

When Ecotopia grows:

Politicizing the stories of Swedish sustainable urban
development

Toni Adscheid

June 2017
Supervisor: Peter Schmitt
Department of Human Geography
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm / Sweden

Abstract

Sweden is known world-wide for its achievements in the field of sustainable urban development. Due to this global recognition Swedish stories and policies of sustainable urban development are being spread across various spatial and institutional contexts. Focusing on SymbioCity and its approach as examples for such stories, this thesis seeks to elaborate on the de-politicization of urban environments through sustainable urban development policies. In doing so, this thesis synthesises urban political ecology and policy mobility literature to form a theoretical framework to investigate the mobilization and legitimization of such environments. Drawing on findings provided by methods of text analysis and interviews, it is illustrated that Swedish stories of sustainable urban development construct a de-politicized spatiality supported by capital, desires of influence and “the planner”. The thesis concludes by arguing that planning research needs to critically address the process of de-politicization and support the articulation of a political Ecotopia.

Adscheid, Toni (2017): *When Ecotopia grows: Politicizing the stories of Swedish sustainable urban development*.

Urban and Regional Planning, advanced level, master thesis for master degree in Urban and Regional Planning, 30 ECTS credits

Supervisor: Peter Schmitt

Language: English

Key words: sustainable urban development, policy mobility, urban political ecology, urban planning, de-politicization, Sweden.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
1. Introduction.....	3
1.1 Background: The Stories of Swedish Sustainable Urban Development	4
1.2 Situating the story of Ecotopia within academia	5
1.3 Research Aim & Question	7
1.4 Limitations	8
1.5 Disposition: Telling the story of a growing Ecotopia	9
2. A theory of Ecotopia: Mobilities of socio-material configurations.....	11
2.1 Conceptualizing Ecotopia through Actor-Network Theory	11
2.2 The urbanization of Ecotopia – An urban political ecology narrative	13
2.3 Policy mobility – the Growth of Ecotopia.....	17
2.4 The theoretical framework of Ecotopia.....	20
3. Approaching Ecotopia	21
3.1 Research design: The researcher as active practitioner.....	21
3.2 The Research Process: How to tell the tale of Ecotopia?.....	23
3.3 Ethical Considerations.....	29
4. Planting the seed - Exploring the roots of Sweden’s Ecotopia	31
4.1 From “bad cities” to sustainable urbanization: The start of a Swedish story	31
4.2 Planning for “the sustainable City” – A contemporary narrative	34
4.3 Narrating urban sustainability: SymbioCity and the SymbioCity Approach	36
5. Grooming the tree - Plots of Sweden’s Ecotopia.....	45
5.1 Introducing stories of common sense.....	45
5.2 The Protagonists – “We” and “the City”	46
5.3 The good, the bad and the sustainable - Stories about the development of urban environments	47
5.4 Storylines of Swedish sustainable urban development: Two stories about “the City”	49
6. Extending the branches - Mobilizing the story of Ecotopia.....	51
6.1 Fuelling the sustainable urban development machinery	51
6.2 Naturalizing urban sustainable development.....	53
6.3 “The Planner”: Becoming a better storyteller?.....	55
7. Ecotopia: A discussion for the political	58
8. Conclusion	63
9. References.....	66
Appendix	73

1. Introduction

Ecotopia represents the vision of a society which is characterized through the “perfect” balance between human beings and their environment. Contradictory to the practices of the U.S. (during the 1970s) *Ecotopia* showcases itself as *the alternative* to a dystopian present and as last refuge for everyone who is concerned about the environment (CALLENBACH 1975). It is from this summary of the eponymous novel “*Ecotopia*”, written by the Anglo-American author *Ernest Callenbach*, that this thesis will draw its inspiration from.

While inspired by a fictional story, *Ecotopia* does also form everyday spatial reality. Well-known models of urban development such as Ebenezer Howard’s *Garden City* or Le Corbusier’s *Ville Contemporaine* can be regarded as utopian models since they reflect desired visions about “perfect” human-nature interactions (see FISHMAN 2016). These models positioned themselves towards a “dystopian present” of a growing and increasingly polluted London and Paris. However, the *Garden City* and the *Ville Contemporaine* should not be regarded as relicts of the past. These models continue to be adopted in different spatial settings as the concerns they addressed remain prevalent.

Under the umbrella of neo-liberal politics and planning practices of the late 20th and 21st century (see ALLMENDINGER 2009) models of urban planning began to flourish. In contrast to previous epochs however, the city does not present the exclusive sight of dystopian narratives anymore. Hence, global phenomena have begun to create an umbrella under which utopia and dystopia are continuously (re)imagined (see SWYNGEDOUW 2009). These global phenomena are fostered by political and academic discourses which emphasize a “planetary urbanization” process (see BRENNER 2014) in the wake of climate change (BULKELEY ET AL. 2015). Given these global urgencies, models of sustainable urban development became the new *status quo*. Introduced by the Brundtland Report, the concept of sustainable development has been showcased as way to tackle the challenges posed by climate change in a way that does not cause harm to future generations (see WCED 1987). This development is achieved through a perfect balance of ecological, economic and social factors. Hence, sustainable development will be conceptualized throughout this thesis as the *Ecotopia* of “our time”, a story that suggests the perfect balance between human interests and the environment. Since its introduction, sustainability became an integral part of everyday life and consciousness. A consciousness constantly (re)invoked by international events such as the Rio Conference, the Paris Climate Summit or popular movies such as Al Gore’s: *An Inconvenient Truth*.

In the same vein whilst “awareness” for climate change began to rise, cities also saw themselves increasingly engaged in a global inter-city competition (PECK & THEODORE 2010; WARD 2013). As consequence, cities were caught up in a position where climate change needed to be combated while a city’s attractiveness for capital investors needed to be secured and enhanced. Out of this challenge grow urban development models such as “The Sustainable City” (OHGAKI ET AL. 2008). This model (as its predecessors) is not static across space and time but contains different foci and connotations across various spatial contexts (HASSAN & LEE 2015). Although divergent in its spatial application, the sustainable city model ought to position cities within a global neo-liberal framework under the conditions and challenges posed by climate change. The material articulations of this process can be observed in cities like Vancouver or Barcelona which established themselves as models for sustainable urban development,

resulting in terminologies of: Vancouverism (MCCANN 2011) or the Barcelona model (DEGEN & GARCÍA 2012). Whether such models advocate a city as “original” or as *hybrid* (combining several development models), they all share the common narrative of an urban sustainable environment to contradict a dystopian present and future (see KAIKA & SWYNGEDOUW 2012).

1.1 Background: The Stories of Swedish Sustainable Urban Development

When walking around the city of Stockholm in 2017, one seems to be caught up in a melting pot of urban development models. Posters that promote the “sustainable city”, the “eco-friendly city” or the “world class city” are ever present in the cityscape. The spatial manifestations of these models can be encountered in areas like Kista, Hammarby Sjöstad or Norra Djurgårdsstaden. As a city that has been on the forefront of sustainable urban development for several years, Stockholm has received world wide recognition and praise (see LINDSTRÖM & LUNDSTRÖM 2013; BRADLEY ET AL. 2013). Historically, Stockholm’s sustainable urban development was largely based on extensive Swedish welfare state and sustainable branding policies (METZGER & OLSSON 2013: 198-199). These policies positioned Sweden and its capital as models for sustainable urban development on the global market. This positioning led to labels such as “Sustainable and Scandinavian” which were used to sell Swedish technology and expertise. As consequence sustainable, economic and urban development became increasingly intertwined. Hence, Swedish companies such as Sweco began to develop urban planning concepts such as the *Sustainable City Concept*. Developed on behalf of the Swedish government for the World Summit 2002 in Johannesburg, this concept should showcase integrated ways of incorporating technology and urban development to potential international investors (HULT 2013: 84).

On the basis of the Sustainable City Concept, *SymbioCity* was introduced in 2007 by the Swedish government and the Swedish Trade Council (BRADLEY ET AL. 2013). *SymbioCity* was established as a platform to link clean technologies to urban planning in the name of urban sustainability (HULT 2015: 538). The innovations that *SymbioCity* introduced were clustered around working models which should explore these linkages. Hereby spatial references, including the housing exhibition Bo01 in Malmö (MADUREIRA 2014) as well as Hammarby Sjöstad have been presented as “best practice” examples. The “success story” of these best practice examples did not only attract international but equally national interest. Thereupon the Swedish government established a development fund for cities that aspired to follow the technological and planning ideals that *SymbioCity* provided. This fund encompassed 340 million SEK during the period between 2009 and 2010 (LINDSTRÖM & LUNDSTRÖM 2013). Several Swedish cities followed this appeal and so Vaxjö, Kiruna and Malmö initiated their own development projects inspired by the success of *SymbioCity*. Swedish sustainable urban development was then put on supra-national display as Stockholm was awarded with the title of the first European Green Capital in 2010 (BRADLEY ET AL. 2013). The creation of this success fostered the cooperation within *SymbioCity* resulting in the export of sustainable technologies to countries such as China, Mongolia, Russia, South Africa, Canada, France, Ireland and England (see LINDSTRÖM & LUNDSTRÖM 2013). While the Sustainable City Concept was picked up by the Swedish Trade Council (now Business Sweden) to implement a marketing platform, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) used the concept to develop tools and methods for sustainable urban development. These methods and tools have been summarized under

the *SymbioCity Approach* which was published in 2012. Based on SIDA's previous experiences and expertise the SymbioCity Approach aims to promote sustainable urban development through institutional capacity building in low and middle income countries (see DAHLGREN & WAMSLER 2014). Overall, SymbioCity stresses the importance of "smart technologies" to transform the City itself while the SymbioCity approach focuses on creating "the sustainable City" through institutional capacity building.

In sum, Sweden's "stories of sustainability" are based on a socio-historical understanding of sustainable urban development, influenced by neo-liberal notions of competitiveness, success and global development objectives. These stories do not only form a spatially situated narrative of the "perfect" balance between human interests and their environment but are also mobilized across institutional and spatial contexts. As such SymbioCity and its approach form the story of Ecotopia, a story about the perfect balance which can be achieved in various settings but which remains spatially and discursively connected to Sweden. This context offers a perspective onto the floating meanings and logics of urban sustainability and its mobilization across institutional and spatial contexts. Hereby Sweden's diversified narratives of sustainable urban development present the entry points for a comparative assessment of the political character and the normative connotations of urban sustainability.

1.2 Situating the story of Ecotopia within academia

Despite growing critique in academia that Swedish sustainable urban development resembles a consensus oriented and post-political approach towards urban development (TUNSTRÖM ET AL. 2016; TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014; HULT 2013) little civic protest has been observed. Hence, debates about the structuring forces of urban sustainability remain largely absent. As SWYNGEDOUW (2015a) argues in this context:

"There is no contestation over the givens of a situation, over the partition of the sensible, there is only debate over technologies of management, timing of their implementation, arrangements of policy and the interests of those whose voices are recognized as legitimate."
(SWYNGEDOUW 2015a:138).

Over the last years, a vast body of research (mainly in the field of urban political ecology) has evolved around the configurations of urban environments through the *politics* of sustainable urban development (see SWYNGEDOUW 2015a, 2009; SWYNGEDOUW & HEYNEN 2003; HEYNEN 2014; HAGERMAN 2007). However, this body remains largely constrained regarding its conceptualization of: urban environments *of* cities. Attempts by scholars such as COOK & SWYNGEDOUW (2012) and GUSTFASON ET AL. (2014) to move beyond the city remain either restricted to mega-urban areas or refer to cities under the rule of neo-liberalism (understood as global notion with little spatial variation). In this respect the aspiration of urban political ecology, to investigate urban environments as power laden assemblages (ROBBINS 2012: 73) becomes blurred due to a mismatch between the universalism of processes and the particularity of sights.

In contrast, research conducted within the field of policy mobility has begun to challenge the territorial limitations of the city (MCCANN & WARD 2012: 44). By emphasizing a relational approach towards the mobile character of policies *between cities* and institutions, policy mobility draws attention upon the mobilization and mutation of policies across geographical scales (see MCCANN & WARD 2012; WARD

2013; BRENNER ET AL. 2010; PECK ET AL. 2013). As consequence of its relational approach however, policy mobility remains limited in its local insights on policy development and formation. Thus, while relational approaches still dominate the research field, scholars begin to stress the importance of investigating local settings as reflections of large scale political processes (see COCHRANE & WARD 2012; WARD 2013; MCCANN 2011; TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012). Hence policy mobility offers a way to bridge the “particularity of sights” by applying a relational approach. Simultaneously, due to its insights into policy mutation, policy mobility overcomes the limitations of urban political ecology by offering a nuanced view into the heterogeneous character of polices (see TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012).

Given their complementary character, these two schools of thought will form the theoretical frame of this thesis. A frame constituted by an actor-network theory approach which will provide an entry point for discussions about the conceptual benefits and methodological dilemmas of combining urban political ecology and policy mobility. Within this setting the theoretical framework will be laid out, aiming to forge an understanding of the structuring processes and power relations that contribute to *a growing Ecotopia of and between cities*.

