EMILY: I try to live my life in a way so that I create as little damage as possible, but it is difficult. I am a car driver, which is bad, isn't it? And, I try to recycle, but I don't know if it has an impact really. Here, I try to reuse things, and not buy new things all the time. I am mindful of the impacts of spending power on people and the environment, what countries you buy your fruit from [...] I don't buy from Israel for instance. [...] We are very conscious about where we buy from. I do think about it. But I feel that there is not a lot that you can do. [...]

And what an individual can do is nothing compared to what companies and governments and America can do. And America, whatever we do, America, unless America changes, America is the one polluting the world, and China.

Story 2: Muslim lifestyles more environmentally sound while British lifestyle is wasteful

In this second story, it is residents of Muslim faith and/or with backgrounds in Pakistan, Yemen or Jamaica who speak of their environmental behaviour, particularly in contrast to British and western lifestyle.

Several residents with roots in Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia and Jamaica are critical of British or western lifestyle and argues that there is too much focus on consumption, and that the daily British life entails too much work, travel and stress and too little time for the family, reflection, religious practices and slow sound living.

In the English literacy class, two housewives in their thirties with Pakistani and Yemeni backgrounds and a man in his forties with Jamaican background all describe how life in their countries of origin are actually better in several respects. When they have been there on visits they found great qualities in the slower pace, nearby pieces of land where one can grow

vegetables, better environment for children and that people overall are more healthy when they walk more, consume less and spend more time with their families and friends. One of the women says that she is seriously thinking of moving back to Pakistan as her experience is that people are overall are more content with their lives there in spite of that they are poor.

In the mathematics class, another housewife with Pakistani background argues that there is too much choice and competition today in British society; another woman with Yemeni background takes the example of blueberries being available all year, which in her perspective is absurd. Less choices and less competition would, from their perspective, mean a more peaceful way of life and feeling of solidarity.

Salim, a librarian in his sixties with Pakistani background, describes the connections between a Muslim "simple life" and eco-friendliness:

SALIM: Islam basically says "simple life," whereas the west unfortunately [...] or any other Muslim or non-Muslim country, this is the clash between the capitalist system and the Islamic ideology. It is not a clash of civilisations.

KARIN: When you live a simple life, can that mean environmentally friendly life?

SALIM: Yes exactly, for example, five times a day we pray [...] and if you are in a rat race, working sixteen hours a day, I will not be able to perform my prayers like I am supposed to. Then I am neglecting something in my life, so if I am observing my prayers and perform my daily life accordingly, then I won't be much more into rat race. And if I am not in rat race I am not contributing to [the burden on] the environment. So I will be living my simple life and more environmentally friendly. [...]

So Islam teaches us, for example, if I eat less, I will be better mentally, I will be awake. If I eat a lot, I am going to fall asleep. So I am consuming less food, I am taught not to waste. My teaching is so that there will be less consumption of all these necessities, so there will be less burden on the environment through machinery for example or electricity.

If one follows the proper Islamic life, nobody is working night, because Allah has created the day for you to work and the night for you to rest. If you keep the balance, say a billion people work over night, if they are all going to stop, how much electricity are we going to save? How much gas are we going to save? A lot of cars are going to run and transport people here and there. And all of these gases will be lowered. So you can see the direct connection. [...] If we would follow the Islamic teach-

ing, I think the world could half their problems immediately. [...] The true clash is between the capitalist system and the Islamic teaching, but they are presenting it quite differently so people can get involved and engage in this campaign against Muslims.

Story 3: Poverty generates concern for resources or excess consumption

There are differing perspectives on the effect of poverty on resource use and attitudes towards the environment. Several interviewees from various socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds argue that poverty, or memories of poverty or rationing from war times, generates a concern for resources. The concern for resources is seen here primarily from an economic rationale, a way of saving money, rather than an environmental rationale. Emily points at how ethnic minority groups in Britain may have less impact on the environment in spite of being less concerned with global environmental problems compared to her, for instance:

EMILY: Maybe those people have less impact on the world, anyway. Maybe somebody who is Somalian who is living here, they simply might not think about the environment but still have less impact on the world than me, because they might not drive a car and they might make things last as long as they can. I don't know.

In line with what Emily is suggesting, the residents who are labelled here as unconcerned with environmental issues live more compact and travel less overall compared with the eco-oriented White British residents. As an example, Abdel, an English teacher in his thirties who came to Sheffield from Yemen and is now the imam in one of the local mosques, describes how he mostly stays in the area and only uses the family car once a week to go to a shopping mall. However, he clarifies that this is not because of environmental reasons but because he wants to save money. Most of the residents who describe themselves as concerned with environmental issues – Andrew, Megan, Paul and Edith – do point out that they fly quite a lot, a couple of times each year, some of them within Europe and others to Asia or Latin America. Many of them live in fairly large houses, Paul and Megan, for instance, who are single persons living in a one-family house, and Edith, Emily and Megan all drive quite a lot.

There are however other perspectives on the relationship between poverty and eco-friendliness. In the mathematics class, two women with Pakistani background describe how a poor background might generate excess consumption. One of the women describes how she can remember not having electricity in Pakistan and once her family got it they never thought of saving resources, they always left the lights on. Another

woman who is born in Britain and “had everything” in her upbringing describes how she as an adult became more concerned with resources and raised her children with an ethic of living sparsely. In contrast to this, her son’s prime focus now is on exclusive consumer goods and high fashion. She thus argues that it is a pendulum process; the poor desire the affluent life and the affluent desire the simple life.

Jack, the White British architectural consultant, points out how poverty has traditionally meant that one had to be careful with resources, reuse and mend things, which amounts to limited and eco-friendly consumption. Yet today a lot of consumer goods have become so cheap, due to cheap foreign labour, that the poor in Britain in fact can consume quite a lot. Jack further argues that the poor imitate the lifestyles of the better-off, but in their hurry to copy these lifestyles, they miss that the quality of the consumables of the wealthy are often better and more sustainable.

Story 4: Nobody lives eco-friendly in the current societal structures

Several of the eco-oriented residents found it nearly impossible to live in an eco-friendly way in the current society, relying on products and food that is exported all over the world and produced in exploitative ways. Jack, the architectural consultant, brings up the issue of ecological footprints and that if everyone would live as the average Briton, several planets would be needed. Not only the production and consumption of goods are unsustainable in Jack’s and Megan’s perspectives, but also the labour market and how contemporary society is organised. Megan explains:

MEGAN: Most people aspire to things, they want to live more comfortably, and sometimes that is not very green, is it? [...] I want a dishwasher. It is very difficult then to balance all those things, between wanting to live a more comfortable and nicer lifestyle and then people working quite late hours and you know they don’t want to come home and start doing everything from scratch for a meal, they want something that is quick and easy even if it is wrapped in plastic. Finding ways of balancing that is quite difficult.

Andrew, the teacher/community worker, reasons in a similar way and points out how consumption of standard appliances in countries like Britain in fact means environmental degradation in other parts of the world:

KARIN: You mentioned that you try to recycle, not use car, etcetera.
Do you feel that that matters?

ANDREW: It is a tricky one really. I have friends that are socialist and

they say, "It is just a stupid waste of time, just chuck the beer cans in the bin, because it is not our fault, it is the fault of the big companies and the States." And to some extent that is true, isn't it? But I think you have to try and take individual responsibility, and then at least I can say it is not my fault. But I do like travelling, so I do have a couple of flights a year or more, which I feel guilty about sometimes. [...] I have been to India and China and people talk a lot about China in terms of its carbon emissions and that kind of stuff, and that is a difficult thing, isn't it? I went to China, I hated China, actually, to be honest, partly because of the massive growth and building and consumerism and capitalism and the *terrible* pollution, I mean you just can't see the sun in many cities in China, which is just really depressing. Then again, we had our industrial revolution here in Europe a hundred fifty years ago, and they are having their industrial revolution now, and why shouldn't they have their industrial revolution when we had ours? A hundred fifty years ago everywhere here was thick with smoke [...]. We are all implicated in it, all the stuff. Your laptop is probably made in China by somebody paid 50 dollars a month. So you know the industrial mess in China is partly there to give us cheap stuff, isn't it?

Paul, a White British community worker/artist/activist in his fifties, argues that in spite of the increased knowledge on the need to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, very little happens:

PAUL: Personally I think, the only way we could actually save it [the planet] is to make sure that the people that are in power understand that it is them, it is industry that causes the most pollution, it is the way industry and society is structured that causes the most pollution, it is the transport that people have to use to get from one place to another [...]. Airplanes are becoming an increasing danger in terms of the proportion that they are contributing, it is escalating. We know about global warming, and have we got less planes? No, we are getting more and more by the year.

Paul argues that there is a fundamental problem with conventional economic thinking, which does not traditionally take the costs of the environmental degradation into the calculation. Like several of the White British eco-oriented residents, Bill, a teacher in his forties, explains how he thinks that the focus on the individual is problematic, that the individual is supposed to recycle and be environmentally conscious in his/her consumption and choice of transport modes, while in fact the public sector

goes ahead with expanding airports, extending motorways, which means car use, making the public transport system less efficient and increasing industrial pollution. Bill argues that it would make more sense to focus on government action and facilitating for people to live more eco-friendly.

Similarly, Paul describes this individualisation of politics and the political environmental rhetoric as not matched by practical change:

PAUL: I am renegotiating my position, within what it is that I can do and whether I want to do anything in terms of all of this [societal change and environmental activism]. That is why I put activist down, that is an old habit. I wonder now whether I am an activist or non-activist. I am not sure that intervention is necessarily the answer. That is my frontline question right now. Because I actually have very little hope. I have started to read a book called *End Game*, which is a radical environmental activist book from a Canadian professor, who is as bleak and black about the state of the world as my view. I think it is too late. I actually don't see, especially not when you have got Bush taking the platform and the game playing is going on politically, and the way that everything is being individualised. Yeah, okay, "Make everybody recycle," yeah. It is more difficult to recycle in Burngreave now than it was ten years ago. It is more difficult now than ten years ago, and yet the consciousness of the world is so much 'better' than it was. Why is that? is a very good question to ask.

Several interviewees bring up the example of recycling – how individuals are encouraged to recycle but how it is currently very difficult. Andrew explains:

ANDREW: [There are] no arrangements for recycling bottles or plastics. And I do recycle those things, but as somebody who doesn't drive, and I presume being green it is a good thing to not drive and use public transport, it is very very difficult for me to get bottles and cans to the recycling place [...]. There is a small one on Ellesmere Green, just inside of that, which you can get to on the bus. But you can't take a lot of bottles on the bus, it is probably illegal actually to take bags with bottles on the bus. Then there is one at Tesco on Infirmary road but it is not well served by public transport.

KARIN: So how do you do it then?

ANDREW: I usually rely on friends, after two three months I persuade one of my friends to take my bottles. [...] I think the council is crap really.

Like Paul, Andrew questions the idea of progress and links this to the ecological crisis:

ANDREW: In the 60s and 70s everybody believed in progress, didn't they, whichever way you looked at, whether it was progress in science and technology. Here we had Prime Minister Wilson talking about the white heat of technology in the 60s, or if you talked about capitalist progress or if you talked about the socialist ideal of creating socialist revolutions, it was all about progress, whereas I think that the ecological crisis has kind of, and other things going on as well like the failure of the socialist countries and so on, means that it is kind of like people don't believe in progress anymore. I don't think, people don't think that the human race is progressing. In fact it seems the reverse really, that we have messed it up, really, probably eternally. And I think that that has a subtle cultural effect on all of us really in our lives, in terms of deep cultural pessimism.

Megan questions whether one can ever expect serious green politics in Britain. She is critical of the "stupid idea that technology will save things" and argues that the British and US governments are too involved with big business to be able to launch any serious green legislation or policies. And if they did introduce such legislation, Megan adds, would they be elected again?

Paul further argues that it is necessary to make government environmental agreements legally binding as well as place mandatory responsibilities on local councils:

PAUL: The government is looking after its own interests. They have to balance between the gross national product, which relies upon the exploitation of the environment in order to create profit, and what it is that the citizens demand, which is why we need more protest movements. If we don't have the protest, if people don't say to them, "We care," we wouldn't get anything. So what we get is tokenistic policies from the government that are the most easy to apply, so they individualise it, they don't put any responsibilities on the local councils, and if they do, it is toothless. They have signed up to Kyoto and made all these commitments with regards to reducing this and reducing that, in terms of emissions and recycling and so on. But if they don't do it, there is no penalty. [...] There should be and needs to be, but there isn't.

Several of the interviewees point out how the privatisation of what used to be public services, like the bus system in Sheffield, might have generated gains for the bus companies and the stock market, but not for the people. For the users, they argue, it has meant less efficient, less reliable and more expensive bus services. In relation to this, Paul again argues that more centralised policies and government interventions are needed in order for consumption and production to be sustainable:

PAUL: If you are going to control the consumption of the people and the products they have and how efficient those products are in terms of everlasting light bulbs, they were invented 50 years ago, but commercially, because of the disposable society we live in, they don't happen. If you had centralised policies and the government thinking in the right kind of way, centralised policies are right, you do need dictators, you do need to tell people what to do, you have got to take away their freedom to some degree. Because otherwise, how on earth is it going to work? You can't educate people to the point whereby perhaps you and I are getting to that level of attainment where we are prepared to make our own sacrifices for other people, because we are sufficiently high minded and evolved as human beings to be able to think like that. But we are rare. The normal people, the average people don't have the education, they don't have the insight, they don't have the time, they don't read the books, why should they? They are so busy with looking after their own lives and the whole system has been engineered in order to engender that.

Paul's suggestions include central and local governments supporting public transport, growing food locally, subsidising organic farming and banning different forms of hazardous chemicals in more dedicated ways. Jack and Bill reason in a similar way and argue that the state and the collective need to get involved in other people's lives. From their perspective, global ecological problems will never be solved if one relies on individual action and freedom of choice.

As described previously, several of the eco-oriented residents mention the difficulties of living eco-friendly lives in the current societal structure. However, only Paul and Jack bring up ideas of alternative ways of living or of how one could through collective action change societal structures.

Paul tells the story of his sister who sought an alternative way of life, left her house and life in Burngreave and went to live in and of nature with other travellers and 'gypsies'.

PAUL: So she was off, doing what she believed in, and what I believed in but never had the guts to do. I have worked inside the system and tried to change it. She became disillusioned with the system and basically said, "Can't deal with it, drop out and do it is the option." It is a very difficult way of life. And that has now been decimated by law. There has been a series of laws which have, all the travellers that we used to have here were radicals, so they would protest against the motorways, they would protest against [...] any kind of policy that was easily seen to be a stalking horse for keeping the poor down or milking them. And the government realised this. So they have now tainted anybody who protests a terrorist. It is part of the Terrorist Bill, when it came in, to get rid of all the travellers. So all the travellers were then pushed out to Portugal, Spain and Southern Ireland, that is where they all fled to. There was no room for them in England anymore.

The brutality of the police was appalling. It really was appalling. I know in one case the people that were travelling in this particular group squatted on an aristocrat's land which wasn't being used. They were a quite respectful group of people, which is unusual, but the aristocrat had power over the police, and the police came and did a very brutal raid and a very close friend of my sister's [...] had his ear perforated. He is now deaf, with a [...] by the police. He took them to court and has got some token compensation for it, but he had to fight for it for three years. They used helicopters, they used riot squads, they raided like it was a military raid. It was during the night. There were children, women, lots of vulnerable people, all running around everywhere, completely overwhelmed and outnumbered by these police who were coming in, beating everybody, kicking them, beating them with batons, and being so brutal if they did not move off. [...] This is all part of the environmental movement, which is being stamped out.

He continues:

PAUL: Here in Britain, the legislation that came with the Terrorism Bill that pushed all of the travellers out, was also the end of the protestors, because the protestors were digging tunnels and living in the trees and were being supported by this network of travellers and radicals. So instead of it becoming a civil offence, it became a criminal offence. They upped the punishment, so it would affect people's lives in a very severe way. You wouldn't just get a

fine and community service, it was imprisonable and considered to be very serious, considered to be terrorism. And after terrorism, if you are going against the national interest and digging tunnels to stop a motorway, then now how it is interpreted is that it is an act against the state. You are stopping progress, you are an enemy from within. So it has become more dangerous to do it.

In another instance, Paul argues that the understanding of the environmental crisis and particularly the greenhouse effect is now so great among people that it might in fact be possible to mobilise people and push for radical reforms and structural changes:

PAUL: The only way to overcome the problems that are, in this day and age, and this has happened increasingly in the history of demonstrations in this country, is to bring organisations together and have *huge, massive* presence.

He notes how this has happened recently, for instance with the Make Poverty History campaign, but altogether he is rather pessimistic when it comes to the current state of environmental activism and mass protests:

PAUL: The cooperative on [...] street used to be a base for radicals and had quite an open-house-policy. I used to go there and visit, talk to people in the garden. It became an informal network meeting place. So if you wanted to hear what was going on, where to go to do what, in terms of demonstrations or the forefront of different bits of things that were going on. I think that everything has been internet based. [...] They changed their policy when the Terrorism Bill came in. And the people that were living there and were paying for the place decided that they had to protect themselves. So they in the end stopped people from coming around. To get any group together in Burngreave now, to get people to do anything for nothing is very difficult. [...] You can't get people to be radical anymore, they are too scared. They are too scared. Or not just bothered. Or a combination of both probably.

Jack, who used to be active in the environmental protest movement, tells a similar story, that the police have increased their raids on houses where local activists live or meet:

JACK: Since I started to do some slightly other things, architectural

consultancy [...] means that I have taken my ethics away from the forefront of protesting [...] and the feedback that I have gained is that there has been a lot of more raiding of properties where people live that do those sort of things, direct action.

Paul contrasts the contemporary difficulty of radical collective environmental action with the climate in the end of the 1960s and 1970s with plenty of room for exploration of alternative lifestyles, hippies, squats, shamanism, deep ecology, the peace movement and how a lot of radical community work was then being subsidised and supported by the British government. Such explorations of alternative eco-friendly lifestyles have become less usual and more difficult today. Paul argues that the increasing competitiveness and less generous welfare system, initiated by the Thatcher government, have made people increasingly self-interested and less willing to participate in political activities, organisations or protest movements. He explains that he doubts that it is meaningful to vote anymore. And, as mentioned previously, the police and the legal system have become tougher:

PAUL: If you have had so many demonstrations being treated as they are, you know the news coverage isn't very nice to these people who protest. They are a nuisance, they are disrupting traffic. Usually the police will provoke and cause people to be violent so then the news turns everything around and it is the protestors that are being violent and the police didn't happen to cause the problems. If you talk to protestors, that is undoubtedly the methods of the police here, they will provoke. And now you have to tell them where you are going. And if you don't, then you are breaking the law, and if you break the law they will come on you very heavy and, again, they can justify it. And they won't let you do protests in places where you will have the most impact, they will sideline you and put you in places where you are out of the public eye. And then because you are not very big you will not get the publicity either. So the government has become very wise. They still allow you to have the right to demonstrate but the power there is behind the demonstration, and people know that the police are there and photographing everybody in the crowd. They know that people have files opened up on them and the police will watch those people they consider to be a threat. Who wants that? Who wants the whole of their life being affected by doing something they believe in? [...] There are very few people that are prepared to stand up and say, "This is not right."

A couple of residents, again Paul and Jack, argue that more experiments of alternative ways of organising society are needed. Like his sister, Paul argues that serious eco-friendly living requires a radical change of lifestyles and more self-sufficiency:

PAUL: The whole system is geared towards continuous growth. If continuous growth isn't fed, the whole system will collapse. If the whole system collapses we are in chaos. So we have to keep the two percent growth as the government would see it, by hook or by crook, but to keep that we have costs, and the whole system has been built upon and built upon and built upon, precedence that now makes it very difficult to go back and do things any differently. For me, the only way that we are truly, truly, going to battle this problem and create a sustainable life for us and for our future children and so on, is to look at what sustainable life means, and that means to go back to permaculture and go back to the land.

I could buy agricultural land, I could sell my house, and I would do so willingly, and I would buy enough land for me and a few other people to live of, if I was allowed to do it. I wouldn't create any waste, I would get wind power, I would get solar power, and would live within those means. I would find wood maybe to burn, if I needed to. There would be ways that I am sure that we could survive. Tribal people survive, they might have to suffer a bit of discomfort. That is the problem, people are not prepared to suffer the discomfort, but they would survive. Until you get back to the earth and re-realise how complete we need to be in terms of that contact, then it won't happen. And it won't happen because it is illegal to live off agricultural land in this country. You can't do it. You are not allowed to it. They waste money paying the farmers to keep it [...] when people could be, rather than building new houses and taking up all the green space and concreting it over, go and create an alternative society.

There *has to be* an alternative society. I am not saying perhaps that we don't have such lives. I am not saying that we perhaps don't have computers, maybe the computers, now that they have been invented, can serve us with a purpose, but while they are so disposable, it is not going to work. We are going to have to keep on mining the resources that are going to run out sooner or later, from Africa and enslave those people. Every time you scratch the surface, there is another huge problem underneath. The radical change that has got to happen. *How?* When it has been structured like this for three hundred, four hundred maybe more years?

Like Paul, Jack argues that people need to become more connected with the cultivation process and eat local seasonal produce. However, quite contrary to what they see as desirable, Jack critically describes the city-centre-living strategy that planners and policy makers are currently pursuing in northern England:

JACK: They [policy makers] very much rush into various forms of redevelopment and they came up with the idea, city-centre living. “Yeah, let’s get the pinstripes, suity stripy people in that will come and march along and that will drive the economy to higher scales for ever and ever.” Maybe it does not work quite like that, because when they eventually got some of the places built in Leeds and Manchester, they built some of these apartments, the apartments themselves were expensive to run [...]. This has left Manchester and Leeds with voids in some of their apartment blocks. [...]

Part of the city-centre-living strategy in the north of England has fallen asunder and is not quite as successful as they wished it to be. They didn’t think well enough of people’s living environments. They thought they could just copy a city model, copy Canary Wharf or copy New York, and people would just fall into that idea of the way they wanted to live as long as we give them friends and various television programmes, their minds will be amorphised into some form of thinking that they are living a good life. Well it didn’t quite work and hopefully it won’t work until they reconsider what the cityscape means on an animal and natural scale of people’s livability.

And there might always be people that can be up to living in those types of environments but they are not finding them so far in the north. And the north has been traditionally good working class folk that get their hands mucky, and it will probably take more than three generations to get people away from that feeling. My grandfather or my grandmother had dirty nails, worked on the allotment and they found great pleasures in it, rather than being sat in a city apartment and not being able to enjoy any of nature’s fruits or the abundant loveliness of nature.

In contrast to the city-centre strategy, Jack puts forward an idea of people both working for salaries and being partly self-sustaining, for instance three days a week in a salaried job, and then taking part in cultivation:

JACK: I think there is a lot of sense in putting people into places where they can still be economic in form but can also be agrarian in form, the idea that money being the only thing that people can use

to sustain their lives isn't necessarily so [...]. Say for a part of the season that your usual working day could be forestalled because some of a certain harvesting season or a certain planting season.

Jack furthermore argues that this means that it would be better if people lived more dispersed and more connected with the land. However he adds that this is not generally desired by politicians since it means more difficulties to manage people and would require more public resources, such as for schooling. He also adds that dense city-centre living is something that suits developers – by building dense, multistorey housing on central sites, developers get more payback on their invested money. Overall, he argues that there ought to be more experimental forms of sustainable societies and sustainable architecture.

5.3.2 Perspectives on nature and the local environment

In this section the following questions are discussed: How do the residents perceive their local environment? What issues are seen as qualities and drawbacks in the area? And furthermore, how do the residents relate to nature and green areas? What is seen as the role of nature and green areas?

Nice, multicultural community, fouled by dogs, litter and crime

Almost all interviewees, irrespective of ethnic, socioeconomic background or gender, liked Burngreave. The prime quality, according to the residents, was the fact that the area was multicultural. Several White British residents – Paul, Andrew, Megan, Dorothy and Edith – moved to the area partly because of it being multicultural as well as having a tradition of radicalism. Paul who moved to Burngreave from London explains:

PAUL: That is what is interesting with this area, there are people like me that have *chosen* to live here. I absolutely loved it when I first came here. To be able to get the kinds of food that we could get, to have the local shops and the variety there was there, to mix with all these amazing people from all over the world. Who needs travelling when you can have these people as your neighbours? [...] The White intellectual tradition of the radicals that live here, largely the only Whites that stay here are either the poor working class people that are trapped and often are resentful or such people like me who chose to come here. And those

people who chose to come here are always radical. So you had this incredible body of people that were able to be united.

Abdel, the English teacher and imam who came to Sheffield from Yemen, describes how he moved to Burngreave because of the Yemeni community, because of the several mosques, halal shops and the wider Muslim community. Ghedi, the accountant with Somali background who grew up in Yemen and then lived in the Netherlands, gives similar reasons for moving to Burngreave. Abdel as well as Salim, the librarian with Pakistani background, point out that successively more Muslims have moved to the area from Somalia, Egypt, Kurdistan, Yemen and that they are all *one* community.

Other interviewees, such as Dorothy, Megan and Nadifa, describe how the different ethnic groups largely live side by side, however, not interacting very much, but on the other hand they do not see any big conflicts either. Megan and Salim remember that when there were race riots in several other British mixed urban neighbourhoods, there were no riots in Burngreave. Several residents are however aware that Burngreave has a bad reputation – that people outside of the area perceive it as dangerous and deprived.

Primarily female residents complain about not feeling safe after dark. Dorothy describes how being a lone White British woman can be difficult in the area:

DOROTHY: My main problem with the area is that I have a car, which I don't like for environmental reasons, I don't use it all the time, but I need it to go home at night. It is dark and not enough light and this [pointing at the map] is sort of a red-light district and you just don't feel safe there at night. And the other way to get home is through Spital Hill and it kind of feels, I have been followed home several times by men. I think I feel uncomfortable walking on Spital Hill because there are so many men hanging around in the street. I am not used to that. I am used to that you use the streets for getting from A to B, not using the streets for socialising. I know that they do this in many other cultures, but I am simply not used to it and not sure how to act.