It is within this relational yet situated understanding of *Ecopotia* that the thesis aims to contribute to an increasing body of critical urban sustainability research (see JOSS 2011; JOSS & MOLELLA 2013). Amidst the wide array of critical urban sustainability research this thesis positions itself within an intellectual and conceptual gap. While the work of scholars such as MCCANN (2011) and DEGEN & GARCÍA (2012) is based on a profound understanding of *how* cities became sights of “best practice” the diffuse mobilization and problematization of such urban environments is only marginally alluded to. On the other side of the academic spectrum, scholars such as HÖGSTRÖM ET AL. (2013) and TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY (2014) who criticize the creation of sustainable urban environments either refer to an overarching sustainability discourse or limit themselves to the spatial manifestations of this discourse. In conceptualizing urban sustainability as “floating signifier” (see BRENNER 2013; SWYNGEDOUW & KAIKA 2014), this thesis calls for a recognition of the diverse stories told under the terminology of sustainable urban development. By examining the dominant structures of power by which urban sustainable development within SymbioCity and its approach are constituted, legitimized and mobilized the author departs from previous research conducted on Swedish urban sustainable development (see HULT 2013). In comparing two Swedish stories of sustainable urban development the author tries to shed light onto the logics and processes by which urban sustainability becomes translated, thereby creating multiple, complementing and conflicting stories along the way.

Consequently, it is not a single element that is of interest but rather the discursive composition of knowledge arrangements which tell stories about the sustainable City (with a capital C). Moreover, in opposition to critical urban theorists such as APPADURAI (2002) and CROSSA (2009) the author does not aim to foreclose the political through a framing of the “proper political”. However, the author will point towards diverse narratives within dominant discourses which present conflicting stories of urban sustainability and thereby also challenge the author’s narration of sustainable urban development as “Ecotopia”. In this respect the theoretical framing of post-political narratives within SymbioCity and the SymbioCity approach should serve as an entry point for *(re)centralizing the political* in debates around sustainable urban development. Hence, this thesis wants to be recognized as an open invitation to challenge Ecotopia

through “politicizing” the stories of which it is comprised. Thereby “politicizing” should be understood as the *act of inviting dissent* (in all forms and shapes) through portraying the processes by which consensus and dissent around sustainable urban development are formed (see TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014).

1.3 Research Aim & Question

Given its scientific and societal relevance, this thesis sets out to create a socio-historical informed understanding of the relations that constitute and mobilize spatial realities. To investigate this mobilization and construction of spatial realities the notion of Ecotopia will be applied. Hence, within the upcoming analysis this notion is going to be used as a conceptual tool to uncover the structures and processes which construct, legitimise and mobilize the narratives of Swedish sustainable urban development and thereby form the story of Ecotopia. Overall, in utilizing the notion of Ecotopia this thesis strives to unfold the ways in which policies (understood as the outcomes of *politics*) of sustainable urban development obscure *the political* and contribute to the global spread of post-political environments; illustrated by the image of a growing Ecotopia. This aim can be moulded around three different aspirations, eroded from the current state of research, which also represent the structure of this thesis:

- 1) To identify the networks of relations which create and sustain the frame of urban environmental production within SymbioCity and the SymbioCity Approach (reflecting: *politics*)
- 2) To deconstruct the narratives about urban sustainable development created by these relations (reflecting: *post-politicization*)
- 3) To reflect upon the mobilization of these narratives with special attention paid to the role of the “planner” (reflecting: *mobility of sustainable narratives*).

Consequently the overall question that this thesis aims to answer is: **How do mobile policies stemming from SymbioCity and its approach shape, legitimise and mobilize de-politicized urban environments?** To break this hypothesis (of expending de-politicized urban environments) down into analytical questions, the author proposes the following categories, reflecting the analytical concepts of this thesis: *politics, post-politicization and mobility of sustainable narratives*. It is however worth noting at this point that these categories should not be regarded as separate entities; rather they are mutually constituted through their relations with each other (see COOK & SWYNGEDOUW 2012; KAIKA & SWYNGEDOUW 2012; SWYNGEDOUW & HEYNEN 2003). Therefore it is important to mention that the proposed categories should be conceived as strategic tools to structure the author’s argumentation and not as means to reinforce their conceptual distinction.

To illustrate *politics* the following questions should be addressed: I) Which socio-historical developments contributed to “the success story” of Sweden as a model for sustainable urban development? II) What normative notions underlie current Swedish sustainable urban development planning? III) Who are the actors involved within SymbioCity and its approach? How can their relation be described?

Accounting for the notion of *post-politicization* these analytical questions are going to be investigated: I) How is sustainable urban development argued for within SymbioCity and its approach? II) Who and what is part of this sustainable urban environment? III) How is such a sustainable urban environment conceptualized?

Lastly, *the mobilization of sustainable narratives* created by SymbioCity and its approach will be focused upon. This focus will be set by posing the following questions: I) How are notions of urban sustainability mobilized across spatial and institutional settings? II) How are they perceived? III) What roles do planners take within this process?

1.4 Limitations

The research that has been conducted for this thesis is characterized by several limitations, mainly constituted by time restrictions and the positionality of the researcher within a certain academic and spatial environment. First and foremost the timeframe of twenty weeks limits the research in regard to its scope. By referring to the aims of the research (outlined above) the thesis will not be able to capture the entirety of networks that create and sustain the production of sustainable urban development within SymbioCity and its approach. Instead, this thesis will focus on a selected group of actors and their relations with each other. The selection of this group was influenced by the amount of interviews that could be carried out given the limited timeframe. Moreover, the composition of this group also depended on the availability of interview partners. Hence, some possible interview partners were not able to participate due to their involvement in other contexts.

Secondly, the positionality of the researcher as a German being educated in urban and regional planning in Sweden also sets limitations upon the research (see BOSE 2015). These limitations are mainly constituted by educational narratives within these two spatial and academic environments which directed the author's research into one direction rather than into others. Hence, given the focus of this thesis the research could have followed many different trajectories. The thesis could have compared different spatial expressions of SymbioCity development across various spatial contexts from The New Royal Seaport Area to development projects in Asia which followed the SymbioCity approach. It could have also investigated local initiatives which contest dominant sustainability narratives in the light of a Right to the City activism. However, within the given frame the author tries to move beyond spatial constraints and thereby takes an appeal formulated by METZGER (2011) into account. According to METZGER planners should: "(...) again and again reconsider what we mean when we say "normative" or "democratic" and this - if anything - must be important to us as planning scholars" (METZGER 2011: 292). In this vein, the author deems it as important to explore the different connotations of seemingly uncontested terminologies and to deconstruct their underlying processes to offer a political narrative to current sustainable urban planning research. Given the author's limited resources this perspective was chosen because it provides an academically fruitful ground of investigation.

The spatial positionality in contrast, binds the author to one research location (due to a lack of resources) and hinders him to be physically present while investigating SymbioCity and its approach outside of a Swedish context. As a consequence of his

constraint spatial mobility, the author used communication technologies to bridge spatial distance to participants within but also outside of Sweden. In this regard the utilization of phone and Skype conversations was deemed as useful tool as it allowed for the application of a mobility perspective through facilitating the recruitment of highly mobile research subjects. Further discussion upon these theoretical and methodological limitations will be provided in the respective chapter.

1.5 Disposition: Telling the story of a growing Ecotopia

To structure this thesis, the author deemed it as insightful to deploy a metaphor which will resemble the story of “a growing Ecotopia”. Hereby, inspiration was drawn once again from *Ernest Callenbach’s* novel as the metaphor of a growing tree (as illustrated on the cover of the novel) is going to be used to structure the author’s argumentation. As such, the analytical chapters of this thesis will be divided into: *Planting the seed, grooming the tree and extending the branches*. This metaphor has been developed in direct correspondence to the aims and analytical questions of this thesis. Consequently, to tell the story of Ecotopia (the growing tree) it is important to identify its narrators and their relations with each other (reflecting: politics), their stories (reflecting: post-politicization) and the process of storytelling (reflecting: the mobility of sustainable urban narratives).

In laying out the theoretical framework upon which is thesis rests, the following chapter “*A theory of Ecotopia: Mobilities of socio-material configurations*” will illustrate how a theoretical conceptualization of Ecotopia can be achieved. As such, this chapter is going to elaborate on the benefits of combining insights from urban political ecology and policy mobility studies under the frame of Actor-Network Theory (ANT).

Building on the theoretical conceptualization, Chapter 3 “*Approaching Ecotopia*” will outline the research design, address the methods that have been used to investigate the story of Ecotopia and outline the ethical considerations of this research.

Chapter 4 called: “*Planting the seed: Exploring the roots of Sweden’s Ecotopia*” will start exploring the tale of Ecotopia. However, before identifying the narrators of this story and their relations with one another this chapter seeks to investigate the socio-historical process of storytelling which shaped current practices of sustainable urban development. In doing so this chapter explores Ecotopia as palimpsest comprised of different stories.

Chapter 5 then addresses the stories told by the narrators. As such, the chapter “*Grooming the tree –Plots of Sweden’s Ecotopia*” seeks to explore the storylines of the two narratives of Swedish sustainable urban development thereby outlining similarities as well as contradictions. The aim of this chapter will then be to uncover if the two stories of Swedish sustainable urban development contribute to the process of post-politicization.

The process of storytelling will then be described in Chapter 6 called: “*Extending the branches - Mobilizing the story of Ecotopia*”. In this chapter, special attention will be paid to the processes by which the story of Ecotopia is spread across spatial and institutional contexts. Hereby, emphasis shall also be put on the role of the planner within the story of Ecotopia.

The last two chapters (Chapter 7 & 8) will then offer space for reflections on the story of Ecotopia. These reflections will be guided by a critical discussion about the results and about the author's own narrative. Moreover, the scientific and societal contribution made by this thesis will be outlined and promising directions for future research will be showcased.

2. A theory of Ecotopia: Mobilities of socio-material configurations

In the following chapter, a theoretical framework, comprised of the approach and concepts, used to investigate Ecotopia is going to be developed. Hereby, the author will draw on Actor Network Theory (ANT) as approach to set the frame in which the analysis of urban political ecology and policy mobility literature is going to be conducted. Within this theoretical setting the author will form an understanding of how socio-material processes and structures interact to create a story about the perfect balance (Ecotopia) and how such arrangements are mobilized across spatial and institutional settings to make Ecotopia grow. To form this theory of Ecotopia the author will address the following questions: *Who makes Ecotopia grow? How does Ecotopia grow? And ultimately, why does Ecotopia continue to grow?*

2.1 Conceptualizing Ecotopia through Actor-Network Theory

ANT understood as *theoretical approach* emerged from poststructuralist Science and Technology Studies (STS) of the late 1980s. Its conceptualisation bared the promise of advocating for “a more than human perspective” within a socio-material world (MÜLLER & SCHURR 2016). In this “more than human perspective” human and non-human actors alike are perceived both as actors and enacted upon as well as part and outcome of mutually constituted relations within heterogeneous networks (see LAW 2006). Over the past decades, Latour, Callon, Law and other scholars have established a profound body of empirical case study research, thereby (re)shaping ANT considerably (see MÜLLER 2015; METZGER 2011).

Why is ANT to be regarded as suitable approach for this thesis? The answer to this question is twofold. First, the ontological claims made by ANT resonate well with the overall aim of this thesis. ANT makes the assumption that nothing is able to exist outside of relations (LAW 2009: 141). It further argues that it is only through the formation of relations (between humans and non-humans alike) that acting is possible. Following the argumentations of MÜLLER (2015) and Law (2009) ANT starts from the premises that without relations (in a vacuum) human and non-humans would hold no meaning and hence no power. Hereby, ANT puts emphasis on the co-creation of *realities*, the multitude of relations which make up a heterogeneous network in which socio-material environments are enacted (see MOL 1999). This characteristic of ANT can also be traced down in the work of LATOUR (2005). The important contribution made in his work concerns what LATOUR refers to as “the five uncertainties of the social sciences” (LATOUR 2005: 22). By critically stressing the generalizations made by the social sciences LATOUR (2005) argues that there is no definite “social” and consequently no “society” but rather multiple relations embedded in multiple networks that constitute and shape various forms of societies. Consequently, he argues that groups of actors should not be seen as pre-given constellation (such as society). Instead LATOUR (2005) deems it as necessary to break down these groups of actors by examining to whom they allude to, as all groups need someone or something to define who or what they should be (LATOUR 2005: 31). Groups of actors and actors themselves can then be understood as the ones who act (MOL 2010: 255).

Following this understanding and LATOUR’S (2005) perception of “societies” leads to the conceptualization of actors, not only as the ones who create networks of relations

but who are also the outcome of these relations. Actors and networks are then multiple constitutive and thereby constitute and shape realities through various relations. Accordingly, networks are highly heterogeneous as they consist of actors (social, technical and natural) and relations which are constantly (re)negotiated (LAW 2006: 51). The conceptualization of a multitude of socio-material environments, realities and societies that overlap and interact allows for a cautious investigation of *the ways of translation* in which these realities are defined, ordered, transformed and understood as common overarching entity such as “Society” (see LAW 2009; MOL 2010).

Despite its ontological appeal, ANT was also chosen because it offers a variety of cases to build upon. Being embedded in case study research, ANT serves as common frame in which theories and methods from different disciplines can be creatively combined (see LAW 2009; MÜLLER & SCHURR 2016). For example, case studies such as the ones conducted by LAW (2006) and MOL (2010) create a foundation for reflections upon the (re)construction of universal narratives over space, time and across networks. Throughout its evolution, case studies contributed to the establishment of ANT as normative approach which challenges perceptions of “the good” (METZGER 2011: 291). “The good” is hereby exemplary for an overarching entity; the normative outcome of relations that order, define and negotiate realities and ultimately create a common reality which enacts the network and the actors within it. Hence, “the good” is not only normative but also a simplification which obscures the relations that define, constitute and legitimize it; “the good” becomes a black-box (see CALLON & LATOUR 1981). A black-box (according to ANT) is to be understood as the outcome of translation, an entity that has been transformed and packed into an overarching body of for example “the good” or “the community” that lets heterogeneity appear as homogenate (CALLON & LATOUR 1981: 299). Utilizing its adaptability and ontological insights, ANT will be applied in the following literature review of urban political ecology and policy mobility studies. Despite its rich amount of case studies, it has to be noted that ANT can never by itself overturn the endless and partially connected webs that enact a certain reality (see LAW 2009; Law & Singleton 2013). Hence, the purpose to apply ANT in this thesis is not to change perceptions of spatial reality but rather to mobilize its concepts of “translation” and “black box” to uncover the relations by which spatial reality is constituted.