It is the same thing with the other women I live with. We never go alone in the night. We will pick up each other or so. I have been followed, it has been more that they want to talk to you and it is difficult to shake them off. "Hey would you like to get to know me?" "Would you like to go on a date?" This is just not how British people relate to each other. Being a white woman in this area,

probably the men in the area are not really violent, but it is this thing that they think you are easy, so to say, when you walk around in the area, perhaps since it is quite close to the red-light district.

Many residents of all backgrounds point out that there is a bit of drug dealing, squatted houses and sometimes shootings in the area. Overall, however, the safety has improved. Dorothy and Salim describe how the improvements are partly a result of the New Deal urban regeneration programme, partly because some bars have been closed down and the police have become tougher, and partly because some of the rundown council housing estates have been demolished. Ghedi adds that the safety has improved due to that more Muslims have moved to the area, which, according to him, means less of drinking, nightclubs and crime.

Another reason for living in Burngreave, according to several interviewees, is the comparatively low house prices and rents. Dorothy, Megan and Edith, for instance, point out that you get a larger house and garden compared to other, more affluent areas of Sheffield. Overall, the residents do not complain about the housing environment with the exception of Abdel who complains about the maintenance of his council flat.

Several residents complain about litter in the streets and that the street cleaning is not as frequent as it should be. Abdel thinks that the reason for the inferior street cleaning is that it is an area with a high share of ethnic minorities; he argues that the streets are better cleaned in “white areas.” Others, such as Megan, say it has improved as a result of demands from residents and the New Deal regeneration project. Many residents point out that the overall impression of Burngreave’s local environment has improved since the regeneration programme started. Paul, as well as several other residents, is however sceptical of the focus on the façades and main thoroughfares:

PAUL: New Deal have decided that by providing all of these boxes with flowers in, which didn’t used to be there. This area did used to be quite depressed and the fact that the parks are now being looked after by [a local environmental NGO] and even the parks department are doing their bit as well, and the council are putting these boxes with plants in the shopping areas and hanging stuff in the lamps, there have been lights put on the trees in Ellesmere Green and another [...] because they realised that it just gave the community a feeling of that something was going on, “Yes there is change.” Everything has been Hollywood. A lot of the houses here have been improved, they have had the bricks washed out, some of them have had new windows, some

of them of have had new roofs, but certainly the brick walls along this main corridor, the main Northern General corridor they call it. Everything on that road has been improved, at the front. At the back, nothing has been done. It is all for show.

Poor air quality and fear of landfill and incinerator

Three issues that several people raised were worries about the local air pollution from traffic, effects of the nearby landfill and the incinerator. Air pollution and traffic were issues that residents of various ethnic backgrounds, ages and professions brought up, with the exception of the group that was previously termed 'unconcerned with environmental issues'. Ayanna, the community worker with Somali background, explains:

AYANNA: Air pollution is something that really worries people [in the Somali community], especially the older generation. Like my grandma, she says she wants to leave the country and live in Somalia, because the nature is more clear there, and more peaceful. She talks about the air everyday, that the air we breathe is not clear enough and imagine what we consume here, and so on. I would say that the older generation is more worried about it than the younger ones. Yeah, definitely.

Dorothy describes what she thinks is the main environmental problem:

DOROTHY: The dust is the main problem. If you leave your window open it just gets dusty so quickly [...] more so than in all other cities I have lived in.

Edith, a middle aged White British journalist, as well as Dawn, manager of a local nursery, describe how the children in Burngreave suffer from the air pollution and that it is common to have asthma and other respiratory diseases in the area.

A couple of interviewees describe how, in the early 1900s, quite wealthy people lived in the large Edwardian and Georgian houses in the area. However, as industrial production increased in the nearby valley, the winds brought pollution to the area and the wealthy people moved to the southwest of the city, and Burngreave successively became more of a working class neighbourhood. They describe how, at the peak of the steel production, the air quality in Burngreave was terrible. However, after the decline of the steel industry in the 1980s and onwards, the air quality became considerably better. The retired Pakistani steelworkers and Salim, who lived in the area when the steel industry was active, re-

member this shift in the air quality. However, several interviewees point out that during recent years, air pollution has again worsened due to increased car traffic and construction work. Several residents question whether the current road constructions will be beneficial for Burngreave or just facilitate for more traffic to go through the area.

Andrew makes a generalisation of Sheffield's geographical divide to several other British cities and to the distribution of global environmental problems:

ANDREW: The poor parts of the cities are often in the east because that is where the wind blew. Because the smoke blew from the west to the east, so they put the poor people in the east where it was smoky and the rich in the west. Now, we don't have that smoke but we have poor air quality from cars and motorways, if you look at the worst air quality in Sheffield which is around Tinsley in the motorway junction. And those people that live there are either very poor or from ethnic minority groups, particularly Bangladeshi and Pakistani people and some of the poorest new arrivals come to these areas, Slovak-Romanis. [...] And I don't know if they had been able to build this massive landfill site [close to Burngreave] in the west side where the middle class people live. It is still the poorer people and the minority groups that suffer most. And if you look globally at the position of the poor in China or in India, it is appalling, isn't it, in terms of the environmental problems that the poorer people face? I was in Mumbai and I think it was around 6 million people that live on the streets.

You have to think globally, because a lot of our environmental problems we have kind of exported now, haven't we. So a lot of those environmental problems created by production are now in China and India, and not here, so people here, whether they are black or white or whatever, are to some extent okay [...] I guess that is the case with Eastern Europe as well, the Poles and Slovaks coming here are probably coming from areas that are much more polluted than here.

Like Andrew, Emily raises the issue of the nearby landfill and her worries related to the incinerator:

EMILY: I think the big thing about air quality here is traffic, but I think the car traffic here is far less than what you get if you go on Ecclesal Road [a more affluent part of the city]. It is awful. People pay four times as much for their houses around there compared to here and I

think, Why? [...] I don't think that we do too badly in terms of traffic [...] but, the landfill is a worry, Shirecliffe, Parkwood Springs. There have been lots of worries for quite a few years about what goes on there and the effects on the air quality. That is in the back of my mind. [...] There is lots of talk about them disposing toxic waste there. I don't know what has gone on in the past but there is always this campaign all the time, that it is doing a lot of damage. And the other thing is the incinerator, we are very near that. [...] In the past it used to be very bad, the emissions from it were really bad. And they built a new one, and Greenpeace climbed the chimneys to it for a while. So it is obviously not as good as they like to tell us it is. They have a good point that they are burning stuff and producing power but I am not sure about the emissions from it. And Burngreave is trapped between that and the landfill [laughs], so something is blowing over Burngreave, I am sure it does.

Again, Andrew speaks in a similar way about the landfill:

ANDREW: It's annoying that we have this waste tip on the edge of Burngreave. I don't really know what goes on there, but you hear stories that there are toxic wastes up there and sometimes you get bad smells from there and you see all these lorries coming through the area. You worry sometimes. You don't know what they've got in them, and if they have an accident what might be spilled.

People who visited the stall at the local environmental festival and a seminar at a local café mention the landfill as a major concern. A White British woman in her fifties argues that there is a higher risk of getting cancer among people living near Shirecliffe.

Varying perspectives on the open green spaces

When it comes to the state of the local green spaces, opinions diverge. Some say that the area has very nice green spaces – like Abbeyfield Park, the Burngreave Cemetery and Osgathrope Park. Others experience a lack of green space. Megan explains:

MEGAN: There are parks in Burngreave, but it is quite high density, so it feels dirtier, I don't think it is, but other places are greener because of front gardens, hanging baskets. It just looks cheerful, it feels much more inner city because of that.

Megan adds that many people that live in Burngreave stay in the area and

have no comparisons or idea of how “cheerful” and green it can look in other areas of the city. The women with Pakistani and Yemeni background in the English literacy class describe how they and their families usually stay in the area year-round. Also Abdel also says that he mostly stays in the area.

When it comes to usage of the public parks, it is primarily the White British eco-oriented residents who describe that they spend time in the local parks, on their own or with their children. The women adult learners with Pakistani and Yemeni backgrounds describe how they also take their children to the local parks, but argue that the facilities for children ought to be improved.

Abdel and Ghedi both point out that it is very important for them not to mix with dogs, and thus that there ought to be separate places in the parks for children on the one hand, and dogs on the other. Abdel says that most of the families he knows of go to the shopping mall Meadowhall as they find it difficult to socialise in the parks, primarily since there are dogs in the parks. He further describes how he finds it very difficult to influence the local planning. He has participated in several consultations and people from the city council have come to the mosque, but his experience is that it is just a procedure, that they do not actually listen to their wishes for instance regarding how to reorganise the parks. The retired Pakistani steelworkers also complain about dogs fouling the parks and say that the green spaces are better accommodated to the needs of young people.

Ayanna, the community worker with Somali background, argues that the people with Somali background that she has encountered do not use the parks:

AYANNA: They don't understand the whole concept of parks. [...] They didn't see what is on their doorstep, “Oh, we just hang around in the streets.” It was about recognising their own gardens and then secondly their surroundings. I think they have then started to see these places, the parks, the areas to play. [...] They didn't see these places as important to them. They didn't call them their own. When we told them, the development workers, that they can call them their own [...], “Now you can use them all the time, instead of kicking balls on the street, you can kick balls on the ground.”

Megan makes a similar observation. She describes how the children with Asian background play in the street where she lives, while the White British children play either in the back garden or in some park with their parents.

Ayanna explains that since traditionally Somalis have been nomads, nature and green space have been used for survival purposes and not as

a setting for recreation. She adds that of course many Somalis are urban today, she herself grew up in a city, but yet the habits and perspectives related to nomadism are inherited for generations:

AYANNA: For nomads, they would be out for weeks and days because they *had* to, you know, it is their livestock. But there is no way they would go out to the forest or walk in the park [when they have free time]. Then you would go to the café, have a chat and a cup of tea, that is how they socialise. [...] A lot of Somalis, as many Africans, tend to socialise in big groups. While English or Irish could go the park by themselves, walk with their dog. [...] Somalis would not sit there by themselves. [...] It is not who they are, but they can adapt to it, in time, in time. [...] My grandma would never go to a park, she doesn't want to leave the house. [...]

I see parks like a nice place to stay and enjoy, relax [...]. But the older generation is different, they would say to you, "Oh, there are dogs there running around, and I don't get involved with dogs." [...] Maybe only for the kids, take them to the playground. It is cultural I think. You would think that the Muslims that have been here for a long time have adapted to it, but they haven't, they haven't.

A couple of the White British residents, Andrew and Edith, mention how they often go to the nearby countryside, primarily the Peak District, in the weekends. Andrew however notes how young ethnic minority people are not as interested in going to the countryside:

ANDREW: I work with a lot of ethnic minority young people and it is interesting in terms of going out of Sheffield. We sometimes have groups taking the young people to the countryside, and I go walking a lot in the countryside, but you don't see a lot of black people, and the ethnic minority young people that I work with are not very interested in going to the countryside. And sometimes I talk to some of the adults in the community, and they say, well, the countryside just reminds them of home, like Yemen, Somalia or Pakistan, where they come from or have relations with rural areas, so for them the countryside is just boring and they like the city life.

Nadifa, the woman with Somali background, describes how she has come to like walking in the countryside and how she used to do that in the small town in Norway where she and her family lived for several years before coming to Sheffield.

NADIFA: In Norway we went on Sunday walks, so we do that here as well, we are using the bike. All family, go to eat or play there [points at Abbeyfield park]. We call it the Sundays walk. [...] [In Norway] we used to two times a week walk to the mountain, take the food and everything, two, three, four hours. It was beautiful, but here you cannot find places for nature. So we use the bike.

KARIN: You don't go to the Peak Park, Derbyshire?

NADIFA: I don't know it existed. [...] There is a lot of countryside in Norway, but not here. [...] We even learnt how to ski. [...] We didn't see many Somali people or African people so we followed the Norwegian people. [...] You have to learn Norwegian [...] you have to speak in Norwegian. Here it is different; sometimes people don't speak English even if they have lived here for 10 or 20 years. [...] I don't know anything from English people.

Ghedi and Abdullah had not heard of the Peak District National Park either. Overall, interviewees with Pakistani, Yemeni or Somali background did not mention any excursions to the countryside with the exception of Salim who said he sometimes went with his family to Derbyshire/the Peak District to enjoy the fresh air.

Cultivated gardens, wild gardens and concreted gardens

Several of the White British interviewees brought up the state of the private gardens in Burngreave. Edith, the middle aged White British journalist, explains:

EDITH: A lot of the Pakistani families just clear their gardens and pave it. And they don't have any grass, a paved backyard. My side of that is selective weedy, very much leave things to nature.

Although Edith has another perspective on the role of the gardens, she does not seem to be bothered about what other people do with their gardens. Megan is however clear with how wonderful she thinks it is with her neighbours of African-Caribbean background who keep their front garden in a splendid order and with big white lilies, and that she dislikes when families do not keep their gardens green and tidy:

MEGAN: My favourite complaint [laughing]. Norman Tebbit [a conservative politician] said some years ago that immigrants ought to be given the cricket test when they came to this country: Who do they support in cricket and do they understand the game? I

actually disagree with him. I think what any immigrant in this country should be given is a front garden test. If you go to other parts of the city that are predominantly White and British, what you find are really nice front gardens, and they make the whole area look so much nicer. What you tend to find with the Pakistani community, quite by and large, is that they pave it, completely, concrete, “Nice and easy, don’t do gardening.” It kind of makes the area look so horrible, I just like plants around and things growing and some sort of life. As you go along you can tell which are the Pakistani houses even without knowing who lives there, because everything is paved [laughing]. And they got car ports in front [...]. I want the front gardens to have a hanging basket by the front door [laughing]. [...] I want everybody who comes to this country to know how to do a hanging basket.

Also Jack describes how the concreting of gardens has become more common, something that upsets him:

JACK: The local councillor [...] he wanted to park his cars not on the slightly separated road outside of his house but right in front of his house so he took a tree out of a stand of four trees and concreted his front garden to be able to put his vehicles on there, a taxi driver. And because he is a local councillor and he is supported in this area by an ethnic vote, to some degree, quite large degree, he was then followed, and people followed by concreting not just their front gardens but the whole of their garden, and in some forms changed their properties from being domestic to business properties, so it has been a change of use without prior consent from any planning authority.

Nadifa, the housewife with Somali background, explains how her family uses the garden, but that there is not much grass since she “did a floor on the ground.”

Ayanna explains how people with Somali background relate to gardens and the environment differently compared to people with British background:

AYANNA: From my perspective, to us as a Somali community living in England, environment is something we never look at, yeah. I will tell you why: The background of Somalis is that they are nomads, yeah, bedouins. They travel. They travel around rather than stay in one place. So to us, if you ask a Somali family, How long have you

been living in that house? They will tell you for about two years, but they have been in the UK for the last fifteen years. That tells you that they have been moving around. One of our friends just moved into London, and this mother and children went all the way to London just to see that friend, to live somewhere near. It doesn't matter if they are settled in Sheffield or not. In a way, it is something deep. You don't think about it, you just do it, you just travel. We never thought, "You live in a house, you have a garden, what you see around you is your own." But we never thought that. We never think that will live there forever and ever.

To me it is a house that I live in, and I might move on. If you look at gardens, a project I did two years ago with [a local environmental NGO], was about the environment and how young people see the environment and if they can change their parents' perspectives of what environment is and how they feel. So what we did was, three times a week, to understand what the problems are, we went to the gardens, the gardens of the persons in the group, what we found out was that the garden, to them, didn't exist. They did not see the garden as part of their house. It's just part of the outside. What we found was things like an old cooker, an old fridge, so it is like a dumping ground. So they did not see it as a space for them. [...] They couldn't care less [...]. What we also found were gardens like forests, where the garden just grew and grew and grew, and an old sofa, an old fridge. And we would ask them, Why do you do that? They would say, "Well, for one thing, we don't care about the gardens. [...] It is not who we are," secondly, "Why would I do that anyway, I might move tomorrow or the day after." The ones that had bought houses, it was the same thing with them as well, the ones that rented houses. [...] What we said was, The garden is part of the house. Yeah, it was completely different, nobody had thought of it that way, In the summer when the house is too hot, where would you sit? They would go, "Well, we would just leave the house and go to town." We say, Why do you have to go to town when you can just sit in your own garden and enjoy the view?"

Several motives are brought up for keeping the garden green and nice, firstly for the enjoyment of local people as Megan points out, and secondly, as Jack points out, that it is good for the local air quality and important for the drainage in the area – to allow the ground to breathe and to avoid flooding. Paul, however, mentions that keeping up your garden is not necessarily the best thing to do for biodiversity:

PAUL: This year I have neglected my garden. Sadly, my lawn has become a meadow. But I have apologised to my neighbour. He says, "I don't mind, let nature take over, it is providing a place for the caterpillars, for the butterflies and for all the wildlife." And he is right.

The focus on private gardens is something Bill, the White British teacher, is critical of. He argues that one should instead emphasise the role and caretaking of communal spaces and gardens and engage residents in this process. Also, Paul is critical of all the attention on private gardens:

PAUL: There is a lot of nature and gardening programs on TV. [...] It is very popular. People love nature, they feel sad that things are going, but they don't see what it is that they can do. And some of the gardening programs, like Nature watch, will actually say that in England in particular something like 25 percent of nature conservation goes on in our back garden. If you look at a picture of towns and the amount of green space that there is left in them, 25 percent are front and back gardens. In Sheffield we have many parks, and it's amazing, which are again becoming increasingly under threat because of the building policies and housing policies. So because of that [gardening] is then pushed forward as a responsibility, it is an individualisation of responsibility. And why we individualise that responsibility. "Look after your own garden." It is doing your bit, "Dig for England," like in the war. The more you emphasise the self responsibility, the more you take away from corporate action and real radical power, I think. People's back gardens and other people's back gardens become important. [...] Because gardens aren't going to save the planet, are they? They are going to make people feel good. You might be able to grow a few vegetables, but not even that thrust is there.

5.3.3 Becoming environmentally aware

Several, but certainly not all, interviewees describe themselves as environmentally aware, concerned with environmental issues, being more or less knowledgeable about environmental problems and having ideas about what measures ought to be taken on an individual or more structural level. How have these persons then become concerned with environmental issues? This question is discussed below.

Interviewees have become concerned with environmental issues in a

number of ways. Dorothy, who describes herself as an environmentalist, was brought up in a family with an interest in nature:

DOROTHY: Early in my life I became interested in environmental issues. It started with that I got to know nature, birds, plants and saw how fantastic but also vulnerable it is. And a feeling that, we need to protect this. My mom got me involved in a “watch group.” We listened to the bird sounds, we went on evening walks. So you had that sense of *wow* about nature. [...] My mama and father always gardened, grew vegetables and I had this contact with nature and feeling of looking after it.

In the project that Ayanna has been involved in, educating young people in the Somali community about the environment, the starting point was their own gardens and successively the local and then the wider environment.

AYANNA: It was about educating the young people and then, through them, the parents [...]. It was about opening doors to the environment, thinking of your surroundings and even growing your own vegetables. It was about going back to basics for your own good, and then the community itself and the environment of the whole area, and about cleaning the streets, get them to understand that, This is for you. [...] Before, they couldn't picture it. [...] It was about educating them, even though they know what the environment is. But they could not see it. The whole stuff about the environment, they were not into at all, not something that concerned them.

Like Dorothy, Edith gained her environmental awareness through her upbringing. She does not talk about gardening, however, but about politics and how she, around thirty years ago, was brought up in marches protesting against exploitation of the environment. One of the adult learners with Pakistani background described how she had learnt about environmental issues and the importance of saving energy from her son through a school project he did some years ago.

Another adult learner with Yemeni background described how she started to think of environmental issues in her life after seeing a television documentary about climate change. In a similar way, it was through the mass media that Megan got her knowledge and concern for environmental issues:

MEGAN: I am completely addicted to Radio 4 [...] and years and

years and years ago I heard a radio programme about a hole in the ozone layer and what was causing it. This was long before the whole green argument rose. And I can remember that I was completely appalled about what we were doing.

Flooding in Europe and Britain, as well as changing weather in the world in latter years, have made Salim and many people in the Burngreave Muslim community wonder about climate change. Finally, Paul describes how one could use art in order to engage people in environmental issues and action:

PAUL: Art could be a cultural changing tool. It would bring people back to the earth, because I see artists as shamans. And artists as shamans would therefore create, as a group of people through cooperative working, powerful bodies of people that would then do things.

5.4 FIGURES, BURNGREAVE

16. Map of Sheffield
17. Map of Burngreave
18. Street with brick houses
19. Victorian houses
20. The central street Spital Hill
21. The Wicker, entrance to Burngreave from Sheffield City Centre
22. View from Spital Hill, Burngreave, towards the street The Wicker and Sheffield City Centre
23. Café on Spital Hill
24. Derelict site adjacent to Spital Hill
25. Flower boxes on Spital Hill
26. Corner halal shop
27. One green and one gray garden
28. Industrial zone of Burngreave
29. Karin at her stall at the Environment Day Festival, Abbeyfield Park, May 20, 2007
30. Sign in a local park
31. Hanging basket
32. Brochures of Community forestry project, Chinese community forestry project, Green fingers project, The Green Gym. Scanned front pages of brochures distributed in Burngreave by the city council, BNDfC and local NGOs.

SOURCES

Figure 16: maps.google.com

Figure 17: Masterplanning Burngreave and Fir Vale, Final Report May 2005, Sheffield City Council.

Figures 18-28 and 30-31: Photos taken by Karin Bradley

Figure 29: Photo taken by Ola Broms Wessel

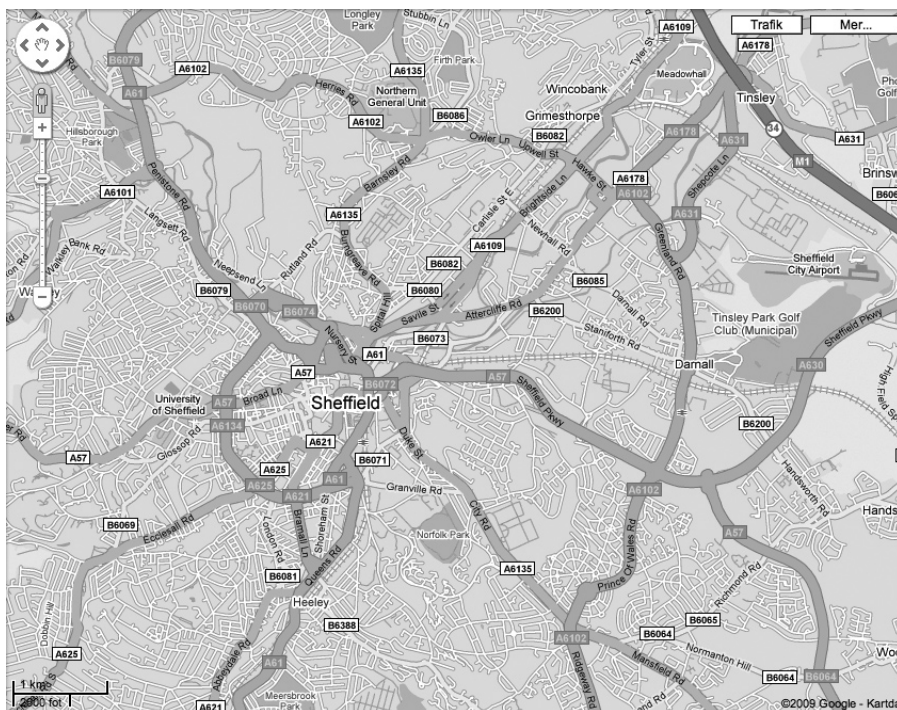


FIG. 16.

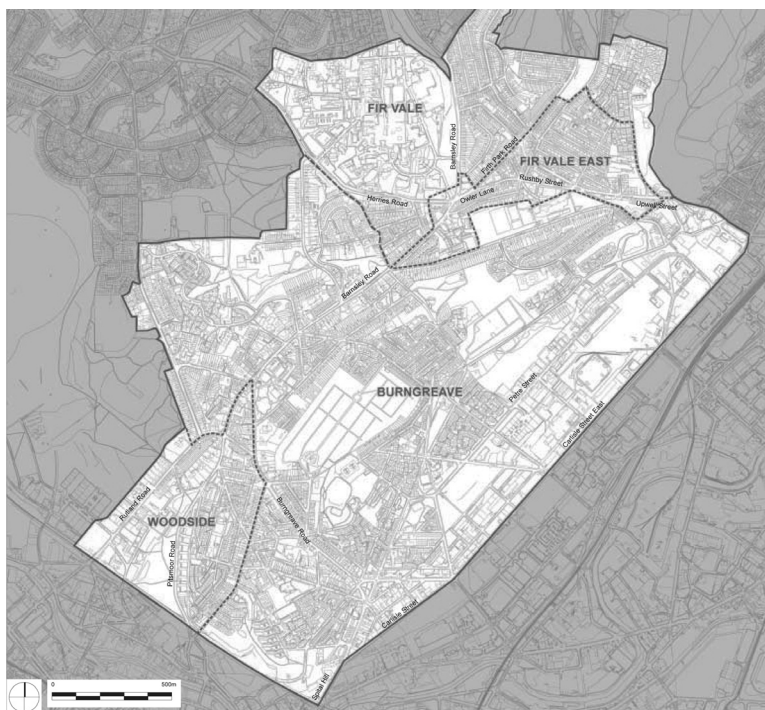


FIG. 17.



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.



FIG. 20.



FIG. 21.



FIG. 22.



FIG. 23.



FIG. 24.



FIG. 25.



FIG. 26.



FIG. 27.



FIG. 28.



FIG. 29.



FIG. 30.



FIG. 31.

<p>The Burngreave Green Environment Programme</p> <p>COMMUNITY FORESTRY PROJECT</p>  <p><i>What do trees do for us?</i></p>	<p>奔格里區 環境綠化計劃</p> <p>社區植樹計劃</p>  <p>樹木 對我們 有何貢獻？</p> <p><small>Chinese The Burngreave Green Environment Programme Community Forestry Project What do trees do for us?</small></p>	<p>SAGE GreenFingers A Horticultural Therapy Project</p> <p><i>On Crimesthorpe Allotments</i></p> <p>Improving mental health through gardening</p> <p><i>A great new opportunity to meet people and learn new skills in a relaxed and welcoming setting</i></p>  <p>Interested? Please see inside</p>
--	---	--

FIG. 32.

PART III

6 Inclusion/exclusion in environmental discourses

In this chapter I use the theoretical framework to analyse the empirical findings. I analyse the case studies in light of each other, highlight similarities and differences and see if there are findings in one of the case studies that can enrich and deepen the analysis of the other and vice versa. The analysis is structured in four main sections.

In 6.1, I discuss what discourses have been found among residents in the case studies and how these may be understood in terms of diversity and inclusionary/exclusionary effects. In 6.2 I discuss the assumptions and preunderstandings that the strategies depart from in terms of ecological transformation and how environmental responsibility comes about, and how these assumptions reinforce or conflict with the lifestyles and reasoning of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups. In 6.3 I analyse the findings in terms of discursive power, normalisation and politics and draw conclusions about justice *within* and justice *to* the environment. Under each of these headings I discuss findings from both Burngreave and Spånga-Tensta, sometimes with more emphasis on one of the cases. Finally, in 6.4, I summarise the main findings of the thesis.

6.1 RESIDENT DISCOURSES OF ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING: ONE IN SPÅNGA-TENSTA, SEVERAL IN BURNGREAVE

In the outset of the study I had expected to find several discourses on eco-friendly living and relationships to the environment coloured by different ethnic backgrounds, socioeconomic conditions and gender roles. However, what the Spånga-Tensta case study showed was the prevalence of what could be described as a dominant “Swedish” discourse on eco-friendly living, which will be commented on more in detail later. The Burngreave case, on the other hand, shows that there are several environmental discourses, parallel and/or conflicting. I am not arguing that my case studies capture all environmental discourses prevalent in these two areas. However, given my fairly similar scope and approach in both case studies the results nevertheless point at the existence of more plural understandings of eco-friendly living in Burngreave compared to Spånga-Tensta.

As mentioned above, I had expected that class, gender and ethnicity as well as possibly other group affiliations would play important roles in the relationship to environmental concerns. However, the Spånga-Tensta case study shows that it is primarily ethnicity that is at the forefront of people's stories, and more specifically often in the binary terms of immigrants and Swedes (see section 3.2.2 for a more detailed comment on this). Very rarely were class or gender aspects brought up by the interviewees. This is not to say that class is irrelevant. I would rather argue that it is intertwined with ethnic identity. In Burngreave, ethnicity was the most common aspect of identity raised by the interviewees. However, here the differentiation was not in binary but plural in form: White British, Native British in contrast to African-Caribbean, Pakistani, Yemeni, Asian, Black, ethnic minorities or immigrants. Class issues were sometimes brought up by the interviewees in the Burngreave case, but never gender issues. Nevertheless, I can see that the female interviewees are generally more concerned with resource use, worrying about environmental problems and trying to act eco-friendly, primarily in the Spånga-Tensta case.

6.1.1 Swedes 'own' the environmental question

My intention was to open up for a broad discussion of what might constitute eco-friendly living. As has been described in section 4.3, views on the global and local environment, open space, lifestyle and resource use were discussed with the residents. In several instances the interviewees refer to something that can be called a Swedish, or Scandinavian, way of relating to environmental concerns built around:

- Outdoor experiences and familiarity with the local natural environment and its species: mushroom and berry picking, walks in the forests, orienteering, visiting the countryside, swimming in lakes, watching birds and animals
- Clean and healthy environment (clean tap water, clean air, plenty of green space)
- Environmentally friendly behaviour in the form of waste recycling, not littering, use of district heating
- Environmental policies and laws: having catalytic converters on cars, right of public access (*Allemansrätten*),⁵⁵ congestion charges.

55. *Allemansrätten* is the rather unique Scandinavian entitlement to roam freely in the outdoors while being respectful of wildlife, landowners and other people enjoying the outdoors.

These themes were identified by both Swedish and immigrant interviewees as well as interviewees of different socioeconomic backgrounds. However, it was primarily the immigrant interviewees who labelled this type of environmental relationship as being Swedish. Yet, many immigrants seemed to have embraced this Swedish environmental discourse. Interviewees with backgrounds from Somalia, Iraq and Syria described how they had learnt about the natural environment and environmental concerns since coming to Sweden. This is illustrated in a conversation in the Kurdish-Iraqi resident group when Sirvan says, "Environment, it was new for us. A new thing," and Mediya says: "We that have gotten used to, that have learnt about environment, how environment is here in Sweden, wonder why the others in the home country don't think of it. Now we have a lot of knowledge." In another conversation, Syrian Zada uses words reflecting *one*, presumably *the* Swedish, way of being environmentally concerned, and that people can be informed or not about this:

ZADA: It is the kind of families that have come from countries where nature doesn't count. From the balcony they throw the rubbish bags straight out [...]. I think they are not informed about *what environment is*, why it is important that we have it green and nice, that it has to be clean. It is of course for our health. I don't think that they are aware of that.

These interviewees described how thinking about the environment was new for them and something they had learnt about in Sweden. In this way the interpretation of environment is largely framed by a "Swedish" way of reasoning. Almost no one is critical of the energy consuming lifestyles, the large and often double house ownership or the extensive air travel and high consumption of many Swedes. Only one resident, a man with Somali background, commented on "recycling fundamentalism" in Sweden and said that Europeans wanted to keep Europe nice and clean but use Africa as a dumping ground.

At first glance, the socioeconomically better-off and Swedes are described as living in an environmentally friendly manner. However, given that housing and transportation account for the largest shares of the ecological footprint of a household (Statistics Sweden, 2003: 57), it is clear that the socioeconomically better off groups and Swedes overall have larger ecological footprints. Thus, paradoxically, groups that place a lot of weight on living in an environmentally friendly way and characterise themselves as eco-friendly generally have larger ecological footprints compared to those who do not explicitly try to live environmentally friendly lifestyles. The latter do this by force of their scarcer economic

resources and the habits of more low-key and local lifestyles.

In the interviews, “Swedes” are associated with certain characteristics and “immigrants” with other characteristics. Often these characteristics are constructed as polarised oppositions. Several of the interviewees argue that immigrants litter more and do not know how to sort their waste, and that Swedes need to teach them about concepts such as nature, the environment and waste management. The so-called Swedish way of relating to and being in nature is connected to a general view of Swedes as tidy, orderly and eco-friendly.

How can the stories of tidy and eco-friendly Swedes versus the deviants be understood in terms of constructing group identities and power relations between these groups? In contrast to Van Dijk’s (1998: 25) “positive self presentation” and “negative other presentation,” the interviewees that call themselves immigrants often made devaluing descriptions of themselves as a group and/or other immigrant groups. And there are also Swedes who describe immigrants in overall positive ways, though not necessarily positive in environmental terms. Thus, we can see examples of *negative* self presentation and *positive* other presentation. This can be understood in the light of hooks’s “white supremacy” and “colonised mind” (hooks quoted in Grünell and Saharso, 1999: 215) – situations when oppressed groups use the reasoning of the dominant groups for explaining their own situation. That several of the interviewees with immigrant backgrounds in the case study portrayed Swedes in a positive manner could, in line with hooks, have to do with their taking on the dominating Swedish discourse on Swedes/immigrants and their supposedly different environmental behaviour. In Hall’s (1997) terms this is a process of “othering.” In this case, subordinate groups (here, ethnic minorities) have come to hold the othering of themselves to be true.

According to Brune (2004) it is critical not only to analyse and demarcate how “they” are described, but also how the “us” is constructed, the norm to which the other is contrasted. In this case study, one might think that the (ethnic) *us* are persons that have grown up in Sweden and are born to Swedish parents, or at least one Swedish parent. But looking closer into the material I am more inclined to think that the *us* in fact includes not only this first category but also first and second generation immigrants that are fairly integrated into Swedish society. This means that the *them* would be newly arrived or poorly integrated immigrants (as Miranda’s neighbours), or people back in the “home countries” (as Mediya describes her fellow countrymen and women).

Furthermore, in the conversations with interviewees with immigrant background there are statements that indicate a feeling of guilt, of not being good enough, or that they themselves or their neighbours might not

live up to the expectations of the Swedes. Here it is relevant to tie back to the Foucauldian notions of (self-)discipline. What we see here is not a top-down or state disciplining of residents, but rather a form of collective self-disciplining of the other into what is seen as the norm.

Hardly any of the Spånga-Tensta interviewees, with the exception of Finnish Eija, bring up issues of reuse or minimising consumption in relation to eco-friendliness. It might be that the Swedish word for “environment” (*miljö*) which I used in the interviews leads people to think of specific things like being in nature, recycling and keeping the local area tidy. However I also used other terms, such as resource use and energy consumption, and brought up issues like threatened species, deforestation, climate change, radiation and noise in order to open up for wider interpretations of environmental issues. As Nemrud, the former official, pointed out, many immigrants have knowledge about living on scarce resources, as they have sometimes done in their poorer home countries. However, these kinds of resource-efficient lives have not been framed in environmental terms. And in order to be considered eco-friendly in Swedish society, Nemrud argues, one needs to phrase it in ‘the right’ environmental terms. This can be seen as an illustration of the importance of language and discourse and how well-educated Swedes ‘own’ the words environment and eco-friendliness. As has been illustrated previously, Swedish environmental policies, technology, and clean and accessible nature appear to be part of the notion of that Swedes are superior in the environmental field.

In line with the work of Macnaghten and Urry (1998) who have shown how perspectives on nature and landscape are intimately connected with national identity and class, I had expected to see similar patterns in Sweden. However, what I had not expected was how the notion of *eco-friendliness* is intimately connected with Swedishness. Most of the interviewees with immigrant background described this Swedish environmental discourse from the outside, having encountered and more or less embraced it later in life. However they did not articulate any alternative or counter discourse. This leads me to describe the *Swedish environmental discourse* as a dominant, nearly hegemonic discourse, its reasoning being seen as self-evidently superior and almost unquestionable. In Laclau’s and Mouffe’s (1985) terms, the hegemony of the discourse of Swedes as eco-friendly can be analysed in terms of its inclusionary and/or exclusionary effects in the sense that certain groups become devalued and also devalue themselves. Here, the Kurdish-Iraqi and Syrian interviewees could for instance not see that their (previous), perhaps more practical, perspective on resource use is also valuable. And Swedish interviewees were generally quite convinced of the superiority of Sweden and Swedes in environmental standards and behaviour.

6.1.2 Several competing discourses in Burngreave

Several of the Burngreave residents speak not only about themselves and their families but also often about how people in their social community overall reason or act, and also how *others*, people outside their own social community, think or act. This might be a reflection of there being more distinct subgroups and group identification in Burngreave compared to Spånga-Tensta. When and if the interviewed residents made delineations of people in Spånga-Tensta it was generally between Gamla Spånga residents on the one hand and Tensta residents on the other, rather than in groups relating to faith, political views or ethnic background.

It is also evident that the interviewed Burngreave residents have quite extensive opinions about the development of the local environment, more so than in Spånga-Tensta. This might be explained by the fact that some of the residents are more active and informed but also the fact that the regeneration programme Burngreave New Deal for Communities is very present in the area, and therefore many residents have opinions about local development.

In contrast to Spånga-Tensta, there are several discourses on eco-friendliness in Burngreave. There are of course no clear-cut ways to describe or delineate one discourse from another. However I found that there are a couple of quite different ways of reasoning in terms of environmental issues and responsibility. A first could be called the *mainstream environmental discourse* found among the residents termed as “moderately concerned with environmental issues” coming from various ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (see 5.3.1). This discourse is characterised by a conviction that the current lifestyles and community infrastructure needs to be adjusted to the threats posed by climate change and local deprivation; however, these were fairly slight adjustments, mainly increases in recycling, greenery, use of public transport, use of green space, low energy light bulbs and insulation.

A second discourse, which can be termed *green radical discourse*, could be found among some of the White British radical environmentalist residents. The reasoning within this discourse was generally formulated in contrast to, or against, the mainstream environmental discourse; it could thus be described as a counter discourse. Here, one could find a structural critique against the current organisation of society and environmental politics as well as politics in general. It was argued that, in the mainstream environmental discourse, collective radical action was avoided. The ecological crisis was here seen as a structural problem and a result of the current organisation of society promoting economic and individualistic actions geared towards economic growth reliant on ex-

exploitation of natural resources and unfair global division of the labour and trade systems. The current policy focus on individual and symbolic actions (like recycling, use of cloth bags and gardening) was thus seen as a form of tokenism that made people feel they were doing “their bit for the environment” while it in fact diverted people’s attention away from deeper societal problems and the need for a radical transformation of society and current consumerist lifestyles – something that would only happen through strong political leadership or collective action.

Within this counter discourse it was argued that current environmental and regeneration strategies focused too much on making the local area look tidy with flower boxes, nice green private gardens and renovated façades of buildings, while neither deeper local environmental issues (such as air pollution and toxics from the nearby landfill) nor global environmental issues (such as the need for reducing the high resource use) were handled. As some of the interviewees argued, collective actions in this direction are in fact made difficult or impossible.

A third way of reasoning could be described as a *Muslim environmental discourse*, most likely one of several Muslim environmental discourses, whereby a simple life with limited consumption and more time for reflection was seen as the ideal (as described primarily by the resident Salim and to some extent the residents Abdel and Ghedi and some of the adult learners). It is noteworthy that the “clash of civilisations,” in Samuel Huntington’s (1998) terms, is presented by Salim instead as a clash between the (western) capitalist system and Islamic teaching. In this way he finds companionship with White British or other ethnic groups that are critical of current western capitalism and its effects on the environment and people. What is here termed a Muslim environmental discourse could, just like the green radical discourse, be described as a counter discourse; however, it is not primarily formulated in contrast to the mainstream environmental discourse but rather in contrast to British and western values and organisation of society in larger terms. Nevertheless, in the case of Burngreave, it could be relevant to speak of discursive struggle (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

Apart from these three discourses, Ayanna, the resident and community worker with Somali background, describes what she sees as a Somali way of relating to the environment, nature and the outdoors, historically characterised by a tradition of nomadism, living in and off the natural environment, while not being tied to a specific geographical location and thus not cultivating the land. However, Ayanna and Nadifa, both with Somali backgrounds, did not describe perspectives on eco-friendliness that were different from the mainstream environmental discourse. Rather, as Nadifa described it, she adapted to what was expected and

facilitated in the society she lived in, exemplified by how she recycled and used public transport; she used shopping baskets when she lived in Norway but not since moving to Burngreave and the UK. When Ayanna described her own way of relating to the environment and green space it was similar to that of the mainstream British, which she contrasted with her grandmother and the older generation of Somalis and Muslims in the area who had not “adapted yet.” Thus, I would not term this a counter discourse, but possibly a form of parallel discourse, which is halfway subsumed into the mainstream.

It is clear that environmental discourses, and people’s aspirations and pictures of what a good life is, are in flux. Group identities evolve in time and vary depending on context, as pointed out in section 2.3.4. Several interviewees argued that background matters for one’s attitude to the environment. For instance, there were anecdotes of people with poor backgrounds in rural Asia who wanted to move away from subsistence cultures and seek urban western consumerist lifestyles. There were also stories of affluent British people who downshifted, explicitly seeking simple, ascetic and eco-friendly forms of life inspired by rural lifestyles in, for instance, India. This can be interpreted in terms of Bourdieu’s (1984) notion of cultural capital. Here one can see how not-so-well-off groups might strive to acquire the symbols and status of the ruling and more successful groups, whilst the ones comfortably off in terms of cultural capital can afford to let go of their economic capital and status.

6.2 ASSUMPTIONS IN STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO DIVERSITY

In this section I discuss the following questions in relation to the case studies: Upon what kinds of assumptions, preunderstandings and cause-and-effect relations regarding ecological change and the inception of environmental responsibility are the planning strategies based? How do the strategies for sustainable urban development and prevalent discourses of eco-friendly living coincide, reinforce or conflict with the daily lives and values of different ethnic and/or socioeconomic groups?

The strategies are of course based on innumerable assumptions. I highlight those I find ambiguous when compared with the reasoning and lifestyles of different social groups residing in the case study areas, described by the residents themselves or by officials.

Overall, the Burngreave professionals had more thoughts on how the strategies were in concordance, or discordance, with the lifestyles of different groups of residents, primarily in terms of ethnicity but some-

times also in terms of class. The questions posed in relation to this theme appeared to be something that several of the professionals had reflected upon earlier and tried to somehow handle in their practice. Several were, however, not necessarily sure that they had found a successful way of handling these issues and were thus interested in alternative approaches. This is for instance illustrated in the council official Russell's self-critical description of what kind of lifestyles the council advocated, "We advocate a form of lifestyle that is based upon 1.2 children of a family that travels to the supermarket every week to get a weekly shop, that is conscientious, that puts litter in our pockets, that doesn't fly-tip, that keeps their garden in good order – you know, all those things."

In Stockholm, a majority of the officials seemed not to have reflected upon these issues and in general had few thoughts on how one could work with diversity in urban development, planning or environmental management. Several of the Stockholm officials were however aware of it being mainly ethnic Swedes that participated in the planning and decision-making processes and that it was difficult to engage residents with immigrant backgrounds, yet class issues were hardly ever raised by the officials. This is in line with my initial assumptions about UK planners having more reflections on ethnic diversity and class, based on the fact that the country has a longer history of multiculturalism and socioeconomic disparities compared to Sweden.

Assumptions of the official environmental discourses in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave, as discerned from official documents or interviews with officials, are discussed in the sections below. Several officials are critical of the discourse they represent and often have more radical views than the institutions they represent and the policy documents they draft.

6.2.1 Spending time in the outdoors leads to environmental awareness?

In the planning strategies of Spånga-Tensta as well as greater Stockholm, a core principle is to protect the green wedges and see to it that the city's residents have a "nature area in his/her vicinity" (Stockholms stad, 2003). Spending time in these nature areas is seen as important not only for recreational and health purposes but also for the opportunity to learn about ecosystems and different species and to build an awareness and feeling of responsibility for the greater ecological system.

In Spånga-Tensta this policy boils down to getting Tensta residents to use the green area of Järvafältet more. Today, many Tensta residents with backgrounds in the Middle East or Africa would rather spend time on the local open fields primarily for socialising and barbecuing. Hence,

this strategy can be seen as an attempt at changing others' habits to those thought to be good for them. In general, the Tensta residents with backgrounds in the Middle East or Africa did not articulate any desire to spend time in the countryside or forests; it was rather the contrary. Ahmed, who grew up as a nomad in Somalia, described how he lived "of nature" and in this way certainly cared about nature, but that he found Swedes' interest in nature as such somewhat strange.

Promoting enjoyment of such green wedges as Järvafältet appears to be based on a perspective of nature as a site for contemplation, a site you enter and exit, not something you are dependent upon for survival – a bourgeois perspective with roots in an idea of the Cartesian divide between Nature and Culture (Hedré, 2002b). For peasants, herders or other people reliant on nature, or having a memory of this, the perspective is more unsentimental and focused on usage; it is thus quite different from the bourgeois romantic perspective of nature as a place of the sublime, for relaxation and spirituality (Ödmann et al., 1982). Furthermore there are resemblances with the Swedish historical tradition of using nature for moral fostering as described by Ödmann et al. (1982). However, the intent is no longer to prevent crime, prostitution or other "immoral behaviour" through contact with nature, but rather to find a way to promote environmental stewardship and health. Bodily experiences in nature are certainly one possible way of becoming aware and engaged in environmental concerns. However a majority of the Spångsten residents as well as the Burngreave residents, and foremost those with immigrant backgrounds, describe how they have become engaged in environmental concerns in mediated ways, through watching television, in driver's education or through reading.

Refurbishment of local green spaces is highly prioritised in Burngreave, by the NGOs, the city council and Burngreave New Deal for Communities – perhaps primarily because of the poor condition these have been in. As has been described before, the rationales for refurbishing the green spaces are several: social aspects for users, attractiveness of the area, safety reasons, health promotion, and possibly greater environmental awareness. In Burngreave the assumption that spending time in green spaces would lead to engagement in environmental concerns was very solid. This was for instance illustrated by the NGOs representative Kwame's description of how the trips to the countryside with the youngsters would make them think about climate change. Also, the NGO representative Roberts was clear about this assumption. In Burngreave, it was not primarily about spending time in 'nature' as in Stockholm but rather in the countryside or in green local spaces and small urban parks. Roberts was careful to point out that he had "no tangible evidence" of

this causal relationship, however, it was the assumption that they used in their work. According to Roberts, spending time in green space was seen not only as a means for raising environmental awareness and concern for the global environment, but also a means for preventing obesity and antisocial behaviour and, overall, making social ties and strengthening the local community and feelings of rootedness.

However interviewing the officials and reading the documents in Burngreave indicated that the local green space was primarily to be enjoyed quietly, in solitude or perhaps with one's dog or a friend. Council official Graham clearly states that it is the native British middle class that understands nature's value:

GRAHAM: When it comes to the actual environment as such, that is the group of people that actually benefit from the natural environment the most, those people who understand its appeal and understand its value.

This reflects the perspective on the natural environment and the countryside prevalent among the ruling strata of British society, as described by Macnaghten and Urry (1998). Several of the White British interviewees pointed at the lack of interest among many immigrant residents in going to the countryside. One might ask, however, is this a problem? For whom is it a problem? As Ayanna pointed out, many people in the Somali community, and particularly the older generation, were simply not interested in using parks; they were afraid of dogs or preferred to spend their free time elsewhere: in each other's homes, in the streets or cafés or, as Ghedi and Abdel point out, at the shopping mall.

The point of departure and norm for policy seems thus to be the White British middle class and its relation to nature and green space. One could indeed picture other ways of communing with and being in green space, exemplified by the barbecuing in big (and loud) groups in the fields outside Tensta. Such activities were not mentioned in terms of British parks, nor is it even allowed.

Both the Burngreave and Spånga-Tensta cases thus show how the official discourse around the importance of being in nature, the countryside or green space for environmental stewardship reinforces traditional Swedish/British bourgeois perspectives and might hence have exclusionary effects on societal groups with other traditions and relations to green space and those that experience mediated ways of becoming engaged in environmental concerns.

6.2.2 Gardening and keeping the local area tidy leads to global environmental responsibility?

Gardening plays an important role in the Burngreave environmental strategies, more so than Spånga-Tensta. Greening and taking care of one's own front garden is a major concern of the city council, the local environmental NGOs and a concern of many of the residents. The rationale here is that green and well-kept gardens are important for making the overall area nice, green and attractive. However it is noteworthy that the council's Facelift programme is directed to the fronts of buildings on the main thoroughfares. In this way it is primarily about making the area look nice for passers-by. Several of the residents as well as the council official Russell were critical of this focus, and argued that it was mostly for show, for making the area look nice from the outside and for investors and for showing that something was being done with the regeneration budget. The way Graham and Roberts talked about tree planting was in a healing way, as an act directly connected to doing something good for the local and global environment. It was with disgust that Roberts described how (Asian/Pakistani) residents took down trees in their gardens, and even greater disgust when they concreted their gardens.

The assumption was that gardening and taking care of trees were ways of becoming aware of global environmental issues, which eventually might lead to action. Roberts summarises this assumption:

ROBERTS: For me, if you can get the kids into parks, some will play football, and if they by some reason start showing an interest in anything else that has to do with the environment, there are different routes they can take. They are not all going ahead to study climate change, but if they start asking like, "Why are them trees dying?" or, "Why are we planting these trees?" if you get them on a tree planting session, you can explain, We desperately need more trees in the world, etcetera.

A couple of residents mentioned that gardening did not have to be eco-friendly, for instance, if one used a lot of pesticides. The most eco-friendly garden might be, as Paul argued, a fairly "wild" and overgrown garden where different species found their homes. In the official strategies, however, the well-kept hanging-basket type of garden was being promoted.

In Burngreave as well as in Tensta rubbish in open spaces was a major concern. In the discussions about environmental concerns, residents in Burngreave and Tensta often brought up issues of littering and fly-tipping. It was clearly a nuisance for the residents as well as a major topic in the

strategies. This can be related to environmental justice research pointing at the *brown environmental issues* of low-income areas, issues such as dog waste and litter, which have not been considered central to the environmental movement or in environmental policy (Burningham and Thrush, 2001; Bill, 2001). As with gardening, the idea here is not only to combat littering for the sake of the local environment but it is also seen as a means of reaching wider environmental concerns. The idea, as Ayanna describes it, is that you start with your own garden, and then you start caring about the common green spaces and then possibly the greater environment.

Roberts points out how the issue of fly-tipping and rubbish in the gardens is an issue where ethnicity matters:

ROBERTS: Recent immigrants to the area have been Slovaks and Eastern Europeans. The amount of fly-tipping that we have experienced next door to where Slovaks live is incredible. Yeah. Because they live multi families in single houses, so we get three four families sharing a three bedroom house, each family having three four kids. We have got a lot of kids playing on the street, we have had lots of problems with trees being snapped and things, but also they produce so much rubbish in the house so that the wheelie bin can't take it. So here it is. So what do you do if you are Romani living in Slovakia on persecution? It's over the wall. Here? It's over the wall. So we are finding patterns of behaviour that in Slovakia is normal. They are surprised when we tell them that it is *not* normal in Britain.

This quote is interesting for several reasons. Around twelve people living in a one-family house is not considered eco-friendly, in spite of that they might use comparably less energy and heating than a standard British household. The visible aspects are the primary focus of Roberts as well as the official strategies. The NGO representative Jones and the resident Paul criticise this focus on a tidy and nice-looking area, on flower boxes, on colour-coordinated shop shutters, on the renovation of façades. They argue that British regeneration projects have often focused on making deprived areas look nice rather than getting to the root of the problems of why people feel disillusioned and the local environment is run-down. According to Jones and Paul, the disillusionment has to do with wider economic and social exclusion, resulting in little hopes for a good future and feelings of belonging.

Hence, these residents point at the dubious assumption that making an area, garden or building look nice will go hand in hand with more sustainable and eco-friendly living. Policies in the field of environment or

sustainable urban development often include, on the one hand, measures to improve the local environment in terms of greenery and tidiness, and on the other hand, measures to reduce resource use. It is often assumed that these two environmental aspects go hand in hand, a notion that is prevalent in both Burngreave and Spånga-Tensta, for instance in the belief that responsibility for the global environment starts with caretaking of the local environment. Yet, if one looks at the clean, green and tidy area of Gamla Spånga, its residents recycle more but use more of the world's resources than the residents of the not-as-green and less-tidy area of Tensta. Obviously these two environmental aspects do not necessarily follow one another.