In sum, the concepts of “translation” and “black box” will be used to conceptualize the story of Ecotopia. According to ANT these two concepts (describing process and outcome) have to be regarded as multiple constitutive. In this context, the frame which constitutes of and is constituted by the narrative (black box) of “the perfect balance between human beings and their environment” will be conceptualized as the outcome and embodiment of transformation processes (translation) in which spatial realities become obscured and simplified. Consequently, literature published in the field of ANT will serve as cautious reminder about the interrelation and multiple constitution of process and structure by which the black box of “Reality” is constantly (re)produced and legitimized. In relation to the stories of Swedish sustainable urban development ANT argues that what becomes political is a matter of what is made political through relations (Müller 2015: 31). Hence, the frame of Ecotopia sets the stage in which political relations are allowed to play out, thereby these relations influence the frame of action and are influenced by it. In this regard the following review will be focused on how processes of mobilization and post-politicization contribute to the creation of the frame of action; to the creation of a black box which is urban sustainability.

2.2 The urbanization of Ecotopia – An urban political ecology narrative

Studies in the field of political ecology rest on two dialectics, namely the narration of stories about “*winner and losers*” as well as the mutual enactment of “*humans and non-humans*” (see ROBBINS 2012). Similar to the work of LATOUR (2005), political ecology scholars point towards the process in which realities (of winners and losers or humans and non-humans) are made up, thereby emphasizing the relations which constitute them. In correspondence with ANT, political ecology utilizes dialectics of “humans and non humans”, “winners and losers”, “political and ecology” and ultimately “utopia and dystopia” to investigate the conditions of their mutual constitution and legitimization through hegemonic networks over time and space.

Based on this conceptual framework, urban political ecology emerged out of a growing desire amongst environmental movements and academia to address political ecology questions in cities (GABRIEL 2014: 38). In doing so, urban political ecology has created a broad variety of studies which investigate the configurations of urban metabolisms (see SWYNGEDOUW 2009; HEYNEN ET AL. 2006; HOLIFIELD & SCHUELKE 2015; GANDY 2006). Urban political ecology highlights these socio-ecological transformations as products of contested, multi-scalar processes shaped by flows of capital and uneven power relations (HOLIFIELD & SCHUELKE 2015). Most prominently amongst early urban political ecology studies in this regard is the work of DAVID HARVEY (1993) who made the controversial claim that:

“(...) in the final analysis [there is] nothing unnatural about New York City”
(HARVEY 1993: 28)

With this statement HARVEY (1993) alluded to a common misconception often yielded by environmental research of the late 20th century, namely the framing of cities as anti-ecological. In doing so HARVEY (1993) aligns himself with a particular political thought as he acknowledges that arguments about nature are not innocent but rather reflect power laden relations about who has the right to articulate narratives of urban-nature futures. HARVEY (1996) further argues that within this conceptualization, the distinction between the “natural” environment and the built, social and political-economic environment is artificial (see HARVEY 1996). Consequently, in the world envisioned by HARVEY (1996, 1993) the terminology of “urban political ecology” would be redundant, as ecology is always political and the urban would not stand in any contradiction to the non-urban. However, HARVEY (1996, 1993) acknowledges these dialectics as intellectual basis from which to tackle and uncover the dominant relations of power which form them (GABRIEL 2014). As such, the following review of contributions made by urban political ecology scholars over the past decades will allude to HARVEY’S (1996, 1993) notion about the performative and enabling capacity of dialectics.

Urbanization of “the City”

Before engaging with the main object of investigation a clarification has to be made. This clarification concerns the difference between urbanization understood as process and the city as material outcome of this process (HARVEY 1996: 436). These two terminologies (with respect to ANT) are not to be viewed as separate from each other but as mutually constitutive and as outcomes of diverse relations. Hence, cities

influence the process of urbanization and *vice versa*, thus they are also constituted by multiple relations which enable them. To provide an example: the use of the subway through people is part of the process of urbanization and is only possible through the material arrangements that the city provides.

As mentioned previously, urban political ecology is concerned with the configurations of urban metabolisms of cities, including metabolisms such as water, food or waste. The terminology “configuration” hereby refers to a labour intense process of transformation in which physical and social processes contribute to the modification of environmental forms and understandings. Within urban political ecology literature, the concept of “urban metabolism” draws on the need to address the transformation of socio-ecological arrangements through the process of urbanization which is considered as one of the driving forces behind environmental issues (HEYNEN ET AL. 2006; LAWHON ET AL. 2013; HEYNEN 2014).

In acknowledging urban metabolic configurations as labour intense process urban political ecology asks: *Who produces what kind of social-ecological configurations for whom?* This question leads urban political ecology to take a political stance as it challenges dominant narratives of “the Environment” or “the City”. Furthermore, it also offers a lens to regard cities as material entities comprised of a wide array of commodities, constituted and constantly (re)produced by mobile metabolisms that serve the process of domination, subordination and capital urbanization (see HEYNEN ET AL. 2006). While it is out of question that metabolisms such as water and food are not socially produced, their powers are thus socially mobilized to serve particular purposes (SWYNGEDOUW & HEYNEN 2003: 902). Referring back to Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier and their visions of urban development, urban political ecology argues that these two architects co-modified the urban environment and hence *did not* invoke a new sense of environment. In doing so, they translated the *urban environment of cities* by leveraging a particular understanding of “the City” through the abolishment of others and thereby they shaped the process of urbanization (see GANDY 2006; SWYNGEDOUW & HEYNEN 2003).

Overall, the theoretical perspective on the configurations of urban metabolisms through certain modes of labour sheds light upon the creation of “the City”. Through the social mobilization and transformation of urban metabolisms, realities become obscured as metabolisms get simplified, manageable and contextualized to serve particular purposes. As such, urban political ecology advocates for an investigation of the translation processes of urban metabolisms by which the black box of “the City” comes into being and in turn translates urbanization. Picking up on this thought the next section will address the question: *How can such a transformation process be characterized within current urban settings?*

Urban Post-Political Ecologies

As stressed in its title, this thesis aims to politicize the stories of urban sustainable development, a phrasing which suggests that current narratives of urban sustainability are not political or de-politicized. *What does this notion refer to?* In a broad understanding, de-politicization refers to the process in which *the political* is increasingly occupied by *politics* (WILSON & SWYNGEDOUW 2014: 6). To understand

this notion of de-politicization the elements of which it is comprised should be illustrated.

The political is understood as the act that undermines the given social orders constructed upon it and leaves room for radical dissent and is therefore highly democratic (see RANCIÈRE 1999). Hence, the political presents the practices which pierce through the hegemonic frame of action; in this case Ecotopia. *Politics* in contrast, is conceptualized as the institutions, strategies, actions and procedures by which a diverse set of actors come together to define answers to an agreed problem (see RANCIÈRE 1999; WILSON & SWYNGEDOUW 2014; SWYNGEDOUW 2015a; KAIKA & SWYNGEDOUW 2012). As such, politics presents the actor-network which constitutes the frame of Ecotopia. Consequently, the notion of de-politicization describes a process in which the frame of action can not be contested, given the answers provided through politics. De-politicization manifests itself in diverse forms, today most visibly in the form of post-politicization. Post-politicization can be conceived as apolitics in which techno-managerial planning interventions, expert management and bio-political administration displace ideological struggles (SWYNGEDOUW 2015b: 615). In such conditions, the answers which politics provide become clustered around technological and managerial fixes which can be contested and disputed. The term “post-politicization” needs a brief explanation in this regard as it suggests that current urban environments follow a former period in which these environments have been the subject of political struggle. However, as stated previously (in regard to planning models of the 19th century) this is not the case. Rather post-politicization should be understood as *dispositif* which transforms the current urbanization process. A *dispositif* can be regarded as the mechanisms and institutions which sustain structures of power. Other forms of de-politicisation include for example what ŽIŽEK (1999) refers to as ultra-politics mostly expressed in the “war of terror” in which *the political* is put aside in favour of radical narratives that create imaginaries of: “us against them” (see ŽIŽEK 1999).

Policies in the understanding of urban political ecology are consequently regarded as spheres which set the stage for the process of de-politicization through the framing of stakeholders, debates and institutional modalities (see SWYNGEDOUW 2015a). Policy practice can then be identified according to RANCIÈRE (1999) as: “(...) an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being and ways of saying and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not (...)” (RANCIÈRE 1999: 29). In sum, policies present a way of identifying and legitimizing a frame in which hegemonic relations can be enacted. As such the sphere of policies reduces politics and thereby sets a stage upon which black boxes can be constructed.

In sum, transformation processes by which urban metabolisms are socially mobilized can be conceptualized as post-political. Within these transformation processes, political struggles over the conditions of a situation are translated into a set of technological and managerial solutions. In such post-political urban environments consensus is achieved in the argument over these solutions which simultaneously render the frame of action as non disputable. As such, urban metabolisms become only debated in the context of their technological and managerial optimization with the objective to create “the City”. As such, these configurations do not only transform material outcomes but also the urbanization processes by which these material constructions become constituted. Now

that the translation process of urban metabolism has been described, it thus remains unclear *how the frame of Ecotopia is constituted and by whom?* To elaborate on this issue the next section will provide insights.

Urban sustainability in urban political ecology

An increasing body of urban political ecology research has portrayed projects implemented by sustainable urban development policies as nutrition for post-political conditions (see KAIKA & SWYNGEDOUW 2012; CASTÁN BROTO & BULKELEY 2013; SWYNGEDOUW 2009). The overarching argument of these scholars relies on the premises that policies which promote urban sustainability are based on the consensus of an “urgency to act” given the dangers posed by climate change (De Jong et al. 2015; SWYNGEDOUW 2009). In this constant “state of emergence” sustainability presents the only solution and is therefore not argued against. Rather modes of management and production which proclaim neo-liberal notions such as eco-modernization become the matters over which dissent is formed (see KAIKA & SWYNGEDOUW 2012).

Given the ideologies of neo-liberalization by which cities are positioned in a wider inter-city competition, the urgency of sustainability serves as a valuable branding opportunity (see HAGERMAN 2007; COOK & SWYNGEDOUW 2012). As illustrated in the introduction of this thesis, cities across the globe portray themselves as front runners in relation to urban sustainable development. As such, policies that advocate for urban sustainability present not the mere outcome of local ad-hoc policies but rather reflect a broader policy context across scales of space and time (CUGURULLO 2016). Within this broader policy context, sustainability has been referred to as floating signifier or chaotic term which is used to describe a variety of socio-spatial conditions, processes, transformations, trajectories and potentials (see BRENNER 2013; HAGERMAN 2007). This global process in which urban sustainability is made adaptable and mobile reflects according to RANCIÈRE (1999) the doing of the demos: “The demos is that many that is identical to the whole: the many as one, the part as the whole, the all in the all” (RANCIÈRE 1999: 10). The notion of the demos refers to the obscured reality, the reality of “the City”, “the Environment” or “the Population”. The actors who belong to the demos could be described as demos-community. A community of practice which becomes the community that is able to speak and act but which can only maintain in *the polis* because of its position (see RANCIÈRE 1999; LATOUR 1999). As such, the demos-community brings the obscuration of reality into being and can only exist because it continuously draws on this obscuration to sustain its position. Policies of urban sustainability (through their floating meaning and holistic understanding of development) offer a platform for this community on which the urbanization process can be translated into a win-win process in which radical disagreement becomes absurd (see DE JONG ET AL. 2015). Consequently, policies of urban sustainability in relation to the demos-community can be viewed as a necessary attempt to erase the ontology’s antagonism through the inclusion and invention of “the collective” so that the demos community is able to exist, persist and expand (LATOUR 1999).

Overall, it became apparent that the frame of action (the frame of Ecotopia) is constituted by the universal approach of sustainability. It is a frame in which actors constantly legitimize themselves and their practices and generate the foundation for post-political conditions. Through the creation of a floating frame in which universals become particularized the demos-community is able to displace radical dissent to the

realm outside the realm. In doing so the demos is able to come into being as the political is driven out of the polis.

To conclude, this chapter aimed to illustrate that Ecotopia is not a free imaginary; it is staged in a frame of urgency. Within Ecotopia the urban environment becomes (re)conceptualized and its metabolisms become translated under an overarching consensus. In this process an “urban post-political ecology” narrative offers insights into how “consensus communities” operate under contemporary urbanization processes too urbanize the story of Ecotopia *via* the configuration of urban metabolisms. In this vein, a cautious treatment and application of the notion of the demos-community can offer a valuable line of thought for an investigation of the heterogeneous processes and power structures by which a diverse set of actors tell stories about the black box of the sustainable City. While this chapter mainly focused on policies as stages for de-politicization the next chapter will elaborate on these stages in greater detail. By drawing on insights from the field of policy mobility it will be emphasized how these stages can serve as engines which run the machinery of post-political, urban environmental production.