Perhaps the assumption that a green and nice local environment goes hand in hand with overall environmental responsibility is a reminiscence from the thinking of the industrial period when economies were more local and polluting industries were still common in countries like Sweden and Britain. As Merchant (1989) pointed out regarding New England in the industrial period, the environmental effects of consumption and production affected the people in a rather apparent way (polluted water streams, dust, air pollution from industries and private heating, perhaps more visible waste due to waste management systems not being as sophisticated). However today in areas like Burngreave and Spånga-Tensta it is possible to live in an environmentally unfriendly way (with airplane use, car use, high levels of energy intensive consumption) but still have a nice, green and tidy local environment, while somebody else, in some other region or part of the world, gets affected by the pollution or effects of greenhouse gas emissions.

6.2.3 Private ownership leads to strong community leads to care for the environment?

In Spånga-Tensta, as well as in Burngreave, strategies included conversion of rental flats to tenant-owned flats and construction of new privately owned homes, often as a means of counteracting segregation. This focus on private ownership is of course related to wider political and economic trends and developments in society. However it is noteworthy that it is also rationalised in environmental terms. The idea is that private ownership will increase the feeling of community and ownership in the multifamily housing areas, an ownership which is thought to imply that dwellers stay in the area, and keep their area tidy and clean. As Sarkan, one of the Spånga-Tensta officials, made clear, the idea is that the areas are to become self-controlled through economic incentives, since the idea

is that littering in or damaging an area with tenant-owned housing directly affects the dwellers in terms of lowered property values.

Furthermore, there is the assumption in the official discourse that care of the global environment starts with care of the local environment. In the long run, a sedentary lifestyle based on private ownership is not only expected to result in a nice local environment but also be a basis for environmental awareness and stewardship. However, in terms of environmental stewardship measured in resource use, this assumption seems not to hold for Tensta and Gamla Spånga.

In Burngreave the strategies aimed at creating *mixed communities*, which according to council official Russell, in practice meant building more exclusive tenant-owned housing in order to get more middle class residents to move to the area. Russell identified the assumption that the area would then be better maintained, as middle class people would demand better public and environmental services. This kind of reasoning is based on the liberal notion of the self-interested individual/family, questioned by scholars such as Whatmore (2002). It is noteworthy that the British planning system, as well as other planning systems around the world, have not only departed from the assumption that individuals are steered by economic incentives but also organised themselves to respond to such demands. An illustration of the council's difficulty in handling initiatives for the benefit of the collective can be seen in Jones's stories of how she and her NGO tried to make environmental improvements on public land that were directly and repeatedly discouraged. This difficulty can also be seen in the multiple attempts to organise bottom-up small-scale recycling schemes in Burngreave that were stopped by the council.

The idea, displayed by officials like Sarkan in Spånga-Tensta and Baker in Burngreave, that if you live in rental housing you must care less about open space, could be questioned. Could it not be quite the contrary, that one might care more for common gardens than the private ones? Departing from an embodied and collective notion of people, in line with Whatmore's reasoning (2002), one might get greater joy from caring for the common than caring for the private.

The argument here is that the assumption that private ownership forms the basis for care of the common is a construct that the council reinforces. This can be connected to Žižek's (1999) and particularly Tesfahuney's and Dahlstedt's (2008) interpretations of the postpolitical as being the condition or process whereby economic reasoning and maximisation of self-interest become the self-evident base for action. The current official strategies can hence be seen as fostering a postpolitical condition centred around self-interest and individualised actions, making actions for the collective good like the ones Jones describes difficult.

6.2.4 Compact city leads to eco-friendly living?

In Spånga-Tensta, and in Stockholm overall, a central assumption is that a compact city structure implies more eco-friendly living, as well as being a desirable structure from social and economic points of view. However if one scrutinises the ecologically motivated arguments for the Stockholm compact city strategy, there are contradictions. For instance, there is a contradiction between the overall goal of minimising transport in relation to the principle of supporting a fine meshwork of narrow neighbourhood streets and multimodal through traffic, which most likely will facilitate traffic, both motorised and nonmotorised. There is also a contradiction in the tendency to focus on trips to work whilst largely disregarding the rapidly increasing leisure travel. Another question can be posed about what green areas are to be kept and for whom? Building a more compact and continuous city means concentrating housing and activities in limited areas and thus possibilities for having large green areas outside city boundaries. However, having nature areas near urban housing is also an explicit goal of the city's planning strategy.

Several assumptions about causes and effects in this strategy that can indeed be questioned as Larsson, the planner, also points out. This particularly regards the assumption that densification and additional fine-meshed transport networks will lead to more vivid urban life and more use of public transport. According to Larsson, it might just as well lead to more motorised traffic and sleeping, but dense, suburbs. As Larsson points out, the densification of suburbs such as Tensta and Spånga may result in a combination of the negative aspects of the inner city (noise, traffic, a lack of light, fresh air and greenery) with the negative aspects of the suburbs (lack of public meeting places and vivid public life, and long distances to cultural, commercial and service facilities). His reasoning is in line with the contentious effects of densification that for instance Katie Williams (2000) has illustrated in her study of densification in a number of London boroughs.

In Burngreave there is not as much focus on densification or making the area more urban, perhaps because Burngreave is an inner city area. However in the documents there are phrases indicating that the promotion of compact cities is prevalent in the UK as well. In the Burngreave Master Plan it is stated that a "sustainable community" is one that has "an identified centre" and "areas of density around the centre." This can be seen in the efforts to revitalise Burngreave's Spital Hill and make this into a distinct centre. One of the ideas behind fostering distinct and dense urban centres is that it will facilitate public transport and walking. Jack, the Burngreave resident and architectural consultant, and Larsson, the

Stockholm planner, both suggest another motive for building densely: By building dense and multistorey housing on central sites, developers get more pay-back on their invested money. Larsson argues that the compact city strategy does not have public support among residents living in suburbs like Gamla Spånga and Tensta. The strategy, he says, is based on the norms of pro-inner-city professionals who do not see the qualities of postwar suburbs such as Tensta. According to him, as well as those interviewed, many Tensta residents in fact appreciate the traffic separation, the green spaces between houses and the fact that it is a demarcated area with plenty of green space around it. These interviewed residents argue that the underlying motif of the outsiders' notion of Tensta as unattractive does not have to do with the physical structure; rather, it has to do with the high proportion of residents of immigrant backgrounds and the rumours about Tensta as a crime-ridden place. Yet when the inner-city professionals look at Tensta, they appear to think that if only the structures were more urban and inner-city like, things would become better. A couple of the officials pointed out that it was primarily the postwar high-rise suburbs, and not the affluent suburbs, that were thought to lack 'urbanity', or 'the right density', boulevards, public and/or commercial spaces that enable pedestrian lives, modelled after inner-city areas dominated by the Swedish middle classes.

Nevertheless, there are of course ecological motives for building densely, for instance in terms of energy efficiency of buildings, the possibilities of sharing of infrastructure, better foundations for public transport as well as possibilities for saving green space. Yet one might ask, as Larsson does, why it is the traditional European urban structure that should be the model for postwar areas like Tensta? Why not other forms that depart from and develop the specific qualities of the postwar areas?

6.2.5 The current economic system compatible with environmental concern?

A fundamental assumption in most of the strategic documents is that economic growth and environmental sustainability are seen as compatible. Strategies and possible solutions to unsustainability are generally within the growth paradigm. This is primarily clear in the Swedish strategies where it is declared that mobility and transport are necessary for economic growth. There are similar phrases in the Sheffield documents. In several places in the Sheffield documents, however, as well as in interviews with several of the officials, doubts are raised as to whether eco-friendly living is at all possible in the current design of the economy.

Some of the Sheffield documents also spell out necessary changes: that current consumption levels be lowered, resources be used more in line with one-planet living and the sourcing of goods become more local than global. Such fairly radical statements are not at all visible in the Spånga-Tensta documents.

In Burngreave there are attempts at creating local economies with local circulation of money and services, for instance, in the environmental NGO's efforts to employ people locally and the council's efforts to get people to use the local shops and services, the BNDfC's and residents' promotion of growing one's own food, composting and minimising waste. The focus on creating local economies resembles the research debates around self-reliant cities that were prevalent during the 1970s (Wärneryd et al., 2002). However today it is articulated in another context – in a context when the ecological and social drawbacks of widespread globalisation have perhaps become more evident.

This kind of promotion of local economies and growing one's own food is not visible in the strategic documents or the resident stories of Spånga-Tensta. Shopping locally and reducing travel is mentioned in the Spånga-Tensta strategies without mentioning where the produce comes from and its effect on a larger system of economic exchange. In general there is less questioning of progress, how the possibly sustainable cities with biking lanes are inscribed in a larger economic system built around the depletion of natural resources. Nevertheless one might wonder, as did official Baker, how increased use of public transport will be achieved in a cultural paradigm where car ownership is a measure of success.

The Burngreave case also shows the dilemmas of the city council in its role to both minimise costs and deliver high environmental standards, for instance, in the development of the Woodside site where the council did not want to put too high environmental demands on developers as it would mean getting paid less for the land. Another example is the goal of the council to increase levels of recycling whilst simultaneously keeping its agreement with the private waste company about delivering a certain amount of rubbish to the incinerator in order for it to be profitable.

6.2.6 You need to be well-off to be eco-friendly?

A notion that was often raised by officials and residents in both Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave is the idea that an individual needs to be fairly well off to be able to care for the environment and live an eco-friendly life. It was often argued that the well-off groups of residents were the ones that lived in a more eco-friendly way; that they have the educa-

tion, the economic and personal resources, the ownership of the house and the time needed to be eco-friendly. Several interviewees pointed out that people who come from poorer conditions, or who have inherited memories of being poor, are busy with their daily struggles and thus do not have the time or energy to think about environmental concerns. This assumption appears to be very solid. Nevertheless a few interviewees, such as the former official Nemrud in Spånga-Tensta and the artist/community worker Emily in Burngreave, pointed at how some of the poorer or newly arrived groups of people in fact might act more eco-friendly as a result of their scarce economic resources, and that is was just not explained in environmental terms. As discussed in section 6.1, the more affluent groups tend to buy more organic food, recycle and use cloth bags when shopping – all symbols of eco-friendly living in the dominant environmental discourse. Such a discourse means that these lifestyles are reinforced, whilst lifestyles implying other ways of economising with resources are not acknowledged or supported.

This reasoning can be tied to the environmental problems that are considered relevant: as has been pointed out in environmental justice research (Bullard, 1993; Burningham & Thrush, 2001), the focus on threatened species and nature reserves makes the well-educated British/Swedish nature-interested groups into environmentalists, whilst a focus on brown environmental issues, such as litter or the asthma of children in urban areas, would make the less affluent and immigrant groups into environmentalists.

6.2.7 Are residents' perspectives catered to in the planning process?

When discussing how the strategies for sustainable urban development related to different groups of residents, the interviewed officials often raised issues that had to do with the involvement of residents in the planning and decision-making processes. Several of the officials in Burngreave pointed out how the consultation processes and other forms of involvement primarily involved residents of the White British middle class, which, according to Roberts, has meant that this group of residents has steered the work towards their specific interests. Roberts shows this in this quote about how his organisation changed its way of operating:

ROBERTS: So what we have done is get rid of all the steering committees, which the people on the steering committee did not like, but nobody else noticed. In a way we have made it more democratic by making it less democratic. In other words, those areas where people

didn't have a voice, we go down and leaflet the houses around and say, We are now going to tidy this area up. Whilst we are working, come and talk to us and tell us what you'd like to be done.

Here, he acknowledges how the formally democratic procedures with committees and consultation meetings at certain hours, did not suit groups of residents that have less socioeconomic resources and are less articulate. As Roberts noticed, these groups of residents sometimes also distrusted authorities and, as council official Williams pointed out, may have difficulties navigating the planning system, or believing their English is good enough or having the confidence to voice their opinions in the formal decision making arena. This mirrors Young's (1996) criticism of how current western institutions, like the planning system, favour white (male) middle-class ways of speaking and acting.

What Roberts noticed is that the supposedly fair decision-making process did not result in a fair outcome, an ethical dilemma that environmental justice researchers among others have drawn attention to (Low and Gleeson, 1997; Faber, 1998; Heiman, 1996). How can then the decision making process be altered to better encompass social and ethnic diversity? Roberts attempted to handle this by making the decision-making process more informal and leafleting and seeking out groups of people in situations where they met for other reasons. In other words, he chose to take the decision-making to the affected residents rather than invite residents to the decision-making. Sarkan, the Spånga-Tensta official, as well as Jakobsson, the housing company official, also realised that the formal Swedish decision-making and information system does not work in relation to the multicultural and transitional Tensta residents. Both Sarkan and Roberts emphasised the importance of establishing trust in order for participation or messages to have any effect, something that is perhaps best done via a person who is a member of the community in question. It may also take time to establish trust and it cannot be done in a simple or rational way. Sarkan, Jakobsson and Roberts all pointed at the need to have face-to-face contact with the multicultural Tensta and Burngreave residents.

These reflections show how the current planning and decision-making processes may need to be rethought, particularly when catering to a multicultural, transitional and socioeconomically diverse population. The deliberative model of democratic decision-making, assumedly leading to the best result, is questioned here, particularly as the points of view of the less articulate or newcomer may never even enter the arena. This mechanism may also explain why certain discourses – for instance the environmental discourse centred around recycling, urban living and gardening – become dominant.

6.3 NORMALISATION, INCLUSION/ EXCLUSION AND JUSTICE

In this section, 6.3, I analyse how the strategies studied and the prevalent resident discourses can be understood in terms of discursive power, normalisation and (post)politics and draw conclusions about justice *within* and justice *to* the environment.

6.3.1 Normalisation through green practices

Certain gardening and green-space practices are considered desirable and “normal” in Burngreave, as described in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2. In the BNDfC Delivery Plan (2001: 31) one can read that green spaces should be “culturally appropriate and well used.” One can wonder what this means. Are they not ‘culturally appropriate’ now? It might refer to the widely recognised problem of green spaces in Burngreave being used by drug users and gangs of youths. The goal of the refurbishment of the parks has thus been to get these park users out, prevent “antisocial behaviour” and get other groups of people into the parks, including residents with various ethnic backgrounds and children. Both the documents and the interviewees describe Burngreave kids playing in the streets as a problem, the more appropriate place for them clearly being the parks or the backyards. This can be understood from a car safety perspective, but it is most likely not the only reason. Megan, the health worker with Irish background, lives on a small, quiet street and notes, without attaching a direct value to it, how the children of her neighbouring Pakistani families play in the street, whilst the British kids play in the back garden or in the parks. (Compare this to promoting the opposite (*more* street life) in Stockholm. For instance, Larsson, the planner, describes one of the new high status housing areas as a place where the children are to play in the streets and, overall, people are to live more urban lifestyles.)

Ayanna, the young Burngreave resident and community worker with Somali background, describes the deviant perspective on parks among people with Somali background and how she and the environmental NGO have contributed to changing attitudes:

AYANNA: They [people with Somali background] *don't understand the whole concept of parks*. [...] They didn't see what is on their doorstep: “Oh, we just hang around in the streets.” It was about recognising their own gardens and then secondly their surroundings. I think they have then started to see these places,

the parks, the areas to play. [...] They didn't see these places as important to them. They didn't call them their own. When we told them, the development worker, that they can call them their own [...], Now you can use them all the time, instead of kicking balls on the street, you can kick balls on the ground.

The way Ayanna describes parks is as if there was *one* understanding of the concept of parks that could either be understood or misunderstood. She further connects this lack of understanding of parks with a lack of engagement in the environment:

AYANNA: Before they couldn't picture it. [...] It was about educating them, even though they know what the environment is, but they could not see it. The whole stuff about the environment, they were not into at all, not something that concerned them.

Also council official Graham displays a similar binary perspective on the interpretation of the environment when he says that it is the native British middle class that "understand its [the natural environment's] appeal and understand its value." This perspective is similar to the notions prevalent in the Iraqi-Kurdish group in Spånga-Tensta and in their descriptions of how they have "learnt about environment" since they came to Sweden. It is a binary way of reasoning where you have either understood or not, where there is one assumedly proper understanding of the environment or parks, which is of course the understanding of those that are seen as setting the norm in society, which might not be the majority in numbers but those that are elevated and whose lifestyles are seen as superior. This illustrates the discursive power of certain interpretations being seen as unquestionable and the norm, to which the other ought to adapt. Also Bergström, the Spånga-Tensta official, describes how the immigrants of Tensta "don't see" the nature areas as something they can use. However, he points out that these immigrants have different, and as good, ways of using green space, albeit not in accordance with how the area was originally planned.

Ayanna further describes how people with Somali and nomadic background are generally not into being in green space when they don't *have to*:

AYANNA: But there is no way they would go out to the forest or walk in the park [when they have free time]. Then you would go to the café, have a chat and a cup of tea. That is how they socialise. [...] A lot of Somalis, as many Africans, tend to socialise in big groups.

While English or Irish could go the park by themselves, walk with their dog. [...] Somalis would not sit there by themselves. [...] It is not who they are, but they can adapt to it, in time, in time.

Here, it is assumed that it is a problem that these ethnic groups socialise in a, from a traditional British point of view, different way. But why should this in fact be seen as a problem? And for whom is it a problem? Here, it is relevant to relate to the resident Dorothy's story of how she feels uncomfortable walking in Burngreave at night because there are men hanging around in the streets:

DOROTHY: I think I feel uncomfortable walking on Spital Hill because there are so many men hanging around in the street. I am not used to that. I am used to that you use the streets for getting from A to B, not using the streets for socialising. I know that they do this in many other cultures, but I am simply not used to it and not sure how to act.

Yet a vivid public life is described as an important ingredient in the sustainable community that is being promoted by the council through local shopping, facilities and a well frequented centre. The BNDfC funded projects for creating DIY streets, where residents through different formal and informal means transformed their local streets into more pedestrian friendly spaces. This paradox leads me to wonder if it is something in the way that the children, Somalis and men from 'other cultures' use the streets and open spaces that is considered 'inappropriate'. Perhaps because they hang around on street corners in large groups and do not go from store to store to shop, sit in pubs or go from point A to B as Dorothy described British people doing?

In this way I see the efforts of getting 'the other' to the parks and off the streets as a form of normalisation or disciplining. More desirable forms of socialisation are supposed to take place, and perhaps education; Roberts describes the roles of parks, that one can become healthy and knowledgeable about the ecosystem and possibly become more environmentally aware. Relating to the previous discussions about mediated ways of becoming environmentally aware, the residents hanging around in the streets or watching Al Jazeera in the local cafés might learn as much about ecological issues and ways of acting eco-friendly as if they had spent time in the park.

In Burngreave there are projects whereby people with mental health problems on the one hand and asylum seekers on the other work with gardening and green space as a way of getting into the society, learning

English and learning about the culture. In this way, gardening can be seen as a way of becoming well/normal/British.

The perspective of green practices as normalising is evident in Megan's suggestion that "immigrants should pass a test of how to make a hanging basket" as a criterion for becoming British. She talks lyrically about her neighbours of African-Caribbean background who keep big white lilies in a delightful way in their front gardens. It is as if, in her perspective, they are good British citizens, which is not the way she talks about her neighbours of Pakistani background who do not keep their gardens green and tidy. When Roberts describes how some ethnic minorities have "misinterpreted" how to use their garden, for instance, placing old dishwashers in it, he does it in a slightly ironic and pejorative way; for instance, when he describes how he and his crew have come to call an old washing machine in the garden a "Somali water feature." In terms of work in relation to environmental issues Roberts says, "We've got two major problems in Burngreave, that is, breaking through the barriers that are caused by *lack of education* and ignorance, and breaking the barriers that are caused by *culture*." Graham suggests that strong religion and perhaps particularly the Muslim faith may be a problem for environmentalism. In the reasoning of the officials Roberts and Graham and the resident Megan, it appears that educated secularised British residents and their lifestyles are the norms to which the others are to adapt.

6.3.2 Changing the poor/the other/the suburban

In Spånga-Tensta as well as in Burngreave, considerable resources are put into strategies that directly or indirectly aim at changing the lifestyles of the underprivileged, primarily poor residents from immigrant backgrounds, while the energy-consuming lifestyles of the better off are rarely questioned. The public authorities or local environmental NGOs do not try to change the habits of residents that are frequent flyers, play golf, have double homes or work in economic sectors that rely on the depletion of natural resources or unfair trade schemes. But public authorities and NGOs do try to get immigrants to recycle, use low-energy light bulbs, use the local parks, and, in Spånga-Tensta, live more urban lifestyles. As described in section 6.2.4, the scheme of promoting urbanity and more urban lifestyles is specifically directed towards poorer areas such as Tensta, something that can be analysed in terms of normalisation.

Jack, the Burngreave resident, doubts that city-centre living is beneficial for ecological development. Rather he argues that people living in such environments become more easily steered into the economic rat race,

more so than people with time for critical reflection and connections with the land. Compact city living is often presented as suitable for the postindustrial economy. The argument is that it is possible to live in compact and mixed-use urban areas now when polluting and noisy industries have become rare. And moreover, in the new creative economy it is necessary for people and firms to be close to each other, preferably in vivid, diverse and stimulating urban areas (see for instance Florida, 2002).

Thus, one might wonder if the compact city does not, primarily, respond to needs for growth in the new economy and, secondly, happen to fit well with several ecological arguments as well. Drawing from Jack's and Paul's reasoning, it could be argued that compact city living suits developers and the current economic system well because it is in these urban environments that people work in the postindustrial growth economy, constantly able to shop, be exposed to advertising and buy services in the restaurant and entertainment industry – economic sectors that are all crucial to the current economy. In the flexible postindustrial economy it is also important that people can switch jobs frequently and work on short assignments, which is also easier if people are concentrated in cities. Thus, it increases effectiveness. Whilst if people lived more dispersed in urban regions, or in villages in the countryside or in postwar suburbs, they might not be as likely to start up businesses in the creative sector, or consume as many products and services. But Jack and Paul argue that people living closer to the natural environment and productive land have better opportunities to be connected with the land, eco-cycling and local food production and overall constructing self-reliant communities by exchanging local services and products, perhaps with their own currencies and welfare systems.

This leads me to ask if the advocacy of the compact city is not just a physical and spatial form of ecological modernisation – the idea that some technological innovation and slight adjustment to our current lifestyle will make the neoliberal growth economy a little more green and thus prolong it, rather than having to fundamentally rethink how society is organised. This is in line with Larsson's analysis (2006) and Keil's (2007) criticism of new urbanism and smart growth – strategies for making adjustments to an overall unsustainable and unequal society rather than focusing on the major forces shaping urban social and ecological problems. Drawing on the Foucauldian notions of normalisation and discipline whereby citizens are to be fostered into being productive, useful and orderly, the compact city strategy could be interpreted as a strategy for seeing to it that the citizens contribute to increased effectiveness and productivity.

The public strategies for sustainable development employed in Spånga-Tensta are primarily directed towards residents in postwar multifamily

houses, or low-income households often with immigrant background, more so than the better off and Swedish areas. What could then be the reasons for this skewed focus? Is it so that it has to do with there being more social problems in Tensta – and that the hope is to solve some of these through environmental/sustainability measures? In Gamla Spånga, the residents generally have jobs, do not cause trouble, seem to like their area and keep it nice, green and tidy. I would thus argue, in line with Lövgren (2002) that the strategies can be seen as a way of normalising the other, turning the residents in the “problematic postwar suburbs” into well-behaving and tidy (Swedish) residents. In latter decades the postwar suburbs have been subject to numerous urban policy schemes in order to combat various physical, social and economic problems, and it might be that current ecological/sustainability policy schemes are primarily targeted towards these areas out of simple habit. Tying back to the introductory discussion about the workings of discursive power, it would mean that normalisation of the other in environmental terms is not an intentional project, but a product of how things are usually done.

In Burngreave, the BNDfC regeneration programme had economic, social and environmental goals. Given that the first two goals are those most likely to be prioritised, it is perhaps not surprising that these measures are targeted towards the underprivileged residents of Burngreave. A serious response to the global ecological crisis, however, may need public schemes to address the well-off residents and their lifestyles.

6.3.3 Justice in and to the environment

When comparing Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave, the issues around which residents are normalised differ: In Spånga-Tensta it is primarily recycling and spending time in nature which appears to be the key to becoming part of Swedish society, whilst in Burngreave it is more centred around practices in parks and gardening. In Spånga-Tensta I found more statements that indicated forms of self-discipline among residents with immigrant background. In Burngreave there were not as many stories of ethnic minorities not feeling ‘good enough’ or wanting to live up to the expectations of “the British.” On the contrary, ethnic minorities tended to question traditional British norms.

Using the Foucauldian perspective of discipline one could then argue that the Spånga-Tensta and Swedish authorities conduct this in a more successful and sophisticated way, a way that is perceived as involving not force but habits that are desirable. The majority of the residents with immigrant background in Spånga-Tensta appeared to be *wanting to* become

Swedish, perhaps because it was almost necessary to get into society. Such desires were not expressed as often in Burngreave, which may have to do with there being a longer tradition of multiculturalism and stronger ethnic communities with their own life and economy. In this instance it is relevant to bring up Nadifa's story of living in a small town in Norway and learning to ski, to enjoy walking in the mountains and to recycle. She picked up the habits of the local Norwegians but argues that the situation is very different in Burngreave. She phrased it as "I don't know anything from English people." Of course the situation in a fairly monoethnic small Norwegian town is very different from that of Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave. Nevertheless, Nadifa's story says something about how newcomers to a society might be integrated into or influenced by the majority culture to different degrees.

The normalising aspects of the strategies and the micropractices of all social life should, however, not only be seen as problematic. Picking up new habits and learning from others is of course also a positive process. Urban planning and state steering of citizens are activities that as such always will be normalising. For instance, informing newcomers about desired waste management procedures or accessible green space and countryside that can be enjoyed in the vicinity are certainly well motivated. Processes of normalisation that are transparent and have clear goals and means are more just, as their transparency makes them open to scrutiny, debate and possibly change. What can be deemed problematic, however, is when different behaviours are grouped and devalued although they might not directly relate or even be very relevant. Fly-tipping is certainly a socially and ecologically problematic behaviour, for instance, while preferring to socialise in streets rather than parks does not have to be a problem. What is furthermore problematic is the asymmetry in the normalisation. In these case studies, the habits and strategies of ecological concern of the culturally and economically dominant groups are 'taught' to the less powerful and very little vice versa. This can be illustrated by public efforts to prevent littering but not other forms of environmentally costly behaviour, such as flying or having large living space/person. Here the injustice dimensions become apparent, both in terms of *(in)justice as the (lack of) respect of difference* and the consequences of this in terms of adverse effects on the environment, *(in)justice to the environment*.

In terms of *distributive justice* of environmental qualities/problems among different groups locally, or access to environmental resources in the forms of adequate and well maintained green and public spaces, public transportation, environmental services, quality of housing and exposure to environmental risks, the situation in Spånga-Tensta appears to be more just. The residents in Spånga as well as Tensta are more

content with the local environment overall compared to the Burngreave residents. Nevertheless, there are complaints about unjust distribution of environmental risks in Tensta relating to the pollution and noise from the nearby motorway as well as the public management of the area in relation to more affluent areas. The Burngreave residents have complaints about the poor maintenance of the parks, poor public transport system and environmental services such as recycling stations, the rubbish, exposure to air pollution and the nearness to the landfill and incinerator. As described previously (section 2.5.4), the basis for the evaluation of distributive justice in this study is the residents' *experiences*, not other measurements of park maintenance or levels of air pollution. However, it is important to point out that a discursive approach to distributive justice means critically looking at *what* is to be distributed, what environmental issues are seen as relevant/irrelevant and how this relates to different social groups and power structures. Of interest in this instance is how Lindgren, the Stockholm environmental officer, presents the work of his authority as being strictly based upon the natural sciences with social aspects playing no role; it is about facts and getting these facts and information out to people. One could however question why certain types of information, on recycling for instance, are disseminated and not other types of information, why certain data are gathered and not others, and what the effects of this might be.

A third dimension is the assessment of *justice to the environment*, interpreted as justice to the natural environment, nonhuman species and future generations, use of nonrenewable resources and the depletion of life quality for nonhuman species. Here the ecological footprint measure can serve as a tool. Overall, higher income means a larger ecological footprint (Statistics Sweden, 2003: 57)⁵⁶ which means that the economically better off groups in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave most likely have larger ecological footprints compared to the not so well-off. In both cases, the resource intensive groups of residents are generally considered more eco-friendly. The effect of this reinforcement of Swedish/British middle-class high-energy life styles and discourse does not so much directly affect less affluent residents or neighbouring communities. Rather it affects environmental degradation on a global level, for instance in the form of global warming. Thus, what we are dealing with here is an issue of *(un)fair share in environmental space*, or how the consumption

56. Studies showing how overall higher income implies larger ecological footprint have been conducted in Sweden, Canada and Australia; see for instance <http://www.answers.com/topic/ecological-footprint>, accessed February 22, 2008. I have not found any similar study for the UK, but most likely the relationship is similar.

of the earth's resources is unfairly divided among different groups and generations. Due to the global trade system and cleaner technology, environmental problems have become more diffuse, global and something that affects "all" (Beck, 1997). It is however important to stress that environmental problems only to some extent transgress geographical and class boundaries. As has been pointed out in several environmental justice studies, it is primarily the less affluent regions and people that suffer from environmental problems. Thus, we see how the dominant discourse has effect in terms of *injustices in the environment*, not primarily in terms of injustice among the different social groups locally, but rather in terms of local lifestyles and reasoning – and primarily lifestyles of the more affluent groups – having negative environmental effects on other, primarily poor, people in distant places.

6.3.4 The (post)politics of sustainable urban development

Taking the analysis further, one can try to grasp assumptions or conditions that are taken for granted and regarded as belonging to fields that planning cannot, or should not, influence. In other words, one can try to see what frames the conditions for planning. In line with the reasoning of Žižek (1999) and Mouffe (2005), a profoundly political approach to planning would include scrutinising, questioning and possibly changing these frameworks that define how things work and what is seen as possible.

In Burngreave, several residents and officials pointed at such structural frameworks. Overall, the strategies for sustainable urban development in both Burngreave and Spånga-Tensta tried to help individuals make eco-friendly choices, use public transport to/from work rather than the car or recycle rather than not. Particularly in Burngreave, however, several officials and residents pointed out the obstacles to making such choices: recycling if you do not have a car, the reliance on products that create ecological and social problems elsewhere and the consumerist rat race that is the main measure of success. Several interviewees argued that the state and the collective need to get involved in people's lives, introduce stricter legislation and change societal structures for people to be able to *really* live in a more eco-friendly way. From their perspective, global ecological problems will never be solved if one relies on individual action and the current freedom of choice.

In Spånga-Tensta some of the officials (Lindgren, Bergström and Larsson) pointed at such structural difficulties and so did a couple of the residents. But in general the Spånga-Tensta residents were not as critical as the Burngreave residents. Notably, this structural critique is not reflected

at all in the Spånga-Tensta documents; conflicting goals or deep structural and cultural problems are not discussed. The energy intensive economy and lifestyles not included in the complex of problems or “challenges,” as it is often phrased, could include the large housing units, increasing leisure trips, air travel and increasing levels of unsustainable consumption and reliance on environmental degradation elsewhere. It may be that such activities are generally omitted from policy documents because they are seen as too difficult for a municipality to address and/or not within the legal competence. However, it is obviously not unthinkable to bring up such issues; some of the Sheffield/Burngreave documents, for instance, mention the huge societal challenges that one-planet living would imply, express the need to reduce consumption and waste and question the sustainability of the reliance on the global economy. This and the findings of the green radical critiques in Burngreave signal that the national debates around sustainable development and environment are quite different in Sweden and the UK. As Connelly (2006) for instance has pointed out, environmental justice and green radical perspectives are evident ingredients in the British environmental and sustainable development debate, which is generally not the case in the Swedish national debate (Hedré, 2002a; Isaksson, 2001).

The way progress is viewed is decisive for the role and potential of planning. In Burngreave, several officials and documents used phrases to the effect that things used to be better. Roberts and Baker both talked about how lives in the UK were better 30–40 years ago in several respects: the health of children, how leisure time was spent more outdoors, active lifestyles, less resource use and waste generation, knowledge of nature and food production, the city’s public transportation system and maintenance of parks. In a discussion about how British society has evolved in relation to quality of life and the environment, Roberts, for instance, says, “I think we need to take a step backwards.” He also talks about the council’s plans of “re-introducing what we used to call park keepers.” Some of the documents also describe facilities that used to be better, most specifically the city’s public transportation system, and identify a need to “re-establish excellence in Sheffield’s public transport” (Sheffield First Partnership, 2007: 15).

This can be interpreted as a critique of the dismantling of the public sector during the Thatcher era, which is, of course, specific to the British context. I did not hear this kind of doubt of societal progress or attempts to re-introduce any institutional arrangements in the Spånga-Tensta case, with the exception of the idea that the premodern urban planning model with dense quarters, mixed functions and modes of traffic needed to be brought back.

The doubt of progress in Burngreave was not only explained by the marks left by the Thatcher era but also by global economic and environmental development. One resident, the teacher/community worker Andrew, described this doubt succinctly:

ANDREW: In the sixties and seventies everybody believed in progress, didn't they, whichever way you looked at, whether it was progress in science and technology [...] or if you talked about capitalist progress or if you talked about the socialist ideal of creating socialist revolutions, it was all about progress, whereas I think that the ecological crisis has kind of, and other things going on as well like the failure of the socialist countries and so on, means that it is kind of like people don't believe in progress anymore. I don't think. People don't think that the human race is progressing. In fact it seems the reverse really, that we have messed it up, really, probably eternally. And I think that that has a subtle cultural effect on all of us really in our lives, in terms of deep cultural pessimism.

I see this quote as central to the analysis of how to deal with planning for just environments today. In broad terms, either you, like Andrew, see the socioecological problems as a sign that our path of development is profoundly problematic and that structural change is needed, in line with the radical political ecology of Keil (2007) and Swyngedouw (2007), *or* you see the socioecological problems as something that can be handled with smarter economic incentives, urban densification, voluntary agreements, more informed eco-consumers and smarter technology – all essentially within the current economic and cultural system, in line with Spaargaren and Mol (1992).

Another Burngreave resident, Paul, argues that greater knowledge and greater environmental awareness do not necessarily result in progress or change: “We know about global warming, and have we got less planes? No, we are getting more and more by the year.” And on recycling: “It is more difficult to recycle in Burngreave now than it was ten years ago [...] and yet the consciousness of the world is so much ‘better’ than it was. Why is that? is a very good question to ask.”

Furthermore, residents with backgrounds in Yemen, Pakistan and Jamaica describe how the quality of life in these ‘less-developed’ societies is in several respects better. These residents are sceptical of the assumption that society as such is progressing and that the liberal western capitalist notion is the only way forward. This can be linked to the poststructural critical reflections concerning the Enlightenment and modernist notion of progress – the idea that the human race is progressing, that we acquire

greater knowledge that informs us, that we perhaps make a few mistakes but we learn from this and we subsequently correct the mistakes on the route forward to a better and more enlightened society. Planning is intimately connected with the modernist idea of progress, in its striving to make the everyday life of the public better and provide better public services, housing and green space. Reintroducing previous arrangements, like that of the Sheffield park keepers, can however be told in a way so that it still signals progress, for instance through launching the arrangement under a new name.

6.3.5 Making sustainable lifestyles real

Some Sheffield documents use phrases about the need to provide “*real* opportunities for active, low carbon lifestyles.” I interpret this “*real*” as an acknowledgment that the standard option (taking the bus, for example, when you have the possibility of taking a car) is unreal. It is an acknowledgment that the contemporary discourse on free choices does not necessarily mean that the choice is free. The current system facilitates some choices and makes others more difficult. This can be interpreted as a sophisticated form of disciplining, of making people feel they have ‘chosen’ to live in a certain kind of house or urban design or chosen to buy a car when in fact they have done it on a rather narrow basis, given that it is possible to imagine a society where one might not have to choose a car at all. It is recognised that today, the conditions of public transport in Sheffield would need considerable improvement in order to in fact constitute a *real* choice.

As has been described previously, several residents felt frustrated because they found it difficult to live as eco-friendly as they would like within the current societal structures. They felt they had to consume a lot of packaged material, go by car and rely on unsustainable appliances in order to be part of society. Some residents, such as Jack and Paul, tried to avoid the standard consumption and conventional economy as much as possible. But they felt living in alternative ways, such as in self-reliant travellers’ communities, had become increasingly difficult. Paul listed several factors contributing to this difficulty: after the Terrorism Act, legislation became stricter and punishment and treatment for squatting on private land or holding unannounced gatherings became tougher, the welfare system has become less generous, competitiveness has increased and state surveillance of people interpreted as possible threats or antisocial has increased. Taken together this pushes people to act in a way they consider to be safe and in line with the mainstream, thinking of them-

selves and their families and being less willing to engage in radical and perhaps risky collective actions to form better and alternative societies.

Also, environmental politics has become individualised, with considerable focus on eco-consumerism and recycling; according to Paul, this has the effect that people think they are doing “their bit for the environment” and do not see the importance of collectively trying to push for more structural reforms. This can be interpreted as a form of disciplining people into orderly consumers whereby nonrebellious behaviour is to be avoided.

Paul draws attention to how the force of massive demonstrations against unjust globalisation – in Seattle in 1999 and in Genoa, Gothenburg and other places during the early 2000s around international top summits – has become fragmented and not as visible anymore. This applies as well to the British radical environmental protests, which had people digging tunnels and living in trees in order to stop motorways, and the Reclaim the streets movement.

During the last couple of years, when the insights of the effects of climate change have become more established, one could assume that a more populous public would push for more reforms, but as Paul argues, this has generally not been the case. Perhaps people feel that governments are taking care of the issue with multilateral carbon trading schemes, that companies now offer green and fair trade products or that they themselves are doing their bit by recycling or eco-consuming. And perhaps, as Paul argues, because people are pushed into thinking of themselves first and not taking the legal or economic risks to protest or criticise the system.

Mouffe (2005) argues that if there is not room for conflicts to be acted out within the official and parliamentary institutions, if people do not find it meaningful to vote (as Paul for instance), confrontation will appear elsewhere, in populist movements, street protests or terrorism. And the appearance of this “uncontrolled” and possibly dangerous antagonism will thus call for even more control and surveillance of the public, which in line with Mouffe’s analysis will result in even more frustration at the grass roots level. This leads me to argue that the current difficulties of living in alternative ways and articulating radical environmental concerns are very serious problems, both in terms of justice *in* and *to* the environment and for the safeguarding of an open and safe democracy.

Global environmental problems are often described as structural and collective problems. Yet, considerable responsibility is placed on the individual to make eco-friendly choices on a voluntary basis within the current structure. The mainstream tokenistic form of environmentalism is questioned by interviewees such as Paul and Jack in Burngreave. This trend of tokenism could be interpreted as a form of postpolitics in line with Swyngedouw’s (2007) and Mouffe’s (2005) analysis, whereby deci-

sions increasingly are placed on individuals, centring the discussion for instance around what eco-car to buy rather than engaging in political action to change societal structures in a direction such that private cars are not needed.

Several officials and residents argued that it is simply too difficult for an individual to take on the responsibility of not choosing to fly short trips or drive cars when it is possible to and when other people do it and it is expected in their jobs. As Dryzek (2005: 226) and others have pointed out, my case studies show that in spite of efforts to promote eco-friendly living, the obedient production and consumption of the current growth economy relying on the depletion of renewable resources appears to be more important to local (and central) governments.

6.4 MAIN FINDINGS

In short, I would say that a main contribution of the thesis is that it shows how the current planning for sustainable urban development and eco-friendly living can be understood in terms of discursive (in)justice, normalisation and discipline. The theoretical perspectives and case studies of Stockholm and Sheffield show how strategies for urban sustainability are underpinned by Swedish/British middle-class norms, entailing processes of (self-)disciplining and normalisation of *the other* (i.e., the foreign and/or troublesome) into well-behaving citizens. In the case studies, the more affluent Swedish/British residents generally describe themselves as concerned with environmental issues and are more into recycling, buying organic food, using cloth bags when shopping – acts that have become symbols of eco-friendly living in the dominant environmental discourse. However, these groups tend to have larger ecological footprints due to large housing, transportation patterns and consumption levels than the groups that do not describe themselves as eco-friendly. The latter economise with scarcer resources and lead more low-key and local lifestyles. The dominant discourse and symbols of eco-friendly living thus mean that Swedish/British middle-class lifestyles are reinforced, whilst lifestyles implying ‘other’ ways of economising with resources are not acknowledged or supported.

Furthermore, the studied strategies are based upon assumptions which have normalising effects upon those considered as others, for instance, the assumption that spending time in green space will lead to environmental awareness, and the assumed connections between private ownership, local tidiness and environmental stewardship.

The symbols of eco-friendly living and reinforcement of middle class

lifestyles are similar in both the Stockholm and Sheffield case studies. There are however differences as well. A main difference is that the case study in Stockholm shows the prevalence of *one dominant discourse* among residents in which the national identity of “Swedes” is connected with environmental responsibility in the form of tidiness, recycling and familiarity with nature. In Sheffield, there are more of *competing and parallel environmental discourses*. The mainstream British environmental discourse and sustainability strategies are being criticised from Muslim as well as green radical perspectives. The official British discourse on eco-friendly living is criticised by residents and officials for being tokenistic in its focus on gardening, tidiness, recycling and eco-consumption, whilst energy consuming activities and deeper unsustainable societal structures are not highlighted. A similar critique can be directed towards the Swedish official discourse, articulated by some of the Swedish officials. Compared to Burngreave, however, there are very few articulated critiques or alternative discourses among residents in Spånga-Tensta. One of the benefits of making a cross-national study is hence how perspectives that arise in one of the cases can highlight how these perspectives are largely absent in the other.

Another specificity of the thesis lies in the way it deals with justice, or, a *discursive approach to justice*, focusing on the framing of environmental problems and the consequences of this framing in terms of what issues and impact(s) are considered in planning and official and everyday discourses. More specifically, the justice framework that has been developed is a combination of Low’s and Gleeson’s (1997) and Young’s (1990) conceptualisations of justice in terms of justice *within* the environment (i.e., the distribution of environmental risks and qualities within different groups *and* justice as respect of difference) and justice *to* the environment (i.e., to nonhumans and future generations).

Swedish and British middle-class norms frame and set the standards in the everyday environmental discourse and sustainability strategies. The case studies show how this is problematic both in terms of justice *within* the environment – as (lack) of respect of difference – and the consequences of this in terms of adverse effects on the environment, (in) justice *to* the environment.

Another main finding of the thesis is that planning for sustainable urban development and eco-friendly living can be seen as part of a postpolitical project. The studied strategies bear elements of postpolitics in the sense that they foster individualised small-scale actions – such as recycling, switching to low-energy light bulbs and gardening, making people feel they are doing ‘their bit for the environment’ – rather than drawing attention to deeper unsustainable societal structures and col-

lective actions that could be done to change these. If sustainable urban development, and more particularly planning for just environments, is to be taken seriously, this analysis leads me to argue that it is necessary to *politicise* sustainability strategies. Possible ways forward along this road will be described in the last chapter.

7 Future alternatives for sustainability politics

In order for ecological transformation to happen, and to be just, it is necessary to consider how different societal groups live and relate to local and global environmental concerns, and use the reasoning and values of different groups in working out strategies. As has been described in chapter 6, I would argue that there is certainly room for improvement in this field.

I started out with a set of questions about planning for eco-friendly living in relation to diversity. Then, my empirical work, primarily in Burngreave, opened up huge questions about how society is organised, about the current globalised market system, growth and progress, about the labour market, about liberal ideas of freedom of choice, self-maximisation and the delimited individual, about structural discrimination, about fostering good citizens, about fear and about the current political and planning system. And how these fundamental aspects of contemporary society come into conflict with individual and collective efforts to live in a more eco-friendly way. These issues raised in Burngreave made me see what was not mentioned in the Spånga-Tensta strategies and resident discourses.

In this final chapter I indicate future directions and issues to explore in order to make the work for sustainable urban development more political and more just. I also suggest the issues, from my perspective, such politicised planning for sustainability should cover.

7.1 NAMING AND FRAMING OF ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

As has been shown in the case studies, the dominant Swedish and British discourses on eco-friendly living and strategies for sustainable urban development imply fairly little deviation from the current development path and thus a future with minor changes in the organisation of society and urban life – in terms of organisation of production, housing, transportation patterns, relations to and use of natural resources, the global division of labour, the growth economy and consumption levels. The Spånga-Tensta case in particular showed a quite firm consensus on these matters and little struggle or voicing of alternative discourses. In

this sense planning appears to have become management rather than a field dealing with fundamentally political and visionary debates.

More politicised planning for sustainable urban development would hence, in line with Swyngedouw's (2007) argument, mean making space for and actively stimulating alternative imaginaries and visions of socioenvironmental futures. The insight that nature, the (unsustainable) organisation of society and the economic system are constructed implies that they can be reorganised and reconstructed. A key question becomes, then: What societies and relationships with the nonhuman world are desirable? Ideas and concrete attempts at creating alternative societies become important to study, highlight, name and theorise about. The task is not to find *one* alternative and form a consensus around it, but to highlight multiple alternatives and iterative utopias that allow room for difference and change.

In this instance, it would also be important to explore the role of planners as producers of visions and alternative futures. Historically, planning and architecture have been professional fields where quite radical and new forms of societal organisation have been envisioned – not only as physical design but also in terms of the organisation of the spheres of production and reproduction, transport and relationships to nature and surrounding societies. Also, today there are attempts to find new and radical ways of doing architecture and planning that go beyond the mainstream focus on urban design (Keil, 2007) and deal with radical action, handling not only place-bound activities (see for instance Betsky and Jodidio, 2008; Betsky, 2008; Gunne, 2008; Bell and Wakeford, 2008). Such attempts appears to have generated little echo in the official planning domains in areas such as Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave. Exploring alternative approaches and communicating them to public planning would thus be an important task for future research and advocacy.

Stimulating visionary debates within the planning domain would not only mean bringing in ideas from experimental architecture and planning but also from groups in society whose voices are hardly heard in conventional planning fora. The cases, primarily the case of Burngreave, displayed the insight that the current planning procedures and forms of public participation are not well suited to bring in the voices and interests of the less vocal, ethnic minorities or the less formally educated. Plenty of ideas and strategies for accommodating planning processes to diversity and the less powerful can be found (Young, 1996; Eckstein and Throgmorton, 2003; Sandercock, 2003). Nevertheless, there seems to be a need for better dissemination of these perspectives and inspiring examples and more conscious collective efforts to change practices.

7.2 SCRUTINISING NORMS AND SYMBOLS OF ECO-FRIENDLY LIVING

The study showed how certain symbols have become signs of eco-friendly living, corresponding to the lifestyles of the Swedish/British middle classes. Such a discourse means that these lifestyles are reinforced, whilst lifestyles implying 'other' ways of economising with resources are not acknowledged or supported. Here, there are possibilities for more intercultural learning in terms of different ways of acting eco-friendly or saving resources, perhaps particularly from people who have experienced living with scarce resources. Authorities and NGOs would be able to not just teach 'others' about recycling, use of green space and nature etc, but also learn from 'them' about resource use and solidarity.

However, a discourse on eco-friendly living that becomes increasingly centred around, for instance, living space per person, consumption levels and acts of solidarity with larger collectives and relatives in distant countries might better reflect the heroic and desired in the lifestyles of poorer people with immigrant background. The promotion of such eco-symbols would do more justice *to* the environment as well as *in* the environment. However, changing this type of thinking is not easy and requires conscious collective political action.

The study furthermore showed that the assumptions underpinning the strategies for sustainable urban development are sometimes dubious and bear Swedish/British middle-class norms that are not necessarily well motivated. Overall, formulating the goals of urban planning strategies in terms of sustainable development or environmental improvement often contributes to a blurring of their intentions. If one could instead clearly specify the type of environmental improvement (improvement of the local environment in terms of ... or minimisation of resource use in terms of ...), the strategies would become more transparent. In-depth reflection among planning practitioners and researchers upon the assumptions, norms and cause-and-effect relations at the root of strategies could furthermore result in a greater respect for differences, for instance in relation to the assumptions of the compact city strategy, as well as assumptions about ways in which environmental stewardship can be fostered. A way of scrutinising the norms could be through posing questions around environmental justice as: Who pollutes? Who feels guilty? Who is affected? Whose lives are to be changed?

7.3 FORMING OF NEW GROUP IDENTITIES FOR POLITICAL ACTION

As described in the theoretical framework (section 2.3), a central perspective in the thesis is the view of individuals as connected with other people and, more or less explicitly, with nonhumans. Individuals might well (have learnt to) see themselves as autonomous individuals, or as only identifying with and feeling for other humans in narrow forms of class or identity politics, yet other ethics of *embodied identities* might exist or be awakened in line with Whatmore's (2002) reasoning.

There may be good reasons for giving less weight to the traditional left/right divide, class-based identification and politics. However, in order not to fall into the postpolitical trap, it is then important to highlight new and other forms of group identity that can be used for articulating difference and politicising social – and environmental – oppression. If former institutionalised forms of group identity for political action, in terms of left/right, are successively questioned, but not replaced with new or other identities, collective political action will become difficult, as pointed out by Žižek (2005: 60) and Mouffe (2000: 114–117). And if major societal problems are to be handled, conflicts and collective action are necessary. The case studies showed that there is a lack of support from the public administration for such forms of collective identification and action. In contrast to the promotion of private ownership and action as the basis for ecological concern, one could argue that the official discourse and strategies could be oriented towards promoting a stronger sense of collective ownership and responsibility.

Di Chiro points in this direction in her analysis of important futures issues for the environmental justice movement:

How can we imagine and practice a politics of difference in a world of 'one water, one air, one Mother Earth'? [...] Environmental justice activists appropriate discourse of both 'differential impact' and 'common interests' in the community/global visions of equitable, healthy and environmentally sound futures. This requires the production of an identity politics that is not totalising and does not posit a timeless, essentialised, homogeneous notion of culture, tradition, or community from which to launch its socioenvironmental change program. (2003: 213)

Given that ecological issues are and will be a major concern in contemporary society, being decisive for people's capabilities and actions, group identities could for instance increasingly be formed and phrased also in

relation to *environmental identity* and thus one's position in and perspective of justice in the ecological system. Relating this notion to the traditional political identity of class and the left/right political system, political action in terms of environmental identity would as well be about redistributing (or conserving) power and resources in terms of perspectives held on justice in the ecological system. This is not to say that it should replace class, ethnicity or gender as bases for political identity and action but that it could be a vitalising complement. And there are surely attempts in this direction in green political parties and organisations.

7.4 ASSERTING THE POLITICAL IN STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND MICROPRACTICES

Several officials in Burngreave as well as Spånga-Tensta argued that there is a need for stronger regulations in order to handle the global socioecological problems. According to the Burngreave officials, there is public support for such regulations, for instance, putting taxes on plastic bags or going over to a municipal and subsidised public transport system. A Swedish governmental study from 2007 showed a considerable rise in the concern for environmental issues among the Swedish population compared to earlier years (Naturvårdsverket, 2007), with 76 percent of the population stating "it is very important that Sweden take measures for combating climate change" and 65 percent in favour of higher eco-taxes, for instance, on petrol, lead and air travel (ibid.: 6). In the UK, a study from the same year showed that 63 percent of the population thought it was important to change current development, agreeing with the statement "if things continue on their current course, we will soon experience a major environmental disaster" (DEFRA, 2007: 34), and 60 percent stated that it was up to government to take the lead, agreeing with the statement that "if government did more to tackle climate change, I'd do more, too" (ibid.: 38). This indicates that there is considerable public acceptance for structural changes in both of these countries.

In this instance it is relevant to refer to how one of the Burngreave residents said some of his friends did not bother to recycle, arguing, "It is the fault of the big companies." But who are the companies? Who makes the companies exist? Who works for the companies? Who buys their products? Who relies on their shares for their future pensions? Here, the role of the individual is central. In line with a Foucauldian perspective of power as decentred and nonhierarchical, I would argue that the micropower and the microactions matter as well, not only as possible pluses or minuses in resource use, but also in terms of symbolic power.

Through such acts and talk of such acts, you show that there is acceptance for structural political change. In this way it is not a choice between either promoting formalised collective political action or individualised micropractices – both are needed.