2.3 Policy mobility – the Growth of Ecotopia

The previous chapter provided a narrative that explains the processes of translation by which the black box of the sustainable City is packed. This perspective however, offered little theoretical consideration for the heterogeneous relations by which policies (understood as stages for de-politicization) are enacted upon across geographical and institutional scales. To address this phenomenon the author will draw on policy mobility literature to answer the following questions: *How can actors contribute to the spread of post-political environments? How does this spread look like?*

Policy mobility emerged from studies on policy transfer by advocating a diversified spatial understanding in policy research (see PECK 2011; MCCANN & WARD 2012). As field of research, policy transfer grew out of an academic desire for a comparative assessment of policies across spatial contexts. As such, policy transfer is concerned with the processes by which knowledge about policies, arrangement or institutions in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, arrangements or institutions in another time and or place (DOLOWITZ & MARSH 1996: 344). In early contributions, denoted by PECK & THEODORE (2010) as “orthodox literature”, policies have been examined on a national scale in which good policies drive out bad ones in an effort to create stories of success (PECK & THEODORE 2010: 169).

Over the past decades studies on policy transfer began to deploy categories to assess the broad characteristics of transfer (see DOLOWITZ & MARSH 1996; ELLISON 2017). The development of these categories illustrates the widening of the research field, a process which ultimately led to the coupling of policy transfer with notions of policy transformation and mutation (see PECK & THEODORE 2010; PARK ET AL. 2014). Out of this development two trajectories arose which characterize current studies on policy transfer. One branch emerged, based on a positivist understanding of policy in which the success of policies can be measured by investigating different forms of policy adaptation (see ELLISON 2017; PARK ET AL. 2014). On the other hand a constructivist perspective has been established, which regards policy translation as a process of constructed meaning and transformation (PARK ET AL. 2014: 399). Within the former

perspective consensus is desired as it creates successful policies for a wide array of stakeholders and prevents political upheaval (see PARK ET AL. 2014; DOLOWITZ & MARSH 1996). Given the constructivist approach of this thesis the author will focus on insights provided by the later trajectory. Hence, the following perspective will not provide an evaluation of the success of good or the failure of bad policies but will rather focus on how this dualism is constituted, legitimized and translated over time and space.

Understanding growth through mobilities and mutations

In a century characterized by increasing inter-city competition policies and global imaginaries such as Vancouverism are constructed beyond the apparatus of the nation state (see PECK & THEODORE 2010). Given these circumstances, policy mobility scholars deem it as necessary to consider the way in which policies travel across and between cities as well as nation states. Thereby these authors question the simplistic top-down perspective portrayed by policy transfer studies and call for a mobility perspective onto the transformation of policies across different scales of space and time (PECK & THEODORE 2010: 171). Following this appeal, studies on policy mobility began to concern themselves with the process of knowledge translation and discourse framing. Hereby, emphasis was put on the heterogeneous ways in which policies travel across space by stressing that policies rarely travel in complete packages but rather in bits and pieces around which political attention is mobilized (see PECK & THEODORE 2010; TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012; HEALEY 2006).

Through analysing the process of mobilization, policy mobility scholars point to the labour which is required for the movement of certain narratives. In this vein HEALEY refers to “the power to travel and translate” as labour intense process that requires resources such as capital or time (HEALEY 2006: 532). She conceptualizes mobility not as a pre-given characteristic of policies but rather as the outcome of labour intense and power laden relations. Applying the notion of power onto policies enables policy mobility research to understand policies as techniques that do not only serve a “public interest” but also (re)produce it and thereby transform frameworks of meaning (KUUS 2014). When framing the notion of power according to ANT and urban political ecology as the outcome and enactment of relations which translate knowledge and meaning, KUUS’S (2014) understanding of policies underscores the assumption of a community which constructs overarching simplifications to legitimize its existence in *the polis*. As FREEMAN (2012) observed in his studies on health policies: “Policy changes as it moves, and the more it moves the more it seems to change (...) It must change in order to move, and it must move in order to exist.” (FREEMAN 2012: 20).

This observation holds important implications to understand the mutual constitution of actors and their enacted relations. Within the process of translation, mobility is not regarded as an ongoing procedure but as a particular moment (see PECK 2011). Hence, mobility is the necessary outcome of translation whereby the movement reflects the mechanisms and simplifications made by actors to let policies move in one way rather than another (FREEMAN 2012: 19). FREEMAN’S (2012) findings also support the argument that policies do not travel in complete arrangements. As policies travel in bits and pieces they transform relations and are transformed by them. Within this line of thought it becomes apparent that mobility and mutation have to be perceived as mutual constitutive (see COCHRANE & WARD 2012; MCCANN 2011). In their mutual enactment they do not only legitimize policies but also the actors that mobilize them. Thus, in the

light of ANT it also has to be noted that policies are only able to travel because its components (such as the knowledge it carries) are able to move.

In sum, this section highlighted that policies have to travel and mutate in order to exist. In doing so, policies are not only made adaptable but also get transformed and ultimately obscured as only parts of policies are able to travel. Hence, a policy that has been moved from one spatial setting to another always entails a translation of reality. Moreover, the elements of which policies are comprised have to be mobilized in order for the policy to move. As such, the translations of urban metabolisms have to be regarded as necessary and essential for the movement of policies which advocate sustainable urban development. This perspective on the mutual constitution of mobility and mutation also allows for the consideration of the overall frame in which these mobile policies are positioned, a frame which will be outlined in due course.

Neo-liberalization: A frame for urban sustainable growth

As previously highlighted, an investigation about how real concerns regarding urban environments are managed presents a way to reveal how dissent and consensus are managed. When framing policies of urban sustainability as floating signifiers, their mobilization and mutation across different contexts becomes apparent given the adaptability of its components. However, policies are only able to travel if labour is invested. Labour such as the generation of indicators or benchmarks then becomes necessary for the translation process as it creates consensus over difference (see TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012). In this labour process the imaginary geographies of model cities create spatial linkages combined with good practice judgement which underscore consensual agreement (WARD 2013). In this regard policies of urban sustainability have to be considered as highly political (see TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012; MCCANN & WARD 2012).

Current post-politicization processes however, render these policies apolitical as sustainability is not regarded as the object over which political struggle and radical dissent are formed. This phenomenon can be explained in relation to the overarching process of neo-liberalization (see PECK ET AL. 2013; Peck 2015, 2011; BRENNER ET AL. 2010). Policy mobility scholars argue that neo-liberalization consist of a wide array of processes which are not linked to particular policies but presents a market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring with build in resilience and vulnerability (see PECK ET AL. 2013; PECK 2011). In his argumentation PECK (2011) refers to events which challenged neo-liberalization such as Hurricane Katrina or the Financial Crisis of 2008. It was broadly expected that these events should contest neo-liberal ideologies but instead contributed to their renewal. Its resilience resides on the premises that neo-liberalization mostly exists in a hybrid form which sustains it, for example in combination with policies of sustainable urban development (see PECK 2015; PECK ET AL. 2013). Hence, highly adaptable sustainable urban development policies fuel the interurban competition over jobs, investment, shared discourses of growth and development as well as the realities of increasing international economic integration (PECK ET AL. 2013: 1096). Consequently, neo-liberal notions of competitiveness and economic growth have constructed a frame which creates consensus over the possibilities of action thereby they translate policies of urban sustainable development and foster their movement and mutation.

Overall, this section has revealed the frame under which policies of sustainable urban development are mobilized and mutate across different spatial settings; thereby it illustrated the process of a growing Ecotopia. It is through the combination of neo-liberal notions of growth in combination with the adaptability of sustainable urban development that the frame of Ecotopia is established and the relations which sustain it become legitimized. In this frame, knowledge about the translation of urban metabolisms gets mobilized and adapted into different settings to satisfy economical and political desires by creating “the City” narrative.

2.4 The theoretical framework of Ecotopia

To conclude, policy mobility and urban political ecology literature help to conceptualize the practices of translation and the frame by which the black box of urban sustainable development is constructed. In asking the question of: “*Who produces what kind of socio-ecological configurations for whom?*” urban political ecology literature is going to be deployed to identify the narrators of the story of Ecotopia and the translations that have been made to create its story. Moreover, political ecology literature enables the author to look behind the shining lights of “the City” and allow him to understand how this translation has been produced to create stories about a de-politicized urban environment.

In contrast, policy mobility literature sheds light on the process of storytelling, the process by which the story of Ecotopia is told across various socio-spatial and institutional contexts. In asking the question of: “*How do policies move and mutate across institutional and spatial contexts?*” policy mobility addresses the heterogenic character of inter-scalar relations which sustain a frame under which certain policies are regarded as good, a frame in which some policies move in certain ways while others do not. Hereby, policy mobility literature offers conceptual insights into the mutation of consensus and dissent as well as the creation and legitimization of de-politicized conditions through a growing Ecotopia.

As such, the theoretical linkage of these two fields of research brings attention to the processes which enact and are enacted by Ecotopia and its actor-network. Hence, such a framework emphasizes the mutual constitution of process and structure as well as the multitudes of actions embedded in an overall frame of consensus. To illustrate this (co)creational process a perspective on the “power of translation” will be applied. This perspective conceptualizes the translations of narratives about Swedish sustainable urban development as outcomes of powerful relations, relations which shape the conditions under which consensus and dissent are formed and mobilized across spatial and institutional contexts. Moreover, it also sheds light onto how these relations direct policy movements, movements which are continuously (re)producing the hegemonic frame of action. Before utilizing this theoretical framework in the analysis of empirical data, the methods which have been used to approach Ecotopia should be illustrated to describe the second pillar upon which the work of this thesis rests.

3. Approaching Ecotopia

After the theoretical framework has been outlined, some critical questions remain unanswered: *How is Ecotopia to be investigated? Which methodological tools are going to be utilized? And what part does the author play within in the research process?* These questions will be addressed within the following section to elaborate on how “a theory of Ecotopia” can be methodologically thought through and empirically approached. Hereby, the argumentation will start from the assumption that Ecotopia should not be solemnly understood as construct of scientific reasoning but also as enactment of everyday spatial realities.

3.1 Research design: The researcher as active practitioner

Over the course of this thesis, the author lays out a particular matter of concern, namely Ecotopia. Thereby the author takes an ontological position within his research; he selects what belongs to “the Real” (MOL 1999: 74-75). Acknowledging, this ontological stance offers a way to question “the Real” and consequently reality itself. Questioning “Reality” leads towards two essential onto-epistemological claims made within this thesis. First, the choice of theory and method influences the kind of realities that researchers are able to imagine and create (see GIBSON-GRAHAM 2008; LAW & URRY 2005). Secondly, realities do not precede the practices of the researcher but are shaped within these (MOL 1999: 75).

What implications do these claims hold for the design of this thesis? These claims stress that research methods are not value free entities but rather enact realities and have effects on them. This line of thought highlights that knowledge production is not value free either (see GIBSON- GRAHAM 2008) as it is based on previous research which has also been the enactment of certain realities. In this regard LAW (2009) emphasizes the (co)creation of realities through texts: “If all the world is relational, then so too are texts. They come from somewhere and tell particular stories about particular relations.” (LAW 2009: 142). LAW (2009) implies that the choice to write a scientific text which applies certain theories and methods can be related to the researcher as academic subject. As such, theoretical and methodological choices do not only reflect the author’s own normative stance but also his academic understanding of which theories and methods are best suited to uncover a particular phenomenon. Articulating this consideration should not lead to the assumption that research is detached from a scientific basis or that all research is *per se* path-dependent. On the contrary, this consideration raises awareness for the multiple realities that exist beside the reality envisioned by the author. Thereby it opens up the debate for a consideration of the multitude of realities that coexist, overlap and contradict each other in the everyday, a debate which is rooted in academic conceptualizations and problematisations of spatial reality. This in turn implies that the context in which the research and knowledge is produced matters. In this regard LAW (2004) argues that:

“Some classes of reality are more or less easily producible. Others, however, are not or were never cobbled together in the first place. (...) Some classes of possibilities are made thinkable and real. Some are made less thinkable and less real. And yet others are rendered completely unthinkable and completely unreal.” (LAW 2004: 34)

LAW'S (2004) argumentation alludes to *ontological politics* in which the conditions of reality are not perceived as given but as shaped by multiple relations and practices. The researcher then describes and shapes reality through research, making some realities more real than others. Ultimately, the researcher has to be regarded not only as academic subject but as an active practitioner *of and within* Ecotopia.

Recognizing the researcher as an active practitioner in the process of (re)constructing Ecotopia draws attention to the approach in which methods are going to be applied. Given its material-semiotic understanding of relations, ANT argues that theoretical concepts and practices constitute each other. Consequently, the researcher always creates theory while conducting case study research. The canon of publications concerned with case study research is that case studies are suited to create a spatially informed and an "in depth" understanding of social phenomena (see BIRCH 2012; YIN 2009; BRYMAN 2012; HEALEY 2011; 2010). Thereby, case studies can include one or multiple sites and cases, qualitative as well as quantitative methods of inquiry and they can rely on multiple sources of material and previous research.

By drawing on multiple sources of spatial realities, case study research offers space for reflective considerations, as the researcher is acknowledged as an active part in shaping practices, knowledge and spatial reality. Given the hermeneutic baseline of this thesis, in which through the description of SymbioCity and its approach general concerns about sustainable urban development should be articulated, a case study approach was perceived as well suited. This perception is grounded in the assumption that if carefully selected a case study can provide possibilities to make general assessments (FLYVBJERG 2006: 228). Hence, the case of SymbioCity and its approach should serve as vehicle to do the archaeology of the larger process which is sustainable urban development.

In outlining the research design the author tries to account for the fact that while he is identifying and describing post-political urban environments, he also contributes to their existence. Simultaneously, the research design offers a glimpse behind this dominant facade by describing *how* these environments are created and mobilized. Consequently, in inviting *the political*, this thesis does little to underscore "dominant" realities but rather points to their exclusive yet heterogeneous character through portraying how consensus and dissent are managed.

3.2 The Research Process: How to tell the tale of Ecotopia?

Within the forthcoming chapter, the methods used to describe and build up the notion of Ecotopia are going to be illustrated. When conceptualizing Ecotopia as the processes and structures which create a story about perfect balance (underpinned by narratives of Swedish sustainable urban development) a “methodological triad” opens up from which this story can be investigated. Such a triad which consists of *the narrators, their stories and the process of storytelling* will allow the author to (re)tell and deconstruct the tale of Ecotopia. To be able to account for this triad and the mutual constitution of its components the author will apply *text analysis and semi structured interviews*. Through a focus on qualitative research methods the author wants to illuminate the heterogeneous relations (between humans and non-humans) which constitute this hegemonic frame of action and ultimately form the tale of Ecotopia.

Qualitative content analysis

A qualitative content analysis will be applied to address the following analytical questions: *Who are the actors involved within SymbioCity and its approach? How can their relation be described?* By addressing these questions, this method will reveal the actor-network which is build up around SymbioCity and its approach (the narrators of the story of Ecotopia). In this context BRYMAN (2012) refers to qualitative content analysis as well suited to identify the main protagonists within a given network of analysis (BRYMAN 2012: 295). Prior to applying a qualitative content analysis the author tried to conduct a survey which should identify the actor-network through snowball sampling. This method however, failed to achieve a sufficient response rate to ensure validity of the generated data. Thus, exercising this method (to the possible extend) provided valuable insights, as it allowed the author to get a first glimpse unto the characteristics of the actor-network.

The decision to conduct a qualitative content analysis was then based on the premises to reduce the bias of identifying a certain actor-network through an *a priori* definition. To avoid this intellectual bias the author aimed to conduct “slow research”, research in which the researcher takes away the lead and follows networks as they unfold (LAW & SINGLETON 2013: 488). The process of following enables the researcher to identify the manners by which actors define and associate the different elements and meanings by which they explain their world (CALLON 1986). Drawing inspirations from social-network studies (see LU 2013) the author selected a “seed document” as entry point for this analysis, namely the SymbioCity webpage (*symbiocity.org*). Further human and non-human actors (documents) have been identified through snowball sampling based on the identification by this initial source (BRYMAN 2012: 203). Hence, snowball sampling allowed the author to identify the actor-network without an *a priori* definition but through the cross-referencing process, carried out by the actors themselves.

In compliance with ANT, the qualitative content analysis provides a useful tool to uncover the relations that are portrayed by and underlie the content of documents. Despite offering a relational narrative, qualitative content analysis has also been chosen because it is able to bridge the gap between theory and empery. Hence, this thesis utilized a deductive approach of material sampling and main category definition and an inductive approach to sub-category definition (see STAMANN ET AL. 2016; MAYRING 2000). While some scholars regard these two trajectories as distinct ways of conducting

a qualitative content analysis, the author deemed the combination of deductive and inductive inquiry as well suited to secure adaptability as well as coding consistency (see SCHREIER 2014).

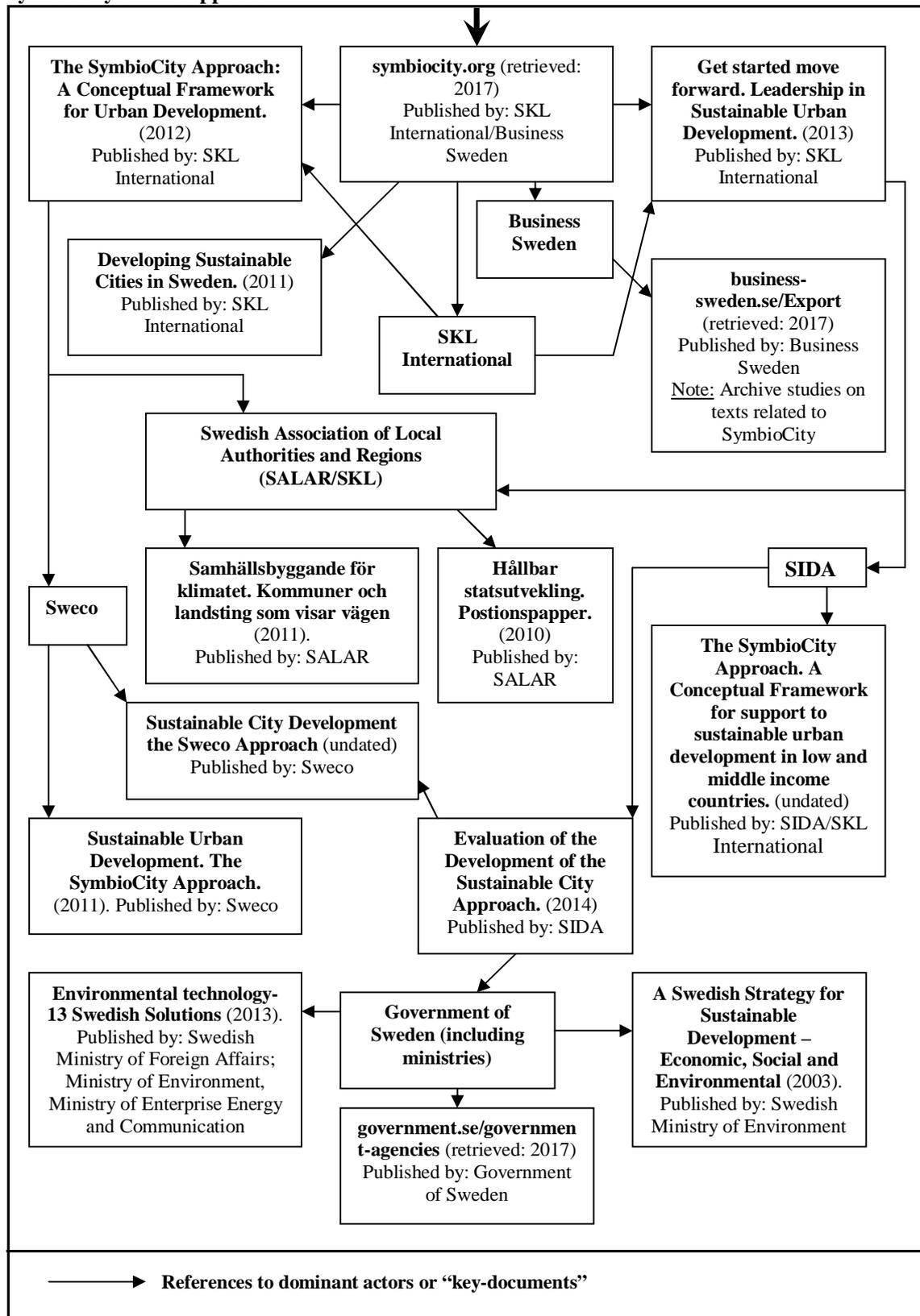
After selecting documents and the main category (institutions) through a deductive approach (guided by the previous literature review) an inductive approach followed. By using an inductive approach for the genesis of sub-categories the author wanted to secure the adaptability of the main category to the respective documents. Therefore, the names of different institutions which are mentioned in each document have been incorporated into sub-categories. In documents where a wide array of institutions has been mentioned the author grouped these institutions into larger units of analysis (e.g. Swedish companies or foreign companies etc.). When a specific institutions however, has been stated several times the author highlighted the respective institution within the grouped sub-category. The quantitative counting of these sub-categories should then reveal the intensity of relations between the institution which published the document and the institutions mentioned in it. To identify the character of these relations, qualitative sub-categories have been inductively developed. These sub-categories have been identified through sequential text analysis which revealed the character of institutional relations. While several relations between the respective institutions exist, the author thus focused on portraying the most dominant qualities of relations between them. To secure consistency of these qualitative sub-categories, they have been applied in the analysis of every document to describe the relations between the respective actors. The inductive and deductive categories have undergone a constant (re)evaluation process in which multiple texts from the same source have been red repeatedly to ensure validity and reliability of the generated data (see STAMAN ET AL. 2016). Moreover, through a detailed description of the research process the author aims to make his findings inter-subjectively comprehensible (see MAYRING 2000). By illustrating the institutional (co)referencing process, the author is able to map out the members and relations of the “demos-community”. However the author is limited in this regard as he can not portray the entire actor-network, for the results are only based on the relations that the authors of the respective texts deem to be important. As such, the network generated by the qualitative content analysis does not present a fully closed network but rather portrays the most dominant actors regarding SymbioCity and its approach.

Moreover, while a qualitative content analysis is able to argue for a “more than human perspective” in data analysis, it is limited in the amount of relations that it is able to portray. The process which led to the identification of the actor-network can be followed in detail by looking at Fig. 1, presented on the following page. More than a mere illustration of the sampling process Fig. 1 showcases some of the dominant actors in relation to SymbioCity and its approach as well as their mutual referencing through certain “key-documents”. As such, Fig. 1 forms the deductive basis from which further analysis in regard to the relation between these actors has been conducted. In doing so, Fig. 1 offers a short glimpse onto the main body of investigation, the hegemonic community of practice which sustains the frame of the Sustainable City, the demos community (see RANCIÈRE 1999; LATOUR 1999).

Overall, by a drawing inspiration from social-network studies a qualitative content analysis enabled the author to identify an actor-network that could not have been revealed through conventional survey studies. As such, it uncovers the narrators of the

story of Ecotopia and their relation with one another. Hereby, the qualitative content analysis reveals the diverse actors who constitute the frame of politics.

Fig.1: Sampling and tracing process of key-documents and dominant actors in regard to SymbioCity and its approach.



Source: Own illustration. Based on: SWEDISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ET AL. (2013); SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT (2003); SWECO (n.d.); SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN (2017); SIDA & SKL INTERNATIONAL (n.d.); SALAR (2011, 2010); RANHAGEN (2011); RANHAGEN & GROTH

(2012); GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN (2017); DAHLGREN & WAMSLER (2014); BUSINESS SWEDEN (n.d.); ANDERSSON (2013); ANDERSSON ET AL. (2011).

Discourse Analysis - A sociology of knowledge approach

Through the application of discourse analysis, the post-politicization of urban environmental production through Ecotopia should be revealed. As such discourse analysis should to reveal the stories told within the overall story of Ecotopia. Baring this aspiration in mind, The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis (SKAD) will address the following questions: *How is sustainable urban development argued for within SymbioCity and its approach? Who and what is part of this sustainable urban environment? How is such a sustainable urban environment conceptualized?* In this context SKAD has been chosen because it provides insights into the labour processes of circulation, production and translation by which narratives about the sustainable urban environment are constructed. Moreover, SKAD complements and expands on previous findings as it links actors to their discursive translation of knowledge about sustainable urban development.

SKAD originates from German sociology studies, especially the work of BERGER & LUCKMANN (1996) on the social construction of reality is considered as pioneering for this approach to discourse analysis (see KELLER 2005). Grounded in Foucault's work on the discursive composition of knowledge (FOUCAULT 1972), SKAD promotes the analysis of problematizations. By linking social actors to discursive practices SKAD bridges the gap between language and its users; a gap which becomes most apparent in studies on critical discourse analysis within linguistic studies (see FAIRCLOUGH 1995). Hence, in contrast to critical discourse analysis SKAD puts emphasis on the production of knowledge, as it investigates the process of generating, objectifying and institutionalizing knowledge as objective reality (see KELLER 2005; BERGER & LUCKMANN 1996).

Knowledge as conceptualized within SKAD refers to all kinds of symbolic orderings and institutionalized symbolic orders, such as common sense. Hence, knowledge is conceived as result of a process of interaction, a process in which action and structure become multiple constitutive. Consequently, a discourse legitimizes the actors within it but also enacts reality through the creation of knowledge. Within this conceptualization of knowledge, language is conceived as part of a "conversation machinery" which constructs a shared social reality (see BERGER & LUCKMANN 1996). Arguably language has to be investigated in relation to its users as it translates diverse spatial arrangements into knowledge about "the City". As one of the most prominent advocates of SKAD describes: "The sociology of knowledge analysis of discourse is concerned with deconstructing the processes which occur in social constructions, objectification, communication and the legitimization of meaning structures (...)" (KELLER 2011: 49). Overall, SKAD in contradiction to Foucault's work on discourse regards actors not as "masters of the discursive universe" but as (co)constituted by the existing structures of discursive orders and formations (KELLER 2011: 52).

To conduct SKAD KELLER (2005) suggests four steps of discourse analysis. First, Keller (2005) calls for an investigation of the *interpretive schemes and frames (Deutungsmuster)* to uncover the creation of a coherent assemblage of meaning through the usage of universal schemes and frames. Within the second step called *classification (Klassifizierung)*, the creation of groups of meaning should be analyzed to understand the articulation of collective identities. The third step seeks to highlight the *phenomenal*

structure of a discourse (*Phänomenstruktur*) which reveals the normative setting of a discourse; a setting in which some practices, actors and models are regarded as good while others are rendered as bad. These three steps are connected through a *story-line* which tells a particular story of an objective reality and legitimizes the actors in it (see KELLER 2005). In drawing on such narratives actors who mobilize and are mobilized by a discourse create an infrastructure of discourse production and problem solving as well as the institutional foundation for this infrastructure, they create the so called “*dispositifs*” (KELLER 2012: 65).