At the end of the day, the key question for the daily micropractices, the imagining of future alternatives and the struggle for change will or should be about justice, among the now living and future humans, and the nonhuman world.

Appendices

LIST OF APPENDICES

1. List of interviews
2. Details of material and method in Spånga-Tensta and Burngreave
3. Letter to individual resident interviewees in Spånga-Tensta (in Swedish)
4. Questions to individual residents in Spånga-Tensta (in English)
5. Questions to focus groups in Spånga-Tensta (in English)
6. The postal survey to residents in Stockholm by the Stockholm city statistical office (USK) (in Swedish)
7. Questions to officials in Spånga-Tensta (in Swedish)
8. Information sheet to residents in Burngreave
9. Information flyer to Burngreave residents
10. Questions to Burngreave residents
11. Questions to officials in Burngreave/Sheffield and Spånga-Tensta/ Stockholm
12. Participant consent form for officials, Sheffield
13. Example of e-mail to officials

APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

STOCKHOLM

Officials with assumed last names

Bergström	Sep 4, 2007
Eriksson	Aug 29, 2007
Jakobsson	Sept 27, 2007
Lindgren	Jan 23, 2008
Nemrud	Sept 11, 2007
Sarkan	Aug 24, 2007

Residents with assumed first names, type of interview: group or individual

Ahmed	May 8, 2006	Somali group
Alexandros	Jan 10, 2006	Individual
Ali	May 8, 2006	Somali group
Anab	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Ashur	Dec 15, 2005	Individual
Aygül	Jan 16, 2006	Individual
Baran	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Bendewan	April 6, 2006	Kurdish-Iraqi group
Birgitta	June 20, 2005	Pilot group of Gamla Spånga residents
Bodil	June 20, 2005	Pilot group of Gamla Spånga residents
Charlotta	Jan 3, 2006	Individual
Dagmar	Dec 17, 2005	Individual
Eija	Jan 12, 2006	Individual
Folke	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners
Gertrud	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners
Gulnaz	April 6, 2006	Kurdish-Iraqi group
Hanna	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners
Hans	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners
Harald	Jan 11, 2006	Individual
Heybelar	April 6, 2006	Kurdish-Iraqi group
Idris	Jan 16, 2006	Individual
Jonna	Jan 23, 2006	Individual
Kennet	Jan 11, 2006	Individual
Kiraz	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Lars	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners

Lennart	Jan 17, 2006	Individual
Maj-Britt	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Margareta	April 25, 2006	Group of homeowners
Mediya	April 6, 2006	Kurdish-Iraqi group
Merwan	Jan 11, 2006	Individual
Miranda	Dec 12, 2005	Individual
Nilüfer	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Patrik	Jan 19, 2006	Individual
Ragnhild	June 20, 2005	Pilot group of Gamla Spånga residents
Riitta	Dec 13, 2005	Individual
Sirvan	April 6, 2006	Kurdish-Iraqi group
Sten	June 20, 2005	Pilot group of Gamla Spånga residents
Sture	June 20, 2005	Pilot group of Gamla Spånga residents
Susanna	Jan 18, 2006	Individual
Tahira	June 15, 2005	Pilot group of Tensta residents
Ulrika	Jan 16, 2006	Individual
Zada	Dec 15, 2005	Individual

Three additional individual interviews with residents who are not explicitly referred to in the text took place December 2006 and January 2007.

SHEFFIELD

Officials with assumed last names

Baker	Nov 14, 2007
Graham	May 18, 2007
Hanif	Nov 13, 2007
Kwame	May 14, 2007
Miller	Nov 9, 2007
Jones	June 18, 2007
Roberts	Nov 7, 2007
Russell	June 18, 2007
Williams	Nov 12, 2007

Individual residents with assumed first names

Abdel	May 22, 2007
Andrew	June 1, 2007
Ayanna	June 19, 2007
Bill	June 18, 2007
Dawn	May 18, 2007

Dorothy	May 3, 2007
Edith	June 4, 2007
Emily	May 17, 2007
Ghedì	May 22, 2007
Jack	June 6, 2007
Megan	May 31, 2007
Nadifa	June 1, 2007
Paul	June 1 and June 8, 2007
Salim	May 22, 2007

Four additional individual interviews with residents who are not explicitly referred to in the text took place in May and June 2007.

Group interviews and conversations

Group of adult learners of English literacy	May 21, 2007
Group of adult learners of Mathematics	May 22, 2007
Group of retired male steel workers	May 16, 2007
Group of mothers on a baby song session	May 14, 2007
Chats at a local environmental festival	May 20, 2007

APPENDIX 2: DETAILS OF MATERIAL AND METHOD IN SPÅNGA-TENSTA AND BURNGREAVE

Spånga-Tensta

Pilot interviews with residents

The first 'pilot' interviews were conducted in June 2005 with two groups of inhabitants, five dwellers of Spånga at one time and seven dwellers of Tensta at another time. The aim of these group interviews was to try out questions and to see if the Spånga-Tensta area seemed suitable for being chosen as a case study.

The staff at the Citizens' Office (*Medborgarkontoret*) and the Agenda 21 coordinator in Tensta assisted me in coming into contact with dwellers in Spånga and Tensta. The only criterion was that the interviewees were to be inhabitants of Spånga and Tensta respectively. The groups could thus be described as fairly heterogeneous, in other words, they were not groups that socialise in other fora. However, it turned out that several of them had met before or knew of each other. A majority of the persons were engaged in one or another way in the area, as members of a local women's organisation, as local entrepreneurs, as active in the pensioner's party, active in local youth sport organisation or local politics. The participants had been briefly informed via telephone about the project and that it dealt with dwellers' experience of the area and environmental issues.

My intention was to have five persons plus me in each group, which could be deemed as feasible in order for all participants to be able to take part in the discussion (Wibeck, 2000: 50 recommends four to six persons). I made arrangements with six persons since one person might drop off. However, in the Tensta session a person showed up that I had not spoken to but that had heard about the interview and was interested in participating so I invited her as well.

The group interviews were conducted in quiet settings in Spånga Församlingshem and Tensta kulturkafé and lasted for about two hours. The sessions started with that I briefly informed the group about the project and the conditions for the coming interview/discussion. I explained that I would pose some questions successively and that they could then freely respond to these questions and discuss them among themselves and that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions. I also informed the interviewees that they would be anonymous – which has been done

for all interview. The discussions were tape-recorded and the ones present in the room were the interviewees and me.

Interviews with individual residents

The second round of interviews was conducted with individual dwellers of Tensta and Spånga. I asked the Stockholm City Statistical Office (USK), to randomly select 100 dwellers of Tensta and 100 dwellers of Spånga with the only criterion that the persons should be over 16 years of age. My intention was to interview around 25–30 persons in total. After receiving the lists with names, addresses and ages I firstly selected 20 persons to contact (10 in Spånga, 10 in Tensta) and then a month later another 40 persons (20 in Spånga and 20 in Tensta). These persons were selected so that there would be a spread of postal codes, ages and gender. A criterion was also that the person should have a registered phone number so that I would be able to call. It should be said that among dwellers in Tensta it is fairly common not to have a registered phone number; around a third of dwellers do not.⁵⁷ However, in Spånga all of the potential interviewees had registered phone numbers. The selected persons received a letter with information about the project and an inquiry about an interview (see appendix 3).

After a couple of days I contacted the persons via telephone in order to book a time for an interview. Out of the total of 60 persons that received the letter, 21 were interviewed – 10 dwellers of Spånga and 11 dwellers of Tensta. I decided that the information I had received at this point was enough for the moment. Reasons for not taking part in the study included that the persons were out of the country, were too busy with work, had studies or small children, felt too old, or simply were not interested in taking part. The 21 persons that were interviewed were in the age range of 17 to 68. There were 11 men and 10 women and the ethnic backgrounds included were Swedish, Finnish, Kurdish, Turkish, Greek, Somali, Syrian, Chilean and Iraqi. Some were newly arrived immigrants; others were second-generation immigrants or half Swedish/half Greek (for a more thorough discussion about ethnic identity, see section 2.3.4). The interviewees were occupied as assistant nurse, nurse, pizza cook, retired bank officer, librarian, retired housewife and voluntary social worker, self-employed engineer, media consultant, turner, unemployed,

57. Obviously, many people nowadays only have a mobile phone and no land line and if you have a mobile phone with cash card system you do not automatically become registered in the Eniro phone book. If you have a land line and/or a mobile phone with a continuous telephone service, you generally become automatically registered in the phone book.

student, computer programmer, taxi driver, journalist and teacher, official working with labour and gender issues and electrical repairer.

On two occasions the interviewee's spouse participated in the interview as well and at another the interviewee's visiting brother joined at the table, and mainly listened and added a few things. I did not consider this to be a problem; in fact I would say that it made the discussions more vivid. On another occasion I had set up a meeting with a person but the interviewee's sister showed up instead; I then decided to interview her.

The letters that were sent to the potential interviewees were written in Swedish, however with a sentence in English, Turkish, Somali and Arabic saying that "If you do not read Swedish, please ask somebody to translate the letter for you". In the letter it said that "It is possible to conduct the interview on your native language. Just let me know what language and I hope to be able to arrange with this". It was only one out of the 21 persons who preferred to be interviewed in his native language (Arabic). Thus, an Arabic-speaking colleague of mine conducted this interview. The other 20 interviews were conducted by me.

The interviews took place at times and places that the interviewees found preferable: the majority in the homes of the interviewees, otherwise at their workplaces, in a separate room at the local library in Tensta or at my workplace. Two interviews were conducted by telephone as these persons did not have the possibility to meet. Although face-to-face interviews gives better possibilities for getting to know each other and understanding nuances, the two telephone interviews went well and I felt that these persons really took time to discuss the questions and be open with their views.

'Natural' focus groups with residents

After I had done the individual interviews I could see that the issue of the persons' interpretation and relationship to 'the environment' and 'nature' was not that thoroughly covered, particularly not in relation to ethnicity. I therefore decided to interview what Wibeck (2000) calls 'natural' groups, or, persons that know each other and socialise irrespective of the interview. I chose to have three groups with different ethnic backgrounds and use slightly different questions compared to previously (see appendix 5). My intention was that by doing this type of interview I would capture more of an ongoing conversation or glimpse of a discourse compared to the information that I could receive in individual interviews or 'composed groups' which I had done previously. It should however be stressed that the intention was not to try to capture "*the* Iraqi-Kurdish, Somali and Swedish discourses about 'the environment'" since it is likely to be much more complicated than this. Rather, the intent was to get a picture

of how different ethnic groups (situated in a specific time, place and with specific socioeconomic background, age, etc.) might reason about 'the environment'.

I decided to meet with one group of Kurdish-Iraqi background, one group of Somali background and one group of Swedish background. (As described previously, Iraq and Somalia are the two countries where the largest number of the inhabitants with foreign background in Spånga-Tensta have their roots.) The Kurdish-Iraqi group consisted of five persons who came to Sweden as refugees. A woman I had come into contact with at the Citizens' Office (*Medborgarkontoret*) in Tensta was my contact person who in turn invited four persons she knew, three of them inhabitants of Tensta, one of Rinkeby – just on the border of Tensta and one nearby Husby. The conversation was held in a mix of Swedish and Sorani (the Kurdish dialect spoken in Iraq) since two of the participants did not speak Swedish very well. The contact person helped me to translate what was said. The participants included four women and one man in their forties–fifties and their occupation varied from cleaner, cook and personal assistant, public official dealing with immigration issues, employer in a nongovernmental organisation dealing with sexual assault and student of Swedish for immigrants.

The second group consisted of five persons of Swedish background residing in Solhem. My contact person in this case was a man who was engaged in the local homeowners' association who in turn invited his partner and four friends and neighbours, several of them also active in the homeowners' association. These persons knew each other quite well and there were even two couples in the group. The participants were in their late fifties to early seventies and four of them were retired (former architect, economist, farmer/system administrator, nurse/housewife) and one official at a development agency.

The third group consisted of two men of Somali background living in Tensta and neighbouring Rinkeby. The intent was that four persons should participate, but two cancelled in the last minute. My entry in this case was a person who is a voluntary worker for the Swedish-Somali Institute, located in Rinkeby, that functions somewhat like a meeting point for several residents of Tensta/Rinkeby with Somali background. One of the participants was unemployed and the other a university student. They were in their thirties–forties and had both come to Sweden as refugees around ten years ago.

The first two focus groups were conducted at the contact person's home, and the third in a club room in Rinkeby. The conversations lasted between two and three hours and were all tape-recorded. The participants had been informed that the interview would deal with environmental

issues, but had not received any questions beforehand. I explained that my intention was not to have a questions-and-answer type of interview but rather a conversation whereby they would speak with each other on some selected themes that I introduced. This was also the pattern that the Iraqi-Kurdish group had, but in the case of the Swedish group the participants turned more to me and informed me about their views on the topics. This might have to do with this group appearing to be more in agreement with each other and also appearing to have discussed some of the topics on earlier occasions. In general, all the participants were active in the conversation, except one woman in the Swedish group who was rather quiet. It should be mentioned here that her husband, who also participated in the interview, talked considerably more and also used the term “we” on several occasion, to include him and his wife.

The postal survey

The postal survey was conducted by the Stockholm city statistical office (USK) in 2004. The study includes all of Stockholm's 18 city districts – whereof Spånga-Tensta is one district. In total 3402 inhabitants in Stockholm answered the survey. Some of the results have been published in a report in 2005⁵⁸, however, this report mostly covered comparisons between the different city districts and did not analyse the information from *within* any city districts. I was given access to the data for the 175 responses from Spånga-Tensta and could thus analyse these further than USK had the possibility to do.⁵⁹ In total 300 randomly chosen persons in Spånga-Tensta over the age of 16 received the postal survey, which meant that the percentage of answers was 58 percent. It should be noted that the survey questions were all in Swedish, meaning that non-Swedish speaking residents are most likely not represented among the respondents. It might also be the case that the responses received were biased in favour of people that have some sort of interest in environmental issues.

The questions covered in the postal survey included how the interviewees liked their city district, how often they visited parks, green areas, forests, how they viewed the importance of different forms of “environmentally friendly behaviour,” plus questions on interest in environmental issues, their transportation patterns, energy use, grocery shopping and recycling. The majority of questions had a set of fixed alternatives and some included multiple alternatives; however, there were no open ques-

58. *Stadsdelsinvånarna om miljö och miljövanor i Stockholm 2004 – En undersökning genomförd av USK på uppdrag av Miljöförvaltningen* (2005), Stockholms stad, Jan-Ivar Ivarsson.

59. My gratitude to Jan-Ivar Ivarsson, USK.

tions (see appendix 6).

The respondents answered questions about their gender, age, the language spoken at home, their level of education and what kind of house they lived in. The statistical office also had information about whether the person had migrated to Sweden or not. Thus this allowed for the responses to be related to level of education, national background and gender, which is of interest to my study. The intent is that the results of the postal survey can give some rough picture, and that the interviews then can nuance this picture, support it, contradict it or add to it.

Burngreave

Interviews with residents

The interviews with residents in Burngreave were conducted in April–June 2007. The intention was to use similar methodological approaches and empirical sources as in Spånga-Tensta. However, using a random sample of residents proved more difficult as it was not possible to access the council resident registry with names and addresses of people. Instead I found interviewees in a form of snowball method. My supervisor and wife who had been working in the area provided me with contact details to four residents with good connections in the area, whom I here call key persons. Two other Sheffield acquaintances guided me to a couple of residents.

I met with the key persons who guided me on to other interviewees, residents as well as professionals. Some of these in turn guided me to additional residents. As has been described in section 3.2.1, my intention was to meet with a selection of residents covering different various socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds and with varying interest in environmental issues.

One of the key persons arranged so that I could have a one-hour session with groups of adult learners (one group of three persons learning English and five persons learning mathematics). These persons were residents of Burngreave (except one), nine women of Pakistani and Yemeni background, and one man of Jamaican background. Some of the Pakistani women had lived in the UK for almost all their lives, some had arrived recently and all of them were housewives.

Another key person arranged so that I could interview a group of retired Pakistani steelworkers at one of their weekly dinner meetings. Also I had chats with mothers in the local library who were there on a “baby session.”

Well aware of the difficulties of interviewing as large groups as seven

to ten persons at once, I saw this as good opportunities to meet groups of residents who were not specifically interested in environmental issues and who had gathered for some other reason.

A local environmental organisation assisted me in sending out an information leaflet about the project to 100 of its members residing in Burngreave (see appendix 9), which resulted in six interviews. These were of course residents with a specific interest and engagement in environmental concerns.

I also had a market stall on the Environment Day in Abbeyfield Park on a sunny Sunday in May where I chatted with people and gathered contact details for 10-12 additional persons interested in making a follow-up interview. I later met with some of these persons and conducted interviews. Some of these were clearly interested in environmental issues and my research topic, whilst some came by the stall and the festival more by chance or perhaps to buy plants or watch the wild birds. The Environment Day is an annual event in Burngreave that includes different activities and information stalls, this year concerning, for example, community forestry, tree planting and trees from different countries, recycling, selling used things, falconry and the sale of subsidised hanging baskets. Quite diverse groups of people come to the festival and not necessarily people that are specifically interested in environmental issues, which has also been a strategy from the organisers. I had a stall with a sign saying, "Your view on (and then a collage with trees, houses, cars, birds, grass) -> free bun" and asked people to tell me about their views on the local environment in the area and they would get a homemade cinnamon bun and a fruit drink.

Many people came by the stall and talked to me – individuals, couples, families, young boys and children on their own. Some stayed only for some minutes, others for a longer time, all in all around 25 persons. I took notes during this day, but I did not use any quotes or detailed information from these chats. I rather used it as a way of getting an overall brief picture of attitudes towards the local environment, which proved to correspond with what I had found out in individual interviews.

In general I met the interviewees at a local space, in a room in the Abbeyfield Park House where the local environmental organisation had its office, at the local library, a restaurant, a local mosque, a local school or an old people's home. In some instances, where this felt comfortable, we conducted the interview in the homes of the residents.

APPENDIX 3



KTH Arkitektur
och samhällsbyggnad

If you do not read Swedish, please ask somebody to translate the letter for you.

Eger bu İsvecce metni okuyamiyorsaniz, lutfen bir tercumandan yardim aliniz.

Fadlan waydiiso qof warqada kuu tarjuma, hadii aadan akhrin iswiidhish.

إذا لا تعرف السويدية ارجو ان تسال احدا ليترجم لك الرسالة.

Stockholm, 2006-01-02

Intervju om miljö för forskningsprojekt

Hej XX,

Jag arbetar med ett forskningsprojekt om miljöfrågor och har gjort ett slumpvis urval av boende i Spånga-Tensta. Du är en av dessa utvalda. Jag undrar om jag kan få intervjua dig någon gång under de närmsta veckorna. Frågorna handlar om vad som är "god miljö" för dig, hur du upplever din boendemiljö, grönområden, trafikbuller, i vilken mån du anser dig kunna påverka utvecklingen i din stadsdel och den även globala miljöutvecklingen. Du behöver inte vara insatt eller engagerad i miljöfrågor och behöver inte förbereda Dig för intervjun.

Syftet med projektet är att undersöka hur olika samhällsgrupper bidrar till och utsätts för miljöproblem och miljökvaliteter. Viktigt är också hur man värderar och förmår påverka miljöutvecklingen – detta för att i framtiden kunna bidra till en mer hållbar samhällsplanering.

Jag kommer att höra av mig per telefon i dagarna. Det går också bra att kontakta mig direkt på telefon eller e-post nedan. Intervjun genomförs på en plats som passar dig, det kan vara i en lokal i närheten av din bostad, i ditt hem eller i anslutning till ditt jobb. Likaså kan du välja en tid som passar dig: dag, kväll eller helg.

Om du vill finns möjlighet att genomföra intervjun på ditt hemspråk. Ange vilket språk så hoppas jag kunna ordna detta.

Med vänlig hälsning,

Karin Bradley

Doktorand i samhällsplanering

Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan
Samhällsplanering
Skolan för Arkitektur och Samhällsbyggnad
100 44 Stockholm

tel: 08-790 85 91 eller mobil: 0709-18 60 88

E-post: bradley@infra.kth.se

APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONS TO INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTS IN SPÅNGA-TENSTA

Italics means that I bring up these examples or clarifications if needed

1. Tell me about yourself. How long have you lived in the area? Who are you? What do you do in your everyday life?
2. What do you think of the area you live in? Do you like it? The location of the area, the atmosphere, the public spaces, the parks, the traffic? (*Use maps*)
3. Where do you meet with friends and other people? Where do you do your errands? Work? Relax? How do you transport yourself? What do you do when you have time off?
4. How would you describe your identity or group belongingness? Who do you identify with? (*identity can for instance be based on interests, age, ethnicity, type of work, place of living, political interests etc*) How has this changed over time? How do you think that this will change in the future? What other groups are there in the area where you live?
5. Tell me about the different areas around here: Tensta, Hjulsta, Bromsten, Gamla Spånga... How are they? How would you characterise them? Do they have different status? What places do you go to?
6. What are the qualities with your area? What are the drawbacks? Is there anything that you would like to change? If so, what?
7. How would you describe your ideal dwelling environment, if you would be entirely free to choose how and where to live? What do you think of your area in relation to other areas in the Stockholm region?
8. Are you disturbed by any environmental problems? If so, which? (*could be noise, air pollution, trash, feeling of unsafety, radiation from mobile telephone masts...*)
9. Do you think about global environmental problems? (*like the greenhouse effect, depletion of forests or fossil fuels, threatened species, lack of clean water...*) Why or why not? If you do, what issues do you think of?
10. Are you concerned with the environmental effects that you generate in your life through transportation, energy use, consumption etc? Does it bother you? Why or why not? Do you somehow try to reduce your environmental effects? (*For instance do you try to save*

energy? Recycle waste? Use public transportation?...). If so, what are the reasons for doing this?

11. How do you view justice and environmental issues: who has access to “good dwelling environments”/“not so good dwelling environments”? Would you call this just? If not, why not? Can you imagine a more just system?
12. When it comes to distribution of other environmental issues – like exposure to air pollution, toxic or acidified land, eutrophied lakes etc – how do you view this? Are there injustices there?
13. Are you a member of any organisation? Or have you participated in any projects or processes to influence the development in the local area? Or influence the development nationally or internationally? To what extent do you think that you can influence the development?
14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX 5: QUESTIONS TO RESIDENTS IN FOCUS GROUPS, SPÅNGA-TENSTA

Italics means that I bring up these examples or clarifications if needed, but I start with a more open question

1. Tell me about yourselves. How long have you lived in the area?
What do you do in your everyday life? (*let all persons introduce themselves*)
2. Do you use any of green areas, locally or in other places? If so, where? What do you do when you are there? What kind of green areas do you like? (*arranged parks, wild forests, lakes ...*)
3. Tell me about your relationship to nature and the environment.
What role does nature have for you?
4. Do you see yourselves as part of nature and the ecosystem? Or detached from it?
5. **If relevant:** How have your relationship to nature and the environment changed during the years? How would you describe this relationship in your home country? And compared to Sweden? Do you think that the notions of nature and the environment in Sweden are different compared to your home country? In your mother tongue, do you have corresponding words for 'nature' and 'the environment', or are there different words?
6. **Or (for those born in Sweden):** How have your relationship to nature and the environment changed during the years? Would you say that there is a typical Swedish relationship to nature and/or the environment? Explain.
7. How would you describe a "good environment"?
8. Are you bothered by any environmental problems? If so, what? (*It can be local environmental problems like air pollution, traffic noise, radiation from mobile telephone masts..., regional like threatened fish species in the Baltic Sea or international like the greenhouse effect*).
9. Are you personally exposed to any environmental problems?
10. How do you view justice and environmental issues: who has access to "good dwelling environments"/"not so good dwelling environments"? Would you call this just? If not, why not? Can you imagine a more just system?
11. When it comes to distribution of other environmental issues – like exposure to air pollution, toxic or acidified land, eutrophied lakes etc – how do you view this? Are there injustices there?

APPENDIX 6: THE POSTAL SURVEY



DU OCH DIN MILJÖ I STOCKHOLM 2004



Frågorna besvaras genom att Du sätter ett kryss i rutan för det svarsalternativ som passar bäst. Om svarsalternativen inte passar alls, ber vi Dig kommentera med egna ord.



Vi ber Dig skicka in det ifyllda formuläret så snart som möjligt. Använd det bifogade svarskuvertet.



Om Du har några frågor kan Du ringa Jennie Westman eller Cilla Fernum på telefon 508 35 083.

1. Hur länge har du bott i den stadsdel där du bor nu?

- 1 ☐ Mindre än 1 år
 2 ☐ 1 – 5 år
 3 ☐ Mer än 5 år

2. Hur trivs du i den stadsdel där du bor?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
 2 ☐ Ganska bra
 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåligt
 4 ☐ Ganska dåligt
 5 ☐ Mycket dåligt
 6 ☐ Vet ej

PARKER, NATUROMRÅDEN, YTTRE MILJÖ OCH TRYGGHET I DIN DEL AV STADEN

3. Hur nöjd/missnöjd är du med situationen när det gäller...

	Mycket nöjd	Ganska nöjd	Varken eller	Ganska miss- nöjd	Mycket miss- nöjd	Vet ej
...tillgången till parker och naturområden i din stadsdel?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...skötsel och städning av parkerna och naturområdena?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...klotter, nedskräpning och skadegörelse i din stadsdel?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...tryggheten där du bor?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

4. Tycker du det är obehagligt att gå hem ensam genom din stadsdel när det är mörkt?

- 1 ☐ Alltid
 2 ☐ Oftast
 3 ☐ Ibland
 4 ☐ Sällan
 5 ☐ Aldrig
 6 ☐ Vet ej

5. Hur ofta går du under sommarhalvåret ut i någon park/naturområde i närheten där du bor (inom 5-6 minuters gångavstånd)?

- 1 ☐ Dagligen
 2 ☐ Flera gånger i veckan
 3 ☐ Någon gång i veckan
 4 ☐ Någon/några gånger i månaden
 5 ☐ Någon/några gånger om året
 6 ☐ Aldrig

6. Hur intresserad är du av att vistas i naturen?

- 1 ☐ Mycket intresserad
 2 ☐ Ganska intresserad
 3 ☐ Varken eller
 4 ☐ Ganska ointresserad
 5 ☐ Mycket ointresserad

7. Hur ofta beger du dig sommarhalvåret ut i något större naturområde i eller utanför Stockholm för att vistas i skog och mark eller på sjön?