KELLER’S (2005) scheme of analysis will serve to analyse the *dispositifs* build around the construction of sustainable urban environments in regard to SymbioCity and its approach. Thereby a focus on the translation of urban metabolisms will provide insights into the discursive labour process by which “the sustainable City” becomes constituted. Based on the findings of the qualitative content analysis two discourses about sustainable urban development have been identified. Given the narrow institutional embeddings of these discourses, four texts could have been analysed (two for each discourse) to portray these discourses. The respective documents of analysis are illustrated in Tab. 1.

Tab. 1: Documents for discourse analysis.

	Title	Focus	Type of document
RANHAGEN & GROTH (2012)	The SymbioCity Approach – A conceptual framework for sustainable urban development.	The manual for the SymbioCity Approach	Handbook published by SKL International
ANDERSON (2013)	Get started, move forward! Leadership in Sustainable Urban Development	Guidelines for institutions to implement the SymbioCity Approach	Report by SKL International
RANHAGEN (2011)	Sustainable Urban Development: The Swedish SymbioCity Approach.	Illustration of Swedish solutions through SymbioCity	Presentation held within a SymbioCity seminar
SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN (2017)	SymbioCity.org: - Grow with the flow - Offers: get ready to go	Technical solutions that SymbioCity can help to provide	Articles on a webpage

Source: Own illustration.

To ensure validity of the data, each step of KELLER’S (2005) analysis scheme has been conducted several times. In this process the author narrowed down the object of analysis from investigating the document as a whole (to investigate the interpretive schemes and frames) into sequences of interest which have been used to fill the other two categories. Finally the entire document has been read a final time to reflect upon the storyline conveyed in it. These representations of dominant realities through discourses however, have to be regarded as the product of practices; as such they are no windows on reality but shape, translate and form reality (see LAW 2009). Similar to

ENGELHARDT (2015) who uses SKAD to deconstruct novelties within the field of art, the author aims to showcase how meanings (of urban metabolisms) get translated (see HEALEY 2006) to argue for sustainable urban development and thereby create the conditions for post-politicization.

Overall SKAD presents a complimentary method to the qualitative content analysis. It provides the researcher and the reader with the normative basis on which the actor-network bases its legitimacy. As such, it unveils the stories told by the narrators of Ecotopia by which they are sustained and legitimized. Hence, SKAD in combination with a qualitative content analysis portrays the dominant actor-network and its translation of spatial reality by which the conditions for post-politicization are created.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews have been applied in a wide array of contemporary policy mobility and urban political ecology studies (see COCHRANE & WARD 2012; TEMENOS & MCCANN 2012; EDWARDS & BULKELEY 2017). The decision to deploy semi-structured interviews for this thesis was made to reflect on the mobilization of sustainable urban development narratives. In examining the spread of these stories the author wants to investigate how such mobile policies and narratives shape and contest the frame of action by asking the following questions: *How are notions of urban sustainability mobilized across spatial and institutional settings? How are they perceived? What roles do planners take within this process?*

In striving for a critical reflection upon the mobility of policies, these three questions have been utilized too structure the interviews, as well as the evaluation of their results (see Appx. Fig. 1). The interviews are comprised of (more general) main and (specific) sub-question which enable a high degree of flexibility during the interviews (see BRYMAN 2012). As such, dividing the interview into main and sub-questions helped the author to reveal how disagreement and consensus are managed and mobilized, or as PECK & THEODORE (2012) argued, it helped to unveil the reasons for reasons (PECK & THEODORE 2012: 26). Despite the distinction made between main and sub-questions, opening and ending questions helped to provide guidance and clarity for the interviewees during the interview process (see BRYMAN 2012).

All interviews have been recorded, transcribed and analyzed using a thematic analysis based on the different categories in which interview questions have been grouped (see Appx. Fig. 1). Hence, the coding scheme utilized policy mobility, urban political ecology as well as planning studies. Overall, eleven interviews have been conducted with actors who are part of the network identified through the qualitative content analysis. Out of these eleven interviews, five interviews have been conducted in a face-to-face setting and six have been conducted via phone and Skype. The later have been carried out to address the methodological challenge when conducting research in the field of policy mobility. This challenge is based on studies which argue for following a policy as it moves in order to see how it mutates (MCCANN & WARD 2012; PECK & THEODORE 2012). When conceptualizing mobility not as pre-given good but as labour intense process that requires resources such as money and time (HEALEY 2006; MCCANN 2011) the following of mobile policies becomes a resource intense task. While trying to carry out this task, power relations between the interviewer and his interview partners are laid bare due to their different possibilities to exercise mobility. *How should one overcome these different levels of power?* MCCANN (2011) makes an

important allusion in this regard as he stresses that phone conversations and new ways of communicating over geographical distances, such as Skype also enable the spread of polices (see MCCANN 2011). These facilitators of mobility enable the author to utilize the same process for his own advantage. Given the author's lack of resources to follow the "fast actors" and their mobile policies, he tried to "catch mobilities". This shift from following actors and their networks to a proactive approach was based on the lack of time that the researcher had at his disposal. "Catching mobilities" was than made possible through the usage of techniques which require few resources but can bridge large geographical distances. While phone and Sykpe interviews are considered to carry certain disadvantages (see STURGES & HANRAHAN 2004) the author did deem them as useful to account for the use of a mobility perspective while remaining spatially "bound". In this respect, the inclusion of a broad variety of highly mobile research subjects has been made possible without the investment of large amounts of resources. Moreover, as the interviewees are highly mobile subjects phone or Skype interviews enabled the author to interview participants as they move across geographical settings. As such the benefit of face-to-face interviews to interview people in their everyday environment was not of particular importance as their everyday environment is characterized by a high degree of mobility.

In sum, the application of semi-structured interviews enables the author to reflect on the mutual constitution of mobility and mutation. They also offer a perspective onto the frame of action in which consent and dissent are enacted. As such, the semi-structured interviews made it possible to expand on the findings generated by the previous two research methods as they allowed too investigate how the story of Ecotopia gets translated (mutate) when it moves. Thereby, semi-structured interviews revealed the frame of consensus and dissent in which the process of "storytelling" takes place. This spatial and institutional expansion (a growing Ecotopia) enabled the author to leverage himself from a specific case and make general statements about the production of sustainable urban development.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

According to GIBSON-GRAHAM every question about what to study and how to study becomes an ethical opening (GIBSON-GRAHAM 2008: 620). With respect to this thesis the author mobilizes theories and concepts of urban political ecology and policy mobility to investigate how consensus and disagreement regarding sustainable urban development are managed. Hence, trough his writing the author creates an ethical opening, as he points towards struggles over meaning and knowledge. However, in his normative stance the author considered a question posed by LAW & URRY (2005) as crucial: "Which [realities] do we want to help to make more real, and which less real? How do we want to interfere (because interfere we will, one way or another)?" (LAW & URRY 2005: 69). While portraying dominant narratives in regard to sustainable urban development the author also points towards the struggle, dispute and consensus within these narratives to offer a picture on the diversity of realities that exist beside the authors own narrative. In showcasing how consensus and dispute in relation to narratives of urban sustainable development are managed and transformed the author wants to illuminate the inherent political character of the "planetary urbanization" process, a reality that he deems important to emphasize given current post-political conditions (see TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014).

Whilst issues in relation to the writing process are important to consider, ethical issues regarding the interaction with participants of this thesis should not be negated. Through assuring informed consent and confidentiality in the processing of the interview data, the author tried to avoid any kind of harm of the participants. After securing initial contact, participants have been provided with a brief explanation of the goal of the thesis as well with the interview questions (if they requested them beforehand). The explanation of the research topic was done once again before the start of each interview to secure that the participants have been well informed. After that, informed consent has been tried to achieve regarding the participants involvement and their willingness to be recorded. When the interviews were finished the author offered the possibility to send the transcript to the participants to enable them to make further comments and to ensure credibility of the findings (see CARETTA 2016). As compensation for the time the interviewees spend for the interview, the author offered a copy of his work to be sent to the respective participants. To prevent any particular exposition and harm of the participants given the narrow network of actors and the sensible issues that this thesis addresses, the author decided not to make any direct quotes related to the participants. As such, the evaluation of the interviews only addresses the institutional context of the respective participants and thereby focuses on patterns that emerged throughout the interviews rather than on individual statements.

In the following analysis of Ecotopia these ethical considerations should serve as a constant reminder about the cautious way in which Ecotopia has to be approached. This approach will rest on the methodological triad outlined within this chapter. Consequently, within the next chapter the author and the readers of this thesis will enter the story of Ecotopia. In doing so, the first chapter of analysis will begin to unfold by elaborating on the narrators of Ecotopia, their relations and the socio-historical evolution of the small sustainable urban development seedling that later evolves into “the tree of Ecotopia”.

4. Planting the seed - Exploring the roots of Sweden's Ecotopia

To showcase the genesis of the narratives about Swedish sustainable urban development, their socio-historical context shall be illustrated in due course to account for LATOUR'S (2009) conceptualization of the spatial and temporal relationality of stories. Therefore, the following chapter seeks to embed the narrators of Sweden's Ecotopia within a historical frame of meaning; it will explore the roots of Ecotopia. A frame from which current planning narratives can be understood and in which diverse stories of urban sustainability are enacted. As such, the following question will be elaborated on: *Which socio-historical developments contributed to "the success story" of Sweden as a model for sustainable urban development?*

4.1 From "bad cities" to sustainable urbanization: The start of a Swedish story

During the mid 19th century, Sweden's capital Stockholm ranged amongst the poorest cities in Europe. Its cityscape was characterized by small scale factories and a lack of critical infrastructure (HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013: 14). In an attempt to address these challenges, Sweden began to look at other countries for inspirations. As such, the UK has quickly been identified as role model for industrial development due to its large scale industries and highly developed infrastructure. The policy inspirations drawn from abroad fostered a liberal transformation process which restructured the parliament from a parliamentary system to a democratic elected system (see HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013). Analogue to this political transformation process a redefinition of urban planning goals and objectives was initialized. Hence, during the following decades an increasing desire for inner-city development arose, especially in Stockholm. This inner-city development was driven by ideas drawn from Berlin or Paris regarding the development of boulevards, parks, plazas etc. In contrast, urban development outside of inner-city areas was mostly inspired by the English Garden City model. A model which was not simply adopted but transformed as row houses have been remodelled into free standing single family homes, designed within the Swedish tradition. Overall, Sweden's and Stockholm's political and urban development from the mid 19th until the early 20th century showcases how inspirations and policies drawn from other places have been mobilized and transformed to address Swedish political and urban development desires. Consequently, the mobilization and adaptation of urban development policies is profoundly rooted in Swedish urban development.

In the period between the two world wars, the great depression transformed Swedish politics significantly. Through the incorporation of employers and unions in decision making about wages, the private sector became increasingly involved in national policy making. This development was accompanied by the resolution of class and labour market conflicts and thereby signalled the evolution of the Swedish welfare state (see HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013). Again, urban development responded to this change by avocation for modernism planning as the new social aesthetic desire, inspired by international examples.

After the Second World War, the Swedish welfare state achieved profound spatial articulation as the model of the Garden City became increasingly employed. The Garden City began to stretch over the city boundaries of Stockholm towards the neighbouring municipalities. Thereby it extended visions about the "good urban

environment” and translated urbanization process. In this process the difference between the inner-city and its “hinterland” became increasingly articulated (see KUCHENBUCH 2016). Simultaneously to the articulation of the City, small and middle scale industry disappeared and created space for large scale and knowledge intense international companies (HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013: 25). Over the course of this period, planners calibrated architectural practices to what they perceived to be the social needs of the human being (KUCHENBUCH 2016: 1508). Supported by a period of economic growth the notions of “the Social” and “the Good” have been materialized in form of the Million Housing Program. Addressing the shortage in the existing housing stock the Million Housing Programme should provide good quality housing for the Swedish population and the increasing amount of workers from abroad (HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013: 29-30). As such, welfare state policies became increasingly linked to the Swedish nation state (see SCHALL 2016) resulting in the homogenisation of an increasingly heterogeneous public through notions of the common good.

Throughout the mid 20th century, regional development plans started to get implemented which were clustered around preservation of the “good environment” and the expansion of urban infrastructure. The political desire to plan for regional level development was accompanied by conflicts which arose from a mismatch between nature preservation and infrastructure expansion. These conflicts resulted in the implementation of technological solutions such as sewage and waste treatment plants, which bared the promise of incorporation large scale urban development and environmental protection. Alongside this development the Swedish welfare state put increasing attention upon economic growth rather than economic distribution as response to global crises (ORRSHOG & BRADLEY 2006: 126).

“The Swedish way” of incorporating environmental technology and urban planning became globally recognized as concerns in the Western world about the responsibility for global concerns grew (HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013: 38). The global recognition in combination with efforts undertaken by the Swedish government led to the establishment of the first UN conference on environmental protection, held in Stockholm in 1972. The outcome of this conference (a declaration on global environmental protection also known as “Stockholm Declaration”) manifested Sweden as role models for environmental protection and development. Following this conference and global concerns about a changing climate, Swedish urban development programmes began to point to towards concerns of the future of the city and the region. To address these concern the Building and Planning Act of 1987 stressed a focus on environment and climate policy approaches to physical planning. This focus aimed to support the sustainable urban development goals, identified by the Brundtland Report (HÅRSMAN & WIJMARK 2013: 43). Spatially this development in combination with the increasing focus on the service and knowledge sector led to the branding and labelling of Stockholm (such as “The capital of Scandinavia”). This label sought to manifest the imaginary of the world class and sustainable Stockholm metropolitan region to enhance economic growth. Hence, (while still in its early stages) Swedish notions of urban sustainability have been closely linked to ecological protection and economic development. This linkage encompassed a holistic approach which had a clear focus on technological solutions to tackle urban development and economic growth (see HILDIG-RYDEVİK et al. 2011).

The combination of environmental concerns, technology innovations and knowledge sector based development led to the translation of environmental challenges as issues of

common concern. To address this common concern, an increasingly decentralised state apparatus provided municipalities with the possibility to implement their own sustainable urban development programs. These programs should increase public awareness but also promote the economic development of Swedish municipalities. This development led to the integration of middle class values about environmental protection and economic growth. Hereby, dissent gradually disappeared. This development in compliance with the presentation of the Sustainable City Concept (illustrated in the introduction of this thesis) ultimately made Stockholm Europe's first Green Capital in 2010 and increased Sweden's reputation as model for sustainable urban development.

In sum, Swedish sustainable urban development has to be regarded as the result of policy adaptation, strong welfare states notions of "the good City" and capital investments. As such, the establishment of Sweden as model for sustainable urban development reflects a labour intense and highly engineered process. In this process the "bad city" becomes cleansed through a sustainable urbanization process characterized by the promotion of the common good. To achieve this common good urban metabolisms have become manageable commodities which create the good City. Overall, "the good City" can be referred to as the outcome of long standing cultural socialization rooted in desires of economic prosperity and worker representation (see HARVEY 2007). A cultural socialization which is grounded in the protection and preservation of the good urban environment too contradict dystopian images of the present and future. After the socio-historical evolution of Sweden's sustainable urban development narrative has been outlined, the focus will now be drawn upon the notions which underlie current urban sustainable planning and development. By addressing this issue the next chapter aims to answer the question: *What normative notions underlie current Swedish sustainable urban development planning?*

4.2 Planning for “the sustainable City” – A contemporary narrative

“Swedish planning is internationally known as being at the forefront of environmental technologies and planning for sustainability.” (TUNSTRÖM ET AL. 2016). This narrative, outlined by TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) is exemplary for the development of Swedish planning in regard to sustainable urban development over the last years. Through an erosion of this narrative, TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) highlight the international desire for Swedish technological and sustainably oriented urban development. This urban development is not a new phenomenon but runs in line with processes of the late 20th century. The longstanding narrative of the Swedish tale about urban sustainability can not only be traced down in the work of TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) but across a wide range of studies concerned with Swedish sustainable urban development (HULT 2013; LINDSTRÖM & LUNDSTRÖM 2008; TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2013). In such a conceptualization, planning is driven by the international demand for urban sustainable solutions as well as Swedish expertise and policies which can deliver them. This broad consensus amongst scholars raises questions about the norms which underpin these Swedish solutions. To address this concern, the normative baseline of current Swedish urban development policies will be described in due course.

Through providing spatial insights from a sustainable urban development project in Stockholm, TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) highlight that constructions of “the City” have an undisputed status while other constructions are given the role of problems to be solved (see TUNSTRÖM ET AL. 2016). In presenting their findings TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) bring attention to the spatiality which is created by sustainable urban development projects. This spatiality draws boundaries within “the City” through the process of “sustainable urbanization”. As consequence the binary of “the sustainable City” and “the unsustainable City” are continuously (re)produced through material and spatial references. As such the sustainable City describes the imaginative creation of a common sense ideology, a disguise which obscures inherently social problems under the face of cultural prejudices about what is debatable (see HARVEY 2007).

HARVEY’S (2007) conceptualization of the common sense ideology can also be traced down in the work of ANDERSSON (2016). Simultaneously, ANDERSSON (2016) expands on the thought articulated by TUNSTRÖM ET AL. (2016) by pointing towards the effects of sustainable urban development policies. According to ANDERSSON (2016) such policies serve as stages for the construction of the common sense which allows the binding of social and financial capital to a certain place (ANDERSSON 2016: 1196). Consequently, the creation of a sustainable common sense narrative leads to inter-city competition over capital investments and accumulation via the socio-material construction of “the City” (see ANDERSSON 2016). As such, “the sustainable City” becomes a manageable commodity in which policies and planning practices serve a global neo-liberalization process. In Sweden, this phenomenon becomes apparent in two ways: On the one hand competitive logics enhance the international exchange of planning expertise and policies, on the other hand it provides policy makers and planners with benchmarks to make sustainability comparable (see ANDERSSON 2016). These measurements (such as the global footprint) are increasingly referred to in the argument for Swedish sustainable urban development solutions (see HÖGSTRÖM ET AL. 2013).

Ultimately, notions of “the good City” are still prevalent in current Swedish planning practices, whereby “the good” becomes synonymously with sustainability and

economic growth. In this context LELE (2015) argues that planners have limited reflexivity concerning alternative imaginaries of the future (LELE 2015: 243). As such, common sense ideologies or “universals truths” are rarely the subjects of dissent (see Parr 2009). Consequently, Swedish planning becomes an advocate for the common good and sets the frame in which neo-liberalization processes of completion and private sector involvement can be enacted within a legal frame of action (ORRSHOG & BRADLEY 2006). In sum, a planning environment unfolds in which sustainability and economic growth when brought into symbiosis with environmental aspects and legal frames do not become subjects of dissent. In such an environment “the good City” is created as location for everyone and everything, as location for consumption in which planning serves to create a “natural” city character (see TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014).

The genesis of “the sustainable City” was not only supported through planning but received equal legitimization through administrative decisions. Such decisions included the decentralization of planning within the Planning and Building Act of 1987 that determined the scales of action (MADUREIRA 2014). This decentralization marked a change from large scale comprehensive plans to “planning projects” (for example the Bo01 in Malmö). These projects, serve as mental anchor points from which the sustainable City is continuously (re)confirmed (see MADUREIRA 2014; TUNSTRÖM ET AL. 2016). A few of these anchor points have been leveraged on national level and thereby linked the Swedish nation state with stories of the sustainable City. The outcome of this narrative linkage and the international compliance with it, have been crucial for the creation of SymbioCity and its approach (see HULT 2013). OLSSON & METZGER (2013) describe this current planning system as *a political palimpsest* comprised of past and present welfare state policies, environmental protection, human welfare, prosperity and sustainable branding and marketing (OLSSON & METZGER: 198-199). In such a palimpsest neoliberal notions and welfare state policies are not distinct from one another but mutually enact each other. Within this mutual enactment “the sustainable City” that protects the environment, serves human welfare and enhances economic growth is able to persist, transform and expand.

To conclude, this chapter argued that current Swedish planning stories are a combination of welfare ideologies combined with neo-liberal “truths” of economic growth and competitiveness. In contrast to the narrative outlined by ORRSHOG & BRADLEY (2006) the author highlighted that the common good has not vanished but transformed and spatialized in the form of “the sustainable City”. As such, “the sustainable City” performs a process of “othering” through the creation of common sense ideologies (“the City”, “We, etc.) and a respective outside (see TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014). In such an othering process urban metabolisms become translated into commodities which can be labelled and thereby create “the City” that is managed through certain socio-material arrangements. These arrangements are set within a holistic approach (see HILDIG-RYDEVIK 2011) in which certain urban metabolic configurations e.g. of environmental protection or waste management serve economic and social prosperity. As such, “the sustainable City” becomes the imaginative place for anyone who wants to live out his/her life in the “good environment”. Thereby the sustainable City becomes a post-political narrative in which the frame of action is agreed upon and the dispute over the givens of a situation is moved outside of the political realm of the City (the *polis*).

Now that the normative notions of current and historical Swedish urban development and planning have been outlined the following chapter will focus on SymbioCity and

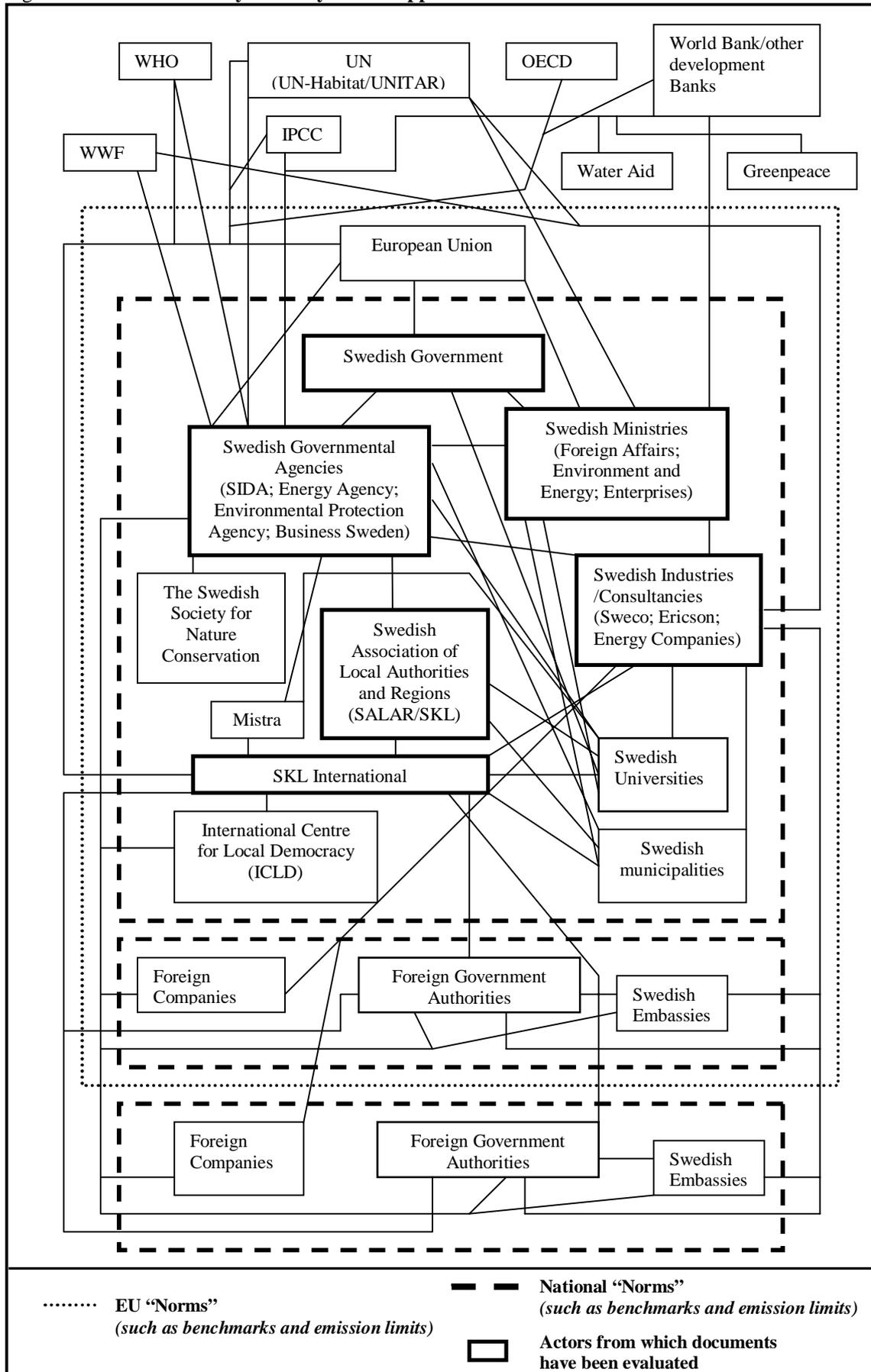
the SymbioCity approach. To uncover the actor-network of SymbioCity and its approach, the following analytical questions should be addressed: *Who are the actors involved within SymbioCity and its approach? How can their relation be described?*

4.3 Narrating urban sustainability: SymbioCity and the SymbioCity Approach

As outlined in the introduction of this thesis SymbioCity and the SymbioCity approach can be regarded as expressions and translations of Swedish sustainable urban development goals and objectives. The actor-network of these translations which has been eroded from the initial deductive sampling of the literature body is now illustrated in Fig. 2 (to be found on the next page). As such, Fig. 2 presents the methodological extension of Fig.1, illustrated within the method chapter of this thesis. Departing from the actors who contributed the documents for this analysis the focus should first be paid to the Swedish actors, based in a national frame of norms and legislation regarding sustainable urban development.

Since the initiative to implement SymbioCity came from the Swedish government (see HULT 2013) the government and its ministries are essential actors within the network of SymbioCity and its approach. As such, these institutional bodies articulate national norms on how Swedish sustainable urban development should be performed (see DAHLGREN & WAMSLER 2014). The Swedish government also sets the budget for the ministries and state agencies and thereby determines their respective agendas regarding sustainable urban development. The agencies, which are under the supervision of the respective ministries (Foreign Affairs; Environment & Energy, Enterprise) are then responsible to articulate these “governmental wishes”. In the case of SymbioCity and its approach the government agencies which have been tasked with the spread of Swedish sustainable urban development are the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and Business Sweden (an agency aimed to support the international expansion of Swedish companies).

Fig. 2: Actor-Network of SymbioCity and its approach.



Source: Own illustration. Based on: SWEDISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ET AL. (2013); SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT (2003); SWECO (n.d.); SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN (2017);

SIDA & SKL INTERNATIONAL (n.d.); SALAR (2011, 2010); RANHAGEN (2011); RANHAGEN & GROTH (2012); GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN (2017); DAHLGREN & WAMSLER (2014); BUSINESS SWEDEN (n.d.); ANDERSSON (2013); ANDERSSON ET AL. (2011).

These two agencies however, work (to a large extent) independent from each other as they have different mandates to fulfil. As such, Business Sweden is primarily focused on business development and cooperation while SIDA's objective is to promote international development cooperation. Hence, SymbioCity has first been established as marketing platform from Business Sweden (see BRADLEY et al. 2013). This marketing platform has linked Swedish companies and businesses to their foreign counter parts, mostly through Swedish embassies in the respective foreign countries (see Fig. 2). This process was further enhanced through the embeddings of Business Sweden in various spatial contexts around the world. The export of sustainable technology was also fostered by foreign government leaders and elected city officials who secured implementations. To gain their support best case examples from Sweden (municipal level) are showcased by also drawing on technology innovation, provided by Swedish universities.