- 1 ☐ Flera gånger i veckan
 2 ☐ Någon gång i veckan
 3 ☐ Någon/några gånger i månaden
 4 ☐ Någon/några gånger om året
 5 ☐ Aldrig

VAD KAN VI GÖRA FÖR MILJÖN?

8. Hur stor betydelse anser du det har för miljön om du handlar och lever miljövänligt eller ej?

- 1 ☐ Mycket liten betydelse
 2 ☐ Ganska liten betydelse
 3 ☐ Varken eller
 4 ☐ Ganska stor betydelse
 5 ☐ Mycket stor betydelse
 6 ☐ Vet ej

9. Hur viktigt tycker du det är att man som enskild person...

	Inte alls viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Varken eller	Ganska viktigt	Mycket viktigt	Vet ej
...reser miljövänligt?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...handlar miljömärkta varor? (t ex Svanen, Bra Miljöval, KRAV-märkt)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sorterar och lämnar avfall till återvinning? (t ex papper, glas, returburkar mm)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...lämnar in farligt avfall? (färgrester, lösningsmedel mm)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sparar energi?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

10. Tycker du att du har bra eller dåliga kunskaper om vad du kan göra för att leva miljövänligt?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
 2 ☐ Ganska bra
 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåliga
 4 ☐ Ganska dåliga
 5 ☐ Mycket dåliga
 6 ☐ Vet ej

RESMÖJLIGHETER OCH TRAFIKSITUATION I DIN DEL AV STADEN.

11. Hur nöjd/missnöjd är du med...

	Mycket nöjd	Ganska nöjd	Varken eller	Ganska miss- nöjd	Mycket miss- nöjd	Vet ej
...kollektivtrafiken i din stadsdel?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...tillgången på gång- och cykelbanor?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...skötsel och underhåll av gång- o cykelbanor i din stadsdel?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...trafiksäkerheten för fotgängare och cyklist i din stadsdel?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

12. Störs du av trafikbuller (bilar, buss, tåg, flyg mm) inne i din bostad?

- 1 ☐ Inte alls
 2 ☐ I viss mån
 3 ☐ Ganska mycket
 4 ☐ I högsta grad

13. Upplever du på det hela taget att trafiken är ett problem i din stadsdel?

- 1 ☐ Inte alls
 2 ☐ I viss mån
 3 ☐ Ganska mycket
 4 ☐ I högsta grad

RESOR OCH RESVANOR

14. Är du ...

- 1 ☐ Förvärvsarbetande
 2 ☐ Studerande
 3 ☐ Annat =====> *fortsätt till fråga 17*

15. Hur ofta färdas du mellan bostaden och arbetet/skolan?

- 1 ☐ Dagligen (4-5 ggr per vecka)
 2 ☐ Någon/några gånger i veckan
 3 ☐ Någon/några gånger i månaden
 4 ☐ Mer sällan =====> *fortsätt till fråga 17*

16. Hur ofta färdas du till arbetet/skolan...

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ibland	Oftast	Alltid	Vet ej
<i>Under merparten av resan</i>						
...med bil?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...kollektivt? (T-bana, pendeltåg, buss mm)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...cyklar eller går under sommarhalvåret?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...cyklar eller går under vinterhalvåret?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

17. Ser du biltrafiken som ett stort eller litet problem för miljön?

- 1 ☐ Mycket litet
 2 ☐ Ganska litet
 3 ☐ Varken stort eller litet
 4 ☐ Ganska stort
 5 ☐ Mycket stort
 6 ☐ Vet ej

18. Hur ställer du dig till idén med bilpooler?

- 1 ☐ Känner ej till vad bilpool är ==> *fortsätt till fråga 20*
 2 ☐ Mycket positiv
 3 ☐ Ganska positiv
 4 ☐ Varken positiv eller negativ
 5 ☐ Ganska negativ
 6 ☐ Mycket negativ
 7 ☐ Vet ej

19. Om en bilpool hade bilar där du bor, skulle det då för dig vara ett alternativ till egen bil?

- 1 ☐ Kör ej / behöver ej bil
 2 ☐ Ja, absolut
 3 ☐ Ja, kanske
 4 ☐ Nej, kanske inte
 5 ☐ Nej, absolut inte
 6 ☐ Vet ej

20. Har du tillgång till någon bil som du kör?

- 1 ☐ Ja, kör egen eller leasing-/tjänstebil
 2 ☐ Ja, kör bil från bilpool
 3 ☐ Nej ==> *fortsätt till fråga 22*

21. Brukar du...

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ibland	Oftast	Alltid	Vet ej
...medvetet köra bilen på ett så miljövänligt sätt som möjligt?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...köra med odubbade vinterdäck i Stockholm?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...låta bilen stå och färdas på annat sätt när det går?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

ENERGIANVÄNDNING

22. Har du bra eller dåliga kunskaper om vad du kan göra för att "leva miljövänligt på energiområdet"?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
- 2 ☐ Ganska bra
- 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåliga
- 4 ☐ Ganska dåliga
- 5 ☐ Mycket dåliga
- 6 ☐ Vet ej

23. Har du/ditt hushåll beställt miljömärkt el av ert energibolag?

- 1 ☐ Ja
- 2 ☐ Nej
- 3 ☐ Vet ej

24. Vad har du/ni gjort för att spara energi i bostaden?
(Flera svarsalternativ kan markeras)

- 1 ☐ Varit noga med att släcka belysning som ej används
- 2 ☐ Bytt glödlampor till lågenergilampor
- 3 ☐ Stängt av TV och elektroniska apparater i stället för stand by
- 4 ☐ Köpt energieffektiva vitvaror (kyl/frys, tvättmaskin, spis mm)
- 5 ☐ Reglerat temperatur i kyl/frys och avfrostat regelbundet
- 6 ☐ Sänkt innetemperaturen
- 7 ☐ Medvetet sparat på varmvattenförbrukningen
- 8 ☐ Tätat fönster/tilläggsisolerat
- 9 ☐ Kontaktat energirådgivare
- 10 ☐ Annat
- 11 ☐ Inte gjort något särskilt för att spara energi

INKÖPSVANOR

25. Har du bra eller dåliga kunskaper om vad du kan göra för att "vara miljövänlig som konsument" när du gör dina inköp?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
 2 ☐ Ganska bra
 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåliga
 4 ☐ Ganska dåliga
 5 ☐ Mycket dåliga
 6 ☐ Vet ej

26. Var handlar du/ni större delen av hushållets livsmedel och dagligvaror?

- 1 ☐ Affär i egna stadsdelen
 2 ☐ Stormarknad/lågprisaffär utanför den egna stadsdelen
 3 ☐ Annan affär utanför den egna stadsdelen

27. När du handlar dagligvaror brukar du då..

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ibland	Oftast	Alltid	Vet ej
...välja miljömärkta varor? (t ex Svanen, Bra Miljöval, KRAV-märkt)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...välja att köpa ekologiska grönsaker, frukt och livsmedel? (KRAV-märkt)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...välja att köpa Rättvisemärkta varor?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

AVFALLSHANTERING OCH ÅTERVINNING

28. Har du bra eller dåliga kunskaper om hur du ska "handskas med ditt avfall på ett miljövänligt sätt"?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
 2 ☐ Ganska bra
 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåliga
 4 ☐ Ganska dåliga
 5 ☐ Mycket dåliga
 6 ☐ Vet ej

29. Hur nöjd/missnöjd är du med...

	Mycket nöjd	Ganska nöjd	Varken eller	Ganska miss- nöjd	Mycket miss- nöjd	Vet ej/ ej aktuellt
...möjligheterna att lämna källsorterat hushållsavfall nära bostaden?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...hur fastighetens källsorteringsrum/ miljöstuga sköts och städas?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...hur din närmsta återvinningsstation (med de gröna behållarna) sköts och städas?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...möjligheterna att bli av med farligt avfall? (färgrester, kemikalier mm)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

30. Brukar du/ditt hushåll...

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ibland	Oftast	Alltid	Vet ej/ ej aktuellt
...sortera ut tidningar och papper för återvinning?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sortera kartonger och pappersförpackningar för återvinning?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sortera glas och glasburkar till återvinning?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...panta era returburkar och returflaskor?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sortera förpackningar av metall och hårdplast till återvinning?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...lämna in farligt avfall (färgrester, kemikalier mm) för omhändertagade?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...återlämna era förbrukade batterier?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...lämna elavfall (TV, datorer, elapparater mm) till återvinning?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...sortera matavfall till kompost?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

31. Hur stort förtroende har du för att det avfall du sorterar ut tas om hand och återvinns på ett bra sätt?

- 1 ☐ Mycket stort
 2 ☐ Ganska stort
 3 ☐ Varken stort eller litet
 4 ☐ Ganska litet
 5 ☐ Mycket litet
 6 ☐ Vet ej

HÄLSA OCH INOMHUSMILJÖ

32. Har du bra eller dåliga kunskaper om hur allergier och astma kan förebyggas och minskas inomhus?

- 1 ☐ Mycket bra
 2 ☐ Ganska bra
 3 ☐ Varken bra eller dåliga
 4 ☐ Ganska dåliga
 5 ☐ Mycket dåliga
 6 ☐ Vet ej

33. Brukar du...

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ibland	Ofta	Alltid	Vet ej
...besväras av luftföroreningar utomhus?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...ha problem med allergier eller astma?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...uppleva att din inomhusmiljö i bostaden är ohälsosam?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...besväras av fukt eller mögellukt i bostaden?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...besväras av tobaksrök i bostaden?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

34. Brukar du i din bostad minst en gång i veckan, störas av något av följande?

(Flera svarsalternativ kan markeras)

- 1 ☐ Ljud från grannar
 2 ☐ Vägtrafikbuller
 3 ☐ Tågbuller
 4 ☐ Flygbuller
 5 ☐ Buller från industrier
 6 ☐ Fläktbuller i fastigheten
 7 ☐ Buller från nöjeslokaler
 8 ☐ Annat
 9 ☐ Brukar ej störas av ljud eller buller i bostaden

35. Röker du?

- 1 ☐ Ja, dagligen
 2 ☐ Ja, men bara då och då
 3 ☐ Nej

36. Brukar du träna/motionera (så intensivt att du blir varm/svettig)?

- 1 ☐ Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
 2 ☐ Oregelbundet då och då
 3 ☐ Regelbundet ungefär en gång i veckan
 4 ☐ Två till tre gånger i veckan
 5 ☐ Mer än tre gånger i veckan

37. Äger du någon användbar cykel?

- 1 ☐ Ja
2 ☐ Nej

38. Använder du cykelhjälm när du cyklar?

- 1 ☐ Alltid
2 ☐ Oftast
3 ☐ Ibland
4 ☐ Sällan
5 ☐ Aldrig

6 ☐ Cyklar aldrig

39. Hur ofta är dina huvudmåltider vegetariska (d v s innehåller ej kött, fisk, skaldjur, fågel eller vilt)?

- 1 ☐ Alltid
2 ☐ Oftast
3 ☐ Ibland
4 ☐ Sällan
5 ☐ Aldrig
6 ☐ Vet ej

DELAKTIGHET OCH INFLYTANDE

40. Har du under de senaste 12 månaderna gjort något av följande för att påverka förhållanden i din stadsdel som du varit missnöjd med?

(Flera svarsalternativ kan markeras)

- 1 ☐ Kontaktat politiskt parti eller politiker
2 ☐ Kontaktat förening eller organisation
3 ☐ Tagit direkt kontakt med någon tjänsteman
4 ☐ Framfört klagomål skriftligt i brev/skrivelse
5 ☐ Kontaktat medierna
6 ☐ Skrivit insändare eller artikel
7 ☐ Diskuterat eller debatterat på Internet
8 ☐ Undertecknat upprop
9 ☐ Deltagit i demonstration
10 ☐ Varit med och bildat aktionsgrupp
11 ☐ Annat
12 ☐ Inte gjort något av ovanstående

41. Är du nöjd/missnöjd med dina möjligheter att påverka förhållandena och utvecklingen i din stadsdel?

- 1 ☐ Mycket nöjd
2 ☐ Ganska nöjd
3 ☐ Varken eller
4 ☐ Ganska missnöjd
5 ☐ Mycket missnöjd
6 ☐ Vet ej

42. Har du under de senaste 12 månaderna varit på föreningsmöte, deltagit i någon föreningsaktivitet eller lokala nätverk och aktionsgrupper?

- 1 ☐ Ja, någon enstaka gång
 2 ☐ Ja, flera gånger
 3 ☐ Ja, regelbundet minst varje månad
 4 ☐ Nej

NÅGRA FRÅGOR OM DIG OCH DIN NUVARANDE SITUATION

43. Kön

- 1 ☐ Man
 2 ☐ Kvinna

44. Ålder

- 1 ☐ 16-24 år
 2 ☐ 25-44 år
 3 ☐ 45-64 år
 4 ☐ 65- år

45. Hur många personer är ni i ditt hushåll?
(Räkna in dig själv)

Barn (0-12 år): stycken

Ungdomar (13-18år): stycken

Vuxna: stycken

46. Vilket språk talar du till vardags hemma?

- 1 ☐ Svenska
 2 ☐ Svenska och annat språk
 3 ☐ Enbart annat språk än svenska

47. Din utbildning

(Ange din högsta avslutade utbildning)

- 1 ☐ Grundskola eller motsvarande
 2 ☐ Gymnasieexamen eller motsvarande
 3 ☐ Eftergymnasial utbildning/Högskola, Universitet eller liknande

48. Använder du dator?

- 1 ☐ Dagligen (4-5 ggr per vecka)
 2 ☐ Någon/några gånger i veckan
 3 ☐ Någon/några gånger i månaden
 4 ☐ Aldrig

OBS! Fler frågor på nästa sida

49. Vilken typ av hus bor du i?

- 1 ☐ Flerfamiljshus
 2 ☐ Radhus eller kedjehus
 3 ☐ Friliggande en- eller tvåfamiljsvilla
 4 ☐ Annat. Vad?.....

50. Hur nöjd/missnöjd är du för närvarande med...

	Mycket nöjd	Ganska nöjd	Varken eller	Ganska miss- nöjd	Mycket miss- nöjd	Vet ej/ ej aktuellt
...hur mycket tid du kan vara tillsammans med dina barn?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
...din ekonomiska situation?	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>

51. Jag är idag en person som är...

- 1 ☐ ...totalt ointresserad av miljöfrågor
 2 ☐ ...rätt så ointresserad av miljöfrågor
 3 ☐ ...en liten aning intresserad av miljöfrågor
 4 ☐ ...ganska intresserad av miljöfrågor
 5 ☐ ...mycket intresserad av miljöfrågor

I en liten broschyr från Miljöförvaltningen "En hållbar utveckling – Om Stockholms miljöprogram" ges tips om vad man som enskild stockholmare kan göra för att bidra till att uppnå miljömålen och förbättra miljön. Är du intresserad, fyll i namn och adress nedan, så vidarebefordrar vi beställningen till Miljöförvaltningen som gratis sänder dig skriften.

Namn:.....

Adress:.....

.....

TACK FÖR DINA SVAR!

APPENDIX 7: QUESTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN SPÅNGA-TENSTA *

1. Berätta om din roll och vad du gör
2. Har din organisation någon uttalad bild eller strategi för hållbar stadsutveckling? Eller mer outtalad? Berätta. Hur ser du på denna bild?
3. Hur förhåller sig era lokala specifika planer och strategier för hållbar stadsutveckling till nationella respektive kommunövergripande strategier?
4. Vad för typ av livsstilar och beteenden försöker ni uppmuntra? Och på vilket sätt försöker ni få till stånd dessa förändringar?
5. Berätta om problem och situationer som ni stöter på när ni försöker genomföra era planer och strategier, givet att Spånga-Tensta/ Stockholm är ett område med stor mångfald, socioekonomiskt, etniskt och vad gäller boende och livsstilar.
6. Till vilka grupper riktar sig strategierna? Vilkas liv försöker ni förändra? Hur? Varför? Vilkas liv försöker ni inte förändra?
7. Händer det att miljöhänsyn kommer i konflikt med respekt för mångfald, eller går de hand i hand? På vilka sätt försöker ni hantera social och etnisk mångfald i planering för hållbar utveckling och miljöhänsyn? Har du idéer på hur detta kunde göras ännu bättre?
8. Vilka strategiska dokument skulle du rekommendera att jag läser?
9. (Har du förslag på andra tjänstemän/personer som skulle kunna vara intressanta för mig att intervjua?)

* For english version see appendix 11.

APPENDIX 8



**KTH Architecture and
the Built Environment**

Information sheet to residents in Burngreave

Title of project: **Environmental Justice in Diversified Societies**

Name of researcher: Karin Bradley

- You are being invited to take part in a PhD research project. The research includes interviews with residents and persons active in Burngreave, Sheffield and in Spånga-Tensta, Stockholm. I have identified you as someone that would contribute to the project.
- The objective of the research is to find out how different groups in society value, contribute to, and are exposed to environmental problems and qualities, and thereby contribute to a more sustainable urban planning.
- The PhD is conducted at the Royal Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Planning and Environment, Stockholm, Sweden in collaboration with University of Sheffield, Department of Town and Regional Planning.
- The project is funded by The Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning and is undertaken over a period of four years.
- The interview will last 30-60 minutes. All the information that you provide will be kept confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications arising from the project. You are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- The results of the research project will be published in a dissertation in 2008-2009. If you wish to receive the dissertation in electronic format, please let me know.
- If you have any questions regarding the project or would like to add additional information please contact me.

Thank you for your participation!

Karin Bradley, PhD student

Department of Urban Planning and the Environment

The Royal Institute of Technology

100 44 Stockholm, Sweden. Visiting address: Drottning Kristinas väg 30

Phone UK: 0780 754 4832, Sweden: +46 709 18 60 88, Fax +46 8 790 67 61

e-mail: karin.bradley@infra.kth.se

APPENDIX 9: INFORMATION FLYER TO BURNGREAVE RESIDENTS

INTERVIEW ABOUT ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN BURNGREAVE

Would you be interested in taking part in an interview for a research project about how residents of Burngreave relate to environmental issues?

The questions concern issues as how you perceive your local environment, green spaces, traffic etc, if and how you think of global environmental concerns and what the possibilities are to influence the development.

The aim of the project is to find out how different groups in society value, contribute to, and are exposed to environmental problems and qualities, and thereby contribute to a more sustainable urban planning.

We can meet in the Abbeyfield Park House or in a place and time that suits you. Contact me on the number or e-mail below.

Karin Bradley
PhD student

Department of Urban Planning and the Environment
Royal Institute of Technology, 100 44 Stockholm, SWEDEN
/ Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield

Telephone: 0780 7544832
E-mail: karin.bradley@infra.kth.se

APPENDIX 10: QUESTIONS TO BURNGREAVE RESIDENTS

Italics means that I bring up these examples or clarifications if needed.

1. Tell me about yourself. How long have you lived in the area? Who are you? What do you do in your everyday life?
2. What do you think of the area you live in? Do you like it? The location of the area, the atmosphere, the public spaces, the parks, the traffic? (*Use maps*)
3. Where do you meet with friends and other people? Where do you do your errands? Work? Relax? How do you transport yourself? What do you do when you have time off?
4. How would you describe your identity or group belongingness? Who do you identify with? (*identity can for instance be based on interests, age, ethnicity, type of work, place of living, political interests etc*) How has this changed over time? How do you think that this will change in the future? What other groups are there in the area where you live?
5. Tell me about your area. What are the qualities with your area? What are the drawbacks? Is there anything that you would like to change? If so, what?
6. How would you describe your ideal dwelling environment, if you would be entirely free to choose how and where to live? And how does that compare to your current dwelling environment?
7. Are you disturbed by any environmental problems? If so, which? (*could be noise, air pollution, trash, feeling of unsafety, radiation from mobile telephone masts...*)
8. Do you think about global environmental problems? (*like the greenhouse effect, depletion of forests or fossil fuels, threatened species, lack of clean water...*) Why or why not? If you do, what issues do you think of?
9. Are you concerned with the environmental effects that you generate in your life through transportation, energy use, consumption etc? Does it bother you? Why or why not? Do you somehow try to reduce your environmental effects? (*For instance do you try to save energy? Recycle waste? Use public transportation?...*). If so, what are the reasons for doing this?
10. How do you view justice and environmental issues: who has access to “good dwelling environments”/“not so good dwelling environments”? Would you call this just? If not, why not? Can you imagine a more just system?

11. When it comes to distribution of other environmental issues – like exposure to air pollution, toxic or acidified land, eutrophied lakes etc – how do you view this? Are there injustices there?
12. Are you a member of any organisation? Or have you participated in any projects or processes to influence the development in the local area? Or influence the development nationally or internationally? To what extent do you think that you can influence the development?
13. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN BURNGREAVE/SHEFFIELD AND SPÅNGA-TENSTA/STOCKHOLM

1. Describe your role and what you do
2. Tell me about your picture of an ecologically sustainable urban development, the vision(s) that you are trying to pursue within your organisation and
3. How do your local specific policies for promoting ecological sustainability fit (or not) with national or overarching council policies? And with your *personal* view?
4. What kind of lifestyles and behaviours are you trying to encourage? And how do you go about?
5. What kind of problems can you encounter when trying to implement these strategies in Burngreave, given that it is a diverse community in terms of ethnic background, socio-economic conditions, housing and lifestyles.
6. What groups are in focus in your strategies? Whose behaviours are you trying to influence? How? Why? Whose behaviours are you not trying to influence?
7. In what way do you try to handle social and ethnic diversity in planning for sustainability and environmental concern? (*given that there are many ways of relating to nature and green issues for instance*) Do you have ideas of how this could be done in better ways?
8. What strategic documents would you recommend that I read?

(In the Stockholm case I used the phrase “hållbar stadsutveckling”, i.e. “sustainable urban development”, however I later decided that I should place emphasis on the ecological aspect, in other words use the term “ecological sustainable urban development”).

APPENDIX I 2



**KTH Architecture and
the Built Environment**

Participant consent form for officials, Sheffield

Title of project: **Planning for Eco-friendly Living in Diverse Societies**

Name of researcher: Karin Bradley

- You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important that you understand the purpose of the research and what it will involve. Please read the following information. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.
- The PhD research project is funded by The Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning and is undertaken over a period of four years. The objective of the research is to deepen the knowledge on planning for sustainable urban development, through examining how the urban planning for more eco-friendly living in two city districts relates to its multicultural and diverse population.
- The research includes in-depth interviews with residents and persons working in Burngreave, Sheffield and in Spånga-Tensta, Stockholm. I have identified you as someone that would contribute to the project.
- The interview will last around 60 minutes. It will be recorded and transcribed. All the information that you provide will be kept confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications arising from the project. You are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- The results of the research project will be published in a dissertation in 2008-2009. If you wish to receive the dissertation in electronic format, please let me know.

I agree to take part in the above project:

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Copies: One copy for the participant and one copy for the Supervisor.

**Department of Urban Planning and the Environment
The Royal Institute of Technology**

100 44 Stockholm, Sweden. Visiting address: Drottning Kristinas väg 30
Phone UK: 0780 7544832 Sweden: +46 709 18 60 88, Fax +46 8 790 67 61
e-mail: karin.bradley@infra.kth.se

APPENDIX 13: EXAMPLE OF E-MAIL TO OFFICIALS

Sent October 10, 2007

Dear XX,

I am doing a PhD research project in urban planning and would be interested to meet with you for an interview. In short, the objective of the project is to reflect upon how the council's ambition of promoting urban development for more eco-friendly living relates to how inhabitants in multicultural and socially diverse areas lead their lives and perceive the environment in their daily life. I am using Burngreave as the case study area.

In the Spring I conducted interviews with residents in the area and I am now returning to Sheffield in mid-November to interview officials. I have understood that you are responsible for XX in the council and therefore I would be interested in talking to you.

I have conducted a study in Stockholm, in an area similar to Burngreave, so my plan is to compare the two areas and hopefully at the end contribute with ideas for more sustainable urban planning in diverse communities. My home university is in Stockholm, however I have my supervisor at the University of Sheffield.

Do any of these dates suit you?

November 9 (in the morning), Nov 12, 13 (any time during these two days)

or

Nov 14 (in the afternoon)?

The interview will take around 1 - 1,5 hour.

Best wishes,

Karin

--

Karin Bradley
Department of Urban Planning and Environment
The Royal Institute of Technology / KTH
100 44 Stockholm
Sweden

tel: +46 8 790 85 91

mobil: +46 709 18 60 88

karin.bradley@infra.kth.se

<http://www.infra.kth.se/sb/sp/0php/Staff/Karin.htm>

-

References

- Agyeman, J. (2005) *Sustainable Communities and the Challenge of Environmental Justice*. New York: New York University Press.
- Agyeman, J. (2006) *New Countryside? Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Agyeman, J., Bullard, R. D. & Evans, B. (2003) *Just sustainabilities – Development in an unequal world*. London: Earthscan.
- Agyeman, J. & Evans, B. (2004) 'Just sustainability' – The emerging discourse of environmental justice in Britain? *The Geographical Journal*, 170 (2), 155-164.
- Almond, B. (1995) Rights and Justice in the Environment In Cooper, D. E. & Palmer, J. A. (Eds.) *Just Environments: Intergenerational, International and Interspecies Issues*. London: Routledge.
- Alvesson, M. & Sköldberg, K. (2000) *Reflexive Methodology – New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Ambjörnsson, F. (2004) *I en klass för sig – genus, klass och sexualitet bland gymnasietjejer*. Stockholm: Ordfront.
- Anderberg, T. (1994) *Den mänskliga naturen: en essä om miljö och moral*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Anshelm, J. (2002) Det gröna folkhemmet: Striden om den ekologiska moderniseringen av Sverige. In Hedrén, J. (Ed.) *Naturen som brytpunkt. Om miljöfrågans mystifieringar, konflikter och motsägelser*. Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östling Bokförlag Symposion.
- Anshelm, J. & Hedrén, J. (1998) Miljöforskningens döda vinkel. In Wärneryd, O. & Hilding-Rydevik, T. (Eds.) *Hållbart samhälle – en antologi om mål, möjligheter, medel och makt*. Stockholm: FRN.
- Arnstberg, K.-O. & Erdal, B. (1998) *Därute i Tensta*. Stockholm: Stockholmia.
- Asplund, E. & Skantze, A. (Eds.) (2005) *Hållbar utveckling i praktiken – möten, gränser, perspektiv*. Stockholm: KTH.
- Beatley, T. (2000) *Green urbanism – Learning from European cities*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Beatley, T. & Manning, K. (1997) *The ecology of place – Planning for environment, economy and community*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk society – Towards a new modernity*. London & Newbury Par & New Dehli: Sage Publications.
- Beck, U. (1997) *The Reinvention of Politics: Rethinking Modernity in*

- the Global Social Order. In Beck, U., Giddens, A. & Lash, S. (Eds.) *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bell, B. & Wakeford, K. (Eds.) (2008) *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism*. New York: Metropolis books.
- Bengs, C. (2005) Glest eller tätt – inget givet val. In Frank, G. (Ed.) *Spelet om staden*. Stockholm: Formas.
- Bernick, M. & Cervero, R. (1997) *Transit villages in the 21st century*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Betsky, A. (Ed.) (2008) *Uneternalcity – Urbanism beyond Rome*. Venice: Marsilio.
- Betsky, A. & Jodidio, P. (2008) *Out there – Architecture beyond building*. Vol. 3, *Experimental architecture*. Venice: Marsilio.
- Bill, F. (2001) Brown and Green in Durban: The Evolution of Environmental Policy in a Post-Apartheid City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25 (4), 717-739.
- Bjarnadóttir, H. & Bradley, K. (2003) *Ny kurs för Norden – planering för hållbar utveckling*. Stockholm: Nordregio.
- BNDfC (2001) *Burngreave New Deal for Communities – Delivery Plan – March 16 2001*. Burngreave New Deal for Communities.
- Bookchin, M. (2001) What is social ecology? In Zimmerman, M. E. (Ed.) *Environmental Philosophy – From Animal Rights to Radical Ecology*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986[1979]) Distinktionen – En social kritik av omdömet [La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement]. *Kultursociologiska texter*. Stockholm [Paris]: Salamander [Éditions de Minuit].
- Boverket (2000) *Planering för hållbar utveckling – 13 utmaningar för den fysiska samhällsplaneringen*. Karlskrona: Boverket.
- Bradley, K. (2004) Environmental justice – New fuel to the debate on planning for sustainable development. In Hilding-Rydevik, T. & Hlökk Theodórsdóttir, A. (Eds.) *Planning for Sustainable Development – The practice and potential of Environmental Assessment*. Stockholm: Nordregio.
- Bradley, K. (2006) Närmiljö, social rättvisa och miljö: Miljövänlig livsstil i Tensta men grönnare i Gamla Spånga. In Gullberg, A. (Ed.) *Tensta utanför mitt fönster*. Värnamo: Stockholmia förlag.
- Breen, R. & Rottman, D. B. (1995) *Class stratification – A comparative perspective*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Brune, Y. (2004) *Nyheter från gränsen: tre studier i journalistik om "invandrare", flyktingar och rasistiskt våld*. Göteborg: Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation, Göteborgs Univ.
- Bulkeley, H. & Walker, G. (2005) Environmental Justice: A New Agenda for the UK. *Local Environment*, 10 (4), 329 - 332.

- Bullard, R. D. (Ed.) (1993) *Confronting Environmental Racism – Voices from the Grassroots*. Boston: South End Press.
- Bullard, R. D. (2000) *Dumping in Dixie – Race, Class and Environmental Quality*. Atlanta: Westview Press.
- Burningham, K. & Thrush, D. (2001) *'Rainforests are a long way from here': the environmental concerns of disadvantaged groups*. Guildford: University of Surrey.
- Caglar, A. S. (1997) Hyphenated Identities and the Limits of 'Culture'. In Modood, T. & Werbner, P. (Eds.) *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe* London: Zed.
- Campbell, H. & Marshall, R. (2003) *Just planning: The art of situated judgement*. Paper presented at the AESOP-ACSP Congress, Leuven.
- Cars, G. (2001) *Charrette - Tre åkturer med "den lilla kärnan"*. Stockholm: KTH/Royal Institute of Technology, Institutionen för Infrastruktur och samhällsplanering.
- Connelly, S. (2006) Environmental justice: The UK perspective. *Unpublished paper presented at the seminar "Environmental Justice: perspectives from the US, the UK and Sweden"*. The Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, Sweden, June 9, 2006.
- Connelly, S. (2007) Mapping Sustainable Development as a Contested Concept. *Local Environment – The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*, 12 (3), 259-278.
- Connelly, S. & Richardson, T. (2005) Value driven SEA: Time for an environmental justice perspective. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 25 (4), 391-409.
- De Los Reyes, P., Molina, I. & Mulinari, D. (2002a) Introduktion. In De Los Reyes, P., Molina, I. & Mulinari, D. (Eds.) *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader. Kön, klass och etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige*. Stockholm: Atlas.
- De Los Reyes, P., Molina, I. & Mulinari, D. (Eds.) (2002b) *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader. Kön, klass och etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige*. Stockholm: Atlas.
- DEFRA (2007) *Public Attitudes and Behaviours toward the Environment: 2007*. London: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.
- Di Chiro, G. (1998) Environmental Justice from the Grassroots: Reflections on History, Gender and Expertise. In Faber, D. (Ed.) *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy – Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Di Chiro, G. (2003) Beyond Ecoliberal "Common Futures" – Environmental Justice, Toxic Touring, and a Transcommunal Politics

- of Place. In Moore, D., Kosek, J. & Pandian, A. (Eds.) *Race, Nature and the Politics of Difference*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.
- Diken, B. L. & Laustsen, C. B. (2004) *7/11, 9/11, and post-politics. Unpublished manuscript*. Lancaster: Department of Sociology, Lancaster University.
- Dobson, A. (1990) *Green Political Thought – An introduction*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Dobson, A. (1998) *Justice and the Environment – Conceptions of Environmental Sustainability and Theories of Distributive Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobson, A. (2003) *Citizenship and the environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dovey, K. (1999) *Framing places – Mediating power in built form*. London: Routledge.
- Dovlén, S. (2004) *Communicating Professional Perspectives – Local Government and Spatial Planning for Sustainability*. Stockholm: KTH.
- Dryzek, J. S. (2005) *The politics of the Earth – Environmental discourses, 2nd edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eckstein, B. & Throgmorton, J. (Eds.) (2003) *Story and Sustainability: planning, practice, and possibility for American cities*. Cambridge, MA/London: The MIT Press.
- European Commission (1996) *European sustainable cities*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Faber, D. (Ed.) (1998) *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy – Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Farr, D. (2008) *Sustainable urbanism – Urban design with nature*. Hoboken, N. J.: John Wiley.
- Florida, R. L. (2002) *The rise of the creative class – And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making social science matter – Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Forester, J. (1999) *The Deliberative Practitioner – Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*. Cambridge, MA/London: The MIT Press.
- Foucault, M. (1979) *The history of sexuality*. London: Allen Lane.
- Foucault, M. (1993[1971]) *Diskursens ordning [L'ordre du discours]*.

- Stockholm/Stehag Brutus Östlings bokförlag/Symposion.
- Fraser, N. (1989) *Unruly practices – Power, discourse and gender in contemporary social theory*. Oxford: Polity.
- Frykman, J. & Löfgren, O. (1979) *Den kultiverade människan*. Liber Förlag.
- Gare, A. E. (1995) *Postmodernism and the environmental crisis*. London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1994) *Beyond Left and Right*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gottlieb, R. (2005[1993]) *Forcing the spring – The transformation of the American environmental movement*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Grünell, M. & Saharso, S. (1999) bell hooks and Nira Yuval-Davis on race, ethnicity, class and gender. *European Journal of Womens Studies*, 6 (2), 203-218.
- Gunne, N. (2008) Påse snart på plats i Nairobi. *Arkitekten*, (March 2008), 36.
- Hajer, M. A. (1995) *The Politics of Environmental Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, S. (1997) The Spectacle of the Other. In Hall, S. (Ed.) *Representation. Cultural representation and Signifying Practices* London Sage.
- Hannigan, J. (1995) *Environmental Sociology – A Social Constructionist Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (1973) *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*. Malden MA/Oxford: Blackwell.
- Haughton, G. (1999) Environmental justice and the sustainable city. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 18 (3), 233-243.
- Hedré, J. (Ed.) (2002a) *Naturen som brytpunkt – Om miljöfrågans mystifieringar, konflikter och motsägelser*. Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion.
- Hedré, J. (2002b) Naturen som hot mot det moderna: Några ideologikritiska reflektioner. In Hedré, J. (Ed.) *Naturen som brytpunkt – Om miljöfrågans mystifieringar, konflikter och motsägelser*. Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion.
- Heiman, M. K. (1996) Race, Waste, and Class: New Perspectives on Environmental Justice. *Antipode*, 28 (2), 111-121.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (2003) Class Consciousness in History (originally published under the same title in Mézáros, I. (1971) (ed.) *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness*, New York: Herder and Herder). In Martín Alcoff, L. & Mendieta, E. (Eds.) *Identities – Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Malden/Oxford/

- Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Hofrichter, R. (Ed.) (1993) *Toxic Struggles: The Theory and Practice of Environmental Justice*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.
- Hooks, B. (1994) House, 20 June 1994. *Assemblage*, (24), 22-29.
- Huntington, S. P. (1998) *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. London: Touchstone.
- Isaksson, K. (2001) *Framtidens trafiksystem? – maktutövningen i konflikterna om rummet och miljön i Dennispaketets vägfrågor*. Linköping: Linköping University.
- Jermsten, E. (2004) Sundby. In Söderström, G. (Ed.) *Stockholm utanför tullarna. Nittiosju stadsdelar i ytterstaden*. 2nd ed. Värnamo: Stockholmia förlag.
- Johansson, B. & Orrskog, L. (2002) *Att bygga ett hållbart samhälle*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Johansson, E. (Ed.) (2006) *Mångnatur: friluftsliv och natursyn i det mångkulturella samhället*. Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum.
- Katz, P. (1994) *The new urbansim: Toward an architecture of community*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Keil, R. (2007) Sustaining Modernity, Modernizing Nature: The Environmental Crisis and the Survival of Capitalism. In Krueger, R. & Gibbs, D. (Eds.) *The Sustainable Development Paradox: Urban Political Economy in the United States and Europe*. New York/London: The Guilford Press.
- Kelbaugh, D. (1997) The New Urbanism. In Fainstein, S. & Campbell, S. (Eds.) *Readings in Urban Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Krueger, R. & Gibbs, D. (2007) Introduction: Problematizing the Politics of Sustainability. In Krueger, R. & Gibbs, D. (Eds.) *The Sustainable Development Paradox: Urban Political Economy in the United States and Europe*. New York/London: The Guilford Press.
- Kulturdepartementet (2000) *Begreppet invandrare – användningen i myndigheternas verksamheter*. Ds. 2000:43.
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony & socialist strategy*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1987) Post-Marxism without apologies. *New Left Review*, (199), 79-106.
- Lafferty, W. M. & Eckerberg, K. (1998) *From the earth summit to local agenda 21 – Working towards sustainable development*. London: Earthscan.
- Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (2000) Concluding Perspectives. In Lafferty, W. M. & Meadowcroft, J. (Eds.) *Implementing Sustainable Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Langhelle, O. (2000) Why ecological modernisation and sustainable development should not be conflated. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 2(4), 303-322.
- Larsson, E. (2006) *Förtätning genom ekologisk modernisering? En diskursanalytisk studie av hållbar utveckling och planering på Boverket och Naturvårdsverket samt i Stockholms stad*. Uppsala: Institutet för bostads- och urbanforskning, Uppsala University. MSc thesis. Unpublished.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Listerborn, C. (2002) *Trygg stad – diskurser om kvinnors rädsla i forskning, policyutveckling och lokal praktik*. Göteborg: Chalmers Tekniska Högskola.
- Low, N. P. & Gleeson, B. J. (1997) Justice in and to the environment: Ethical uncertainties and political practices. *Environment and Planning A*, 29 (1), 21-42.
- Low, N. P. & Gleeson, B. J. (2003) Environmental justice. In Agnew, J., Mitchell, K. & Toal, G. A. (Eds.) *Companion to Political Geography*. Malden/Oxford/Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Lundblad, M. (2001) Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak och den andres talan. *Glänta*, (1-2), 120-129.
- Lundevall, P. (2006) Tenstas planeringshistoria. In Gullberg, A. (Ed.) *Tensta utanför mitt fönster*. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag.
- Lövgren, S. (2002) *Att skapa ett framtidens folk – governmentality och miljödiskurs i modern svensk bostadspolitik*. Linköping: Tema Hälsa och samhälle Linköping Univ.
- Macnaghten, P. & Urry J. (1998) *Contested Natures*. London: Sage.
- Martín Alcoff, M. (2003) Introduction – Identities: Modern and Post-modern. In Martín Alcoff, L. & Mendieta, E. (Eds.) *Identities – Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Malden/Oxford/Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Martinson, L. (2005) *Mutual benefit – Rethinking social inclusion*. Stockholm: KTH
- Massey, D. (1984) *Spatial divisions of labour – Social structures and the geography of production*. London: Macmillan.
- Meadows, D. H. (1972) *The limits to growth – A report for the club of Rome's project on the predicament of mankind*. New York: Universe Books.
- Merchant, C. (1989) *Ecological revolutions – Nature, gender, and science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Merchant, C. (1996) *Earthcare – Women and the environment*. New York:: Routledge.

- Mills, S. (1997) *Discourse*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Mitchell, G. & Dorling, D. (2003) An environmental justice analysis of British air quality. *Environment and Planning A*, 35 (5), 909-929.
- Mobjörk, M. (2004) *En kluven tid? En studie av idéer och föreställningar om vetenskap och kunskap i Stiftelsen för miljöstrategisk forskning, MISTRA*. Linköping: Linköping Univ.
- Mol, A. P. J. & Spaargaren, G. (2000) Ecological Modernisation Theory in Debate: A Review. In Mol, A. P. J. & Sonnenfeld, D. A. (Eds.) *Ecological Modernisation Around the World. Perspectives and Critical Debates*. London: Frank Cass.
- Molina, I. (1997) *Stadens rasifiering: etnisk boendesegregation i folkhemmet*. Uppsala: Uppsala Univ.
- Molina, I. (2005) Miljonprogrammet och förortens rasifiering. In Broms Wessel, O. E. A. (Ed.) *Bor vi i samma stad? Om stadsutveckling, mångfald och rättvisa*. Kristianstad: Pocky.
- Mouffe, C. (1992) *Dimensions of radical democracy – Pluralism, citizenship, community*. London: Verso.
- Mouffe, C. (2000) *The democratic paradox*. London: Verso.
- Mouffe, C. (2005) *On the political*. London: Routledge.
- Naess, A. (1989[19760]) *Ecology, community and lifestyle – Outline of an ecosophy [Økologi, samfunn og livsstil]*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Nationalencyklopedin (1991) *Nationalencyklopedin*. Höganäs: Bra Böcker.
- Naturvårdsverket (2007) *Allmänheten och klimatförändringen 2007, Rapport 5760*. Stockholm: Naturvårdsverket.
- Naturvårdsverket & Boverket (2000) *Planera för hållbar utveckling*. Stockholm/Karlskrona: Naturvårdsverket/Boverket.
- Newman, P. & Kenworthy, J. (1999) *Sustainability and Cities. Overcoming Automobile Dependence*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2003) *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future*. London
- ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2005a) *Conclusions of Bristol Ministerial Informal Meeting on Sustainable Communities in Europe – UK Presidency, Bristol, 6-7 December 2005*.
- ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2005b) *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development*. London
- ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) (2007) *Planning Policy Statement: Planning and Climate Change - Supplement to Planning Policy Statement 1*. London
- Olgarsson, P. (2006) Tensta - en byggnadshistoria. In Gullberg, A. (Ed.)

- Tensta utanför mitt fönster*. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag.
- Orrskog, L. (2002) Planning as discourse analysis. In Snickars, F. E. A. (Ed.) *Reshaping regional planning – A Northern perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002) *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*. London: SAGE.
- Plumwood, V. (1993) *Feminism and the mastery of nature*. London: Routledge.
- Plumwood, V. (1995) Has Democracy Failed Ecology? An Ecofeminist Perspective. *Environmental Politics*, 4 (4), 134-168.
- Portney, K. E. (2003) *Taking sustainable cities seriously – Economic development, the environment, and quality of life in American cities*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Radhakrishnan, R. (2003) Postcoloniality and the Boundaries of Identity. In Martín Alcoff, L. & Mendieta, E. (Eds.) *Identities – Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Malden/Oxford/Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Regeringskansliet (2004) *En svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling – ekonomisk, social och miljömässig, Skr. 2003/04:129*. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.
- Rittsél, J. (2004) *Tensta*. In Söderström, G. (Ed.) *Stockholm utanför tullarna. Nittiosju stadsdelar i ytterstaden* Värnamo: Stockholmia förlag
- Rogers, R. A. (1994) *Nature and the crisis of modernity – A critique of contemporary discourse on managing the earth*. Montreal/New York: Black Rose Books.
- Rosaldo, R. (2003) Cultural Citizenship, Inequality and Multiculturalism. In Martín Alcoff, L. & Mendieta, E. (Eds.) *Identities – Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Malden/Oxford/Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Rose, N. (1995) Politisk styrning, auktoritet och expertis i den avancerade liberalismen. In Hultqvist & Peterson (Eds.) *Foucault: namnet på en modern vetenskap och filosofisk problematik*. Stockholm: HLS.
- Roseland, M. (1998) *Towards sustainable communities – Resources for citizens and their governments*. Gabriola Island: New Society.
- Salleh, A. (1997) *Ecofeminism as politics – Nature, Marx and the post-modern*. London: Zed.
- Sandercock, L. (1998a) *Making the invisible visible – A multicultural planning history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sandercock, L. (1998b) *Towards cosmopolis – Planning for multicultural cities*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

- Sandercock, L. (2003) *Cosmopolis II – Mongrel cities in the 21st century*. London: Continuum.
- Sassen, S. (2001) *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Scandrett, E., Dunion, K. & McBride, G. (2000) The Campaign for Environmental Justice in Scotland. *Local Environment*, 5 (4), 467-474.
- Sharp, L. & Richardson, T. (2001) Reflections on Foucauldian discourse analysis in planning and environmental policy research. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 3 (3), 193-209.
- Sheffield City Council (2001) *Achieving Affordable Warmth – Sheffield's Fuel Poverty Strategy 2001*.
- Sheffield City Council (2005) *Masterplanning Burngreave and Fir Vale*. Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- Sheffield City Council (2006) *Environmentally Sustainable Housing Strategy – Report to Cabinet 22/02/06*.
- Sheffield City Council (2007) *Sheffield Development Framework – Transformation and Sustainability. Core Strategy for submission to the Secretary of State*. Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- Sheffield City Council (2008) *Burngreave Area Plan 2008–2009*. Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- Sheffield First Partnership (2007a) *Environment Strategy 2007–2010*. Sheffield: Sheffield First Partnership.
- Sheffield First Partnership (2007b) *Sheffield City Strategy 2005–2010*. Sheffield: Sheffield First Partnership.
- Shiva, V. (1998) *Biopiracy – The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*. Totnes: Green Books/The Gaia Foundation.
- Simons, J. (2004) *Contemporary critical theorists – From Lacan to Said*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Skill, K. (2008) *(Re)Creating ecological action space – Householders' activities for sustainable development in Sweden*. Linköping: Department of Technology and Social Change, Linköping University.
- Smith, M. J. (1998) *Ecologism – Towards Ecological Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Soja, E. W. (1996) *Thirdspace – Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Soja, E. W. (2000) *Postmetropolis – Critical studies of cities and regions*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spaargaren, G. & Mol, A. P. J. (1992) Sociology, environment and modernity – Ecological modernization as a theory of social change. *Society & Natural Resources* (5), 323-44.

- Spivak, G. C. (2002) Kan den subalternen tala? *In* Skriftserien Kairos 7 (Ed.) *Postkoloniala studier*. Stockholm: Raster förlag.
- Stadsledningskontoret (2007) *Inriktning för Järvalyftet – Tjänsteutlåtande DNR: 314-1325/2007*. Stockholm: Stadsledningskontoret, Stockholms stad,.
- Statistics Sweden (2003) *Households in the environmental accounts*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.
- Stockholm Bygger (2007) Nu ska hela Järva lyfta – Svenska Bostäder gör storsatsningar på trygghet och trivsel. *Annonstidning Stockholm Bygger, distributed with Dagens Nyheter*, (May 27, 2007), 10.
- Stockholms Stad (2000) *Översiktsplan 1999 Stockholm*. Stockholm: Stadsbyggnadskontoret.
- Stockholms Stad (2003) *Stockholms miljöprogram – på väg mot en hållbar utveckling*. Stockholm: Miljöförvaltningen, Stockholms stad,.
- Stockholms Stad (2004) *Vision Stockholm 2030 – en plattform för dialog om Stockholms utveckling*. Stockholm: Stockholms stad
- Stockholms Stad (2006) *Strategi för Agenda 21-arbetet i Stockholms stad 2006 - Utlåtande 2005:121 RVIII (Dnr 303-5090/2005)*. Stockholm: Stockholms stad.
- Stockholms Stad (2007a) *Stockholm växer – Utmaningar för stadsbygget i Stockholm*. Stockholm: Stadsbyggnadskontoret.
- Stockholms Stad (2007b) *Stockholms miljöprogram 2008–2011*. Stockholm: Stockholms stad.
- Svenska Bostäder (2007) *Stadsförnyelse i Järva – en del av Järvalyftet*. Vällingby: Svenska Bostäder.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2007) Impossible "Sustainability" and the Postpolitical Condition. *In* Krueger, R. G., D. (Ed.) *The Sustainable Development Paradox – Urban Political Economy in the United States and Europe*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Taylor, D. (1992) Can the environmental movement attract and maintain the support of minorities? *In* Bryant, B. & Mohai, P. (Eds.) *Race and the incidence of environmental hazards*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Taylor, D. E. (2000) The Rise of the Environmental Justice Paradigm: Injustice Framing and the Social Construction of Environmental Discourses. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43 (4), 508-580.
- Tesfahuney, M. & Dahlstedt, M. (2008) Inledning: betraktelser över en postpolitisk samtid. *In* Tesfahuney, M. & Dahlstedt, M. (Eds.) *Den bästa av världar? Betraktelser över en postpolitisk samtid*. Hågersten: Tankekraft förlag.
- Thompson, E. P. (2003) The Making of the English Working Class (origi-

- nally published as Thompson, E. P. (1966) *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York: Random House) In Martín Alcoff, L. & Mendieta, E. (Eds.) *Race, Class, Gender and Nationality* Malden/Oxford/Melbourne/Berlin: Blackwell.
- Trondman, M. (2006) Disowning knowledge: To be or not to be 'the immigrant' in Sweden. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29 (3), 431-451.
- Turner, R. L. & Wu, D. P. (2002) *Environmental Justice and Environmental Racism: An Annotated Bibliography with General Overview, Focusing on the U.S. Literature, 1996-2002*. Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, University of California.
- Urbinati, N. (2003) Can Cosmopolitical Democracy be Democratic? In Archibugi, D. (Ed.) *Debating Cosmopolitics*. London: Verso.
- USK (2001) *Områdesfakta för Sthlm 1999*. *Församlingar, stadsdelar, stadsdelsområden.*: Utrednings- och statistikkontoret, Stockholms stad. Stockholm Office of Research and Statistics.
- Wackernagel, M. & Rees, W. E. (1996) *Our ecological footprint – Reducing human impact on the earth*. Philadelphia, Pa.: New Society Publishers.
- Wallenstein, S.-O. (2007) *Essays Lectures*. Stockholm: Axl Books.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998) Opinions and Ideologies in the Press In Bell, A. & Garrett, P. (Eds.) *Approaches to Media Discourse* Oxford; Malden: Blackwell.
- WCED (1987) *Our common future*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Weiss, G. (1999) *Body images: embodiment as intercorporeality*. New York: Routledge.
- Werbner, P. (1997) Introduction – The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity. In Werbner, P. & Modood, T. (Eds.) *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. London: Zed books.
- Wetherell, M. & Potter, J. (1992) *Mapping the language of racism – Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid geographies: natures, cultures, spaces*. London: SAGE.
- Wibeck, V. (2000) *Fokusgrupper: om fokuserade gruppintervjuer som undersökningsmetod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Williams, K. (2000) Does Intensifying Cities Make them More Sustainable? In Williams, K., Burton, E. & Jenks, M. (Eds.) *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*. London/New York: E & FN Spon.
- Williams, R. (1972) Ideas of Nature. In Benthall, J. (Ed.) *Ecology – The shaping enquiry*. London: Longman.

- Williams, R. (1989) *Resources of hope – Culture, democracy, socialism*. London: Verso.
- Williams, K., Burton, E. & Jenks, M. (Eds.) (2000) *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*. London/New York: E & FN Spon.
- Winther Jørgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2000) *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Wisth, B. (2004) Solhem. In Söderström, G. (Ed.) *Stockholm utanför tullarna. Nittiosju stadsdelar i ytterstaden*. 2 ed. Värnamo: Stockholmia förlag.
- Wärneryd, O., Hallin, P.-O. & Hultman, J. (2002) *Hållbar utveckling – Om kris och omställning i stad och samhälle*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Young, I. M. (1996) Communication and the other: beyond deliberative democracy. In Benhabib, S. (Ed.) *Democracy and Difference – Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1997) Ethnicity, Gender Relations and Multiculturalisms. In Werbner, P. & Modood, T. (Eds.) *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. London: Zed Books.
- Žižek, S. (1999) *The Ticklish Subject – The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. New York: Verso.
- Žižek, S. (2005) Carl Schmitt i den postpolitiska tidsåldern. *Fronesis*, (19-20), 46-67.
- Åquist, A.-C. (2001) *Den miljövänliga staden – kompakt eller gles? En forskningsöversikt* Örebro: Centrum för stadsmiljöforskning, Örebro University.
- Ödman, E., Bucht, E. & Nordström, M. (1982) *Vildmarken och välfärden – om naturskyddslagstiftningens tillkomst*. Stockholm: LiberFörlag.