On the other hand, SIDA has started to pick up SymbioCity and utilized its international appeal to develop tools and methods for institutional capacity building and development (see DAHLGREN & WAMSLER 2014). SIDA then initialized a search for institutions that could develop such methods. This selection process resulted in the selection of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR). This decision was motivated by SALAR's experience in Swedish municipal development combined with their previous work in international contexts (through their international unit: SKL International) (DAHLGREN & WAMSLER 2014: 7). Through the linkage of experiences from Swedish municipalities with SIDA's and SKL International's development experience, the SymbioCity approach has been developed. As such, this approach was presented to foreign government authorities to be implemented with local community support. To get into contact with these foreign government authorities Swedish embassies in the respective countries serve as facilitators. To provide these officials with the required knowledge in regard to Swedish sustainable urban development, training programs from the International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD) and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) have been implemented.

These two stories of Swedish urban sustainable development and their narrators are embedded in a frame which is constituted by European norms such as benchmarks regarding CO₂ emissions. Moreover, each country (to which one of the stories of Swedish urban development is told) has its own national norms which can also be differently influenced by larger institutional bodies. To legitimize their stories, the narrators and advocates of SymbioCity and its approach draw upon the knowledge, benchmarks and models advocated by supra-national and global institutions such as the WWF, the EU or UN-Habitat (see Fig. 2).

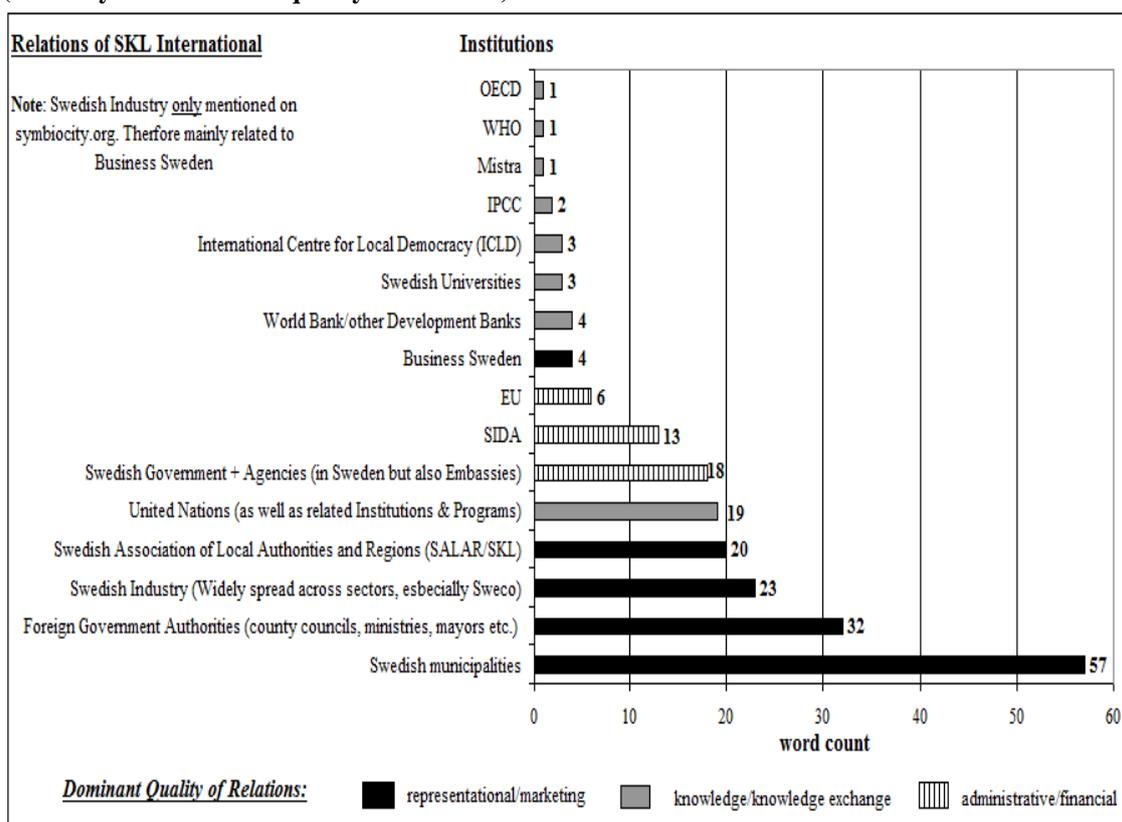
Now that Fig. 2 has illustrated the actor-network, the character of the relations between the "story tellers" will be focused on. The illustration of these relational characteristics can be observed in Fig. 3 - Fig. 8. To describe these relations three categories have been identified: representational/marketing relations; knowledge/knowledge exchange relations and administrative/financial relational. These categories have been qualitatively eroded from the wider context of the respective documents. Overall, these relations revealed that while the two Swedish stories of sustainable urban development

shared the same origin (*Sustainable City Concept*), they do not share many ideological similarities anymore.

The Actor-Network of the SymbioCity Approach

The actor-network which forms around the SymbioCity approach forms a knowledge based framework, in which experiences (from Swedish municipalities and universities) and training programs (ICLD, UNITAR) are used to develop institutional capacities to enable sustainable urban development. On the same note, knowledge and benchmarks drawn from global institutions (WHO, UN-Habitat, etc.) are used to embed Swedish practices within a global framework of action (see Fig. 3-4).

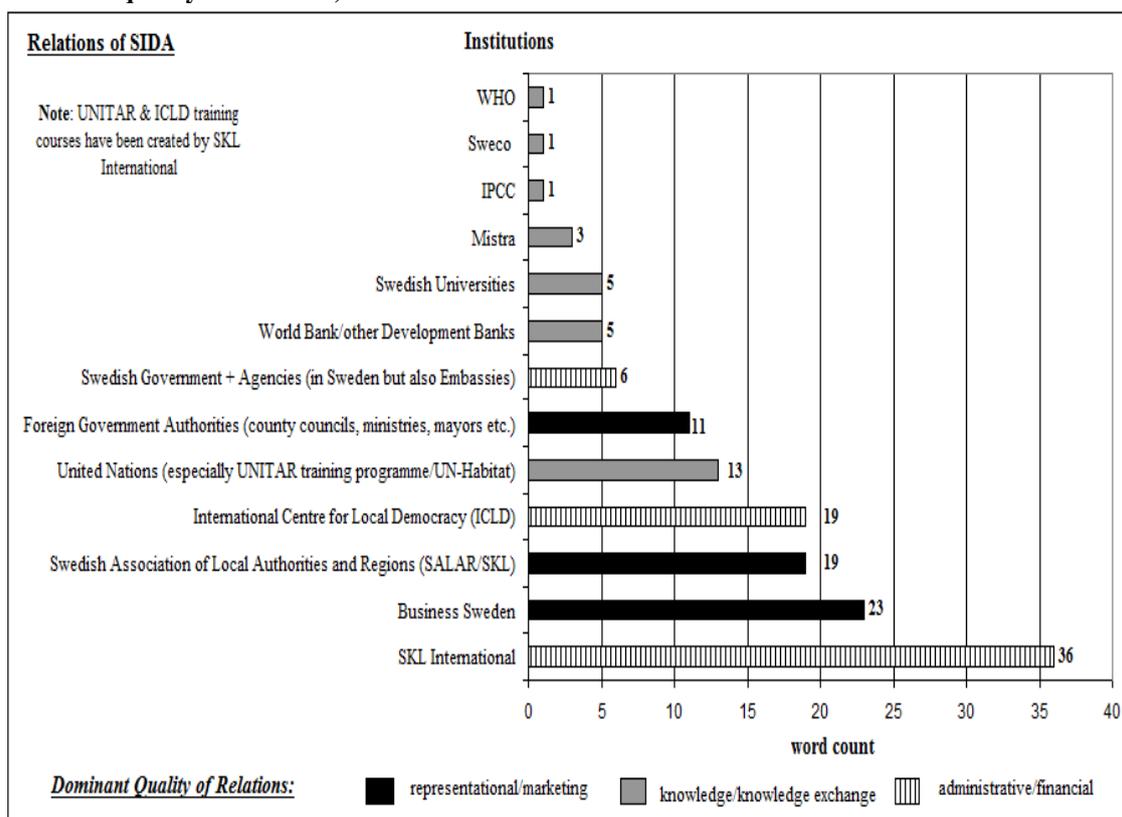
Fig. 3: **Institutional relations of SKL International in regard to the SymbioCity approach. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)**



Source: Own illustration. Based on: SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN (2017); RANHAGEN & GROTH (2012); ANDERSSON (2013); ANDERSSON ET AL. (2011).

As such, Fig. 3 illustrates that SKL International also engages into representational and marketing oriented relations. Thereby, SKL International utilises the experience from SALAR to argue for institutional capacity building in the light of Swedish municipal sustainable urban development. As such municipal examples are presented to foreign government authorities to argue for solutions inspired by Swedish experience. Financially and administratively SKL International relies on SIDA (as funding institution) and the Swedish government as they set the mandate and provide the arenas to facilitate work in foreign countries (through embassies).

Fig. 4: Institutional relations of SIDA in regard to the SymbioCity approach. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)

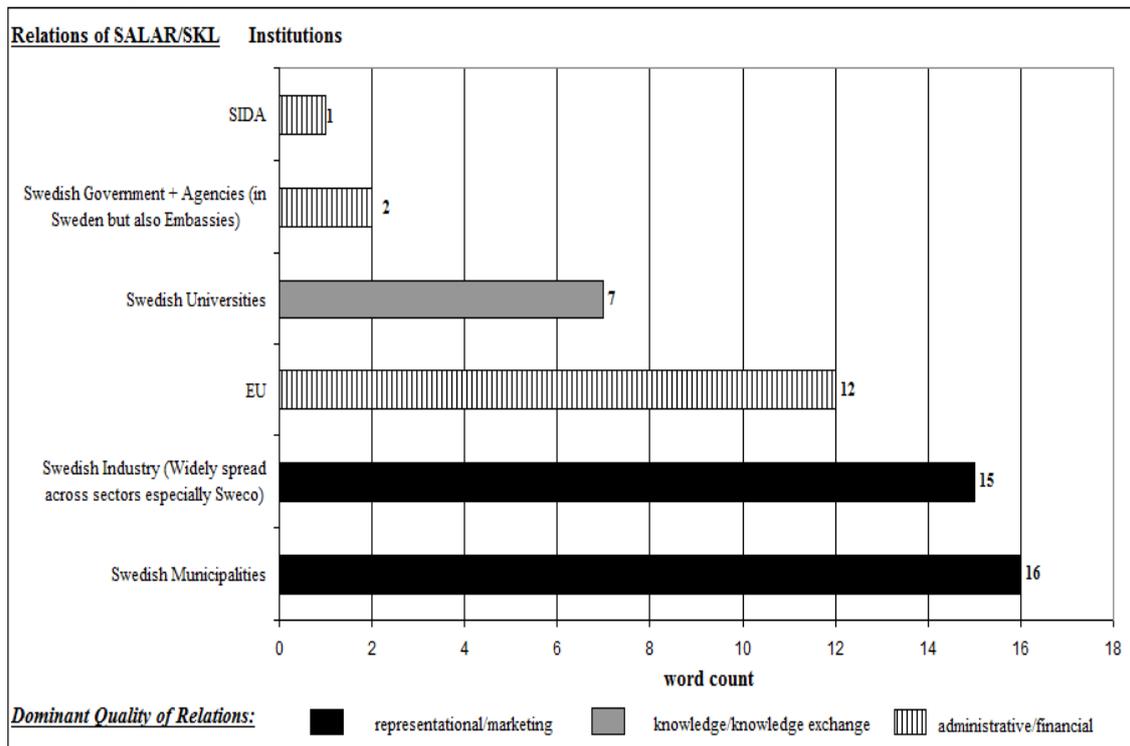


Source: Own illustration. Based on: SIDA & SKL INTERNATIONAL (n.d.); DAHLGREN & WAMSLER (2014).

Fig. 4 confirms these relations as SIDA engages with SKL International in an administrative fashion through the monitoring and financing of practices. Furthermore, SIDA relies on relations (knowledge and knowledge exchange) with Swedish research institutions (Mistra, Swedish Universities) but also on global knowledge clusters (WHO, IPCC, UN-Habitat). SIDA (such as SKL International) also enacts representational relations with SALAR in which their expertise with Swedish municipal development is drawn upon to be presented to foreign government authorities. Moreover, SIDA also has build up relations with the ICLD in which SIDA finances training programmes in regard to the SymbioCity approach. Hereby, SIDA's goals and budget are determined by the Swedish government (especially by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Overall, Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 reveal that financing from Swedish Agencies such as SIDA is of fundamental importance to maintain the relations outlined in Fig. 2. Moreover, it became apparent that the SymbioCity approach draws on Swedish municipal experience and scientific expertise to argue for sustainable urban development. Hereby, Swedish embassies (in foreign countries) as well as training programmes serve as arenas in which stories of sustainable urban development can be told and negotiated. Simultaneously, the SymbioCity approach draws on international knowledge clusters to position itself within a larger framework of action. The relations which SALAR builds up in its work with the SymbioCity approach are now presented in Fig. 5.

Fig. 5: Institutional relations of SALAR in regard to the SymbioCity approach. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)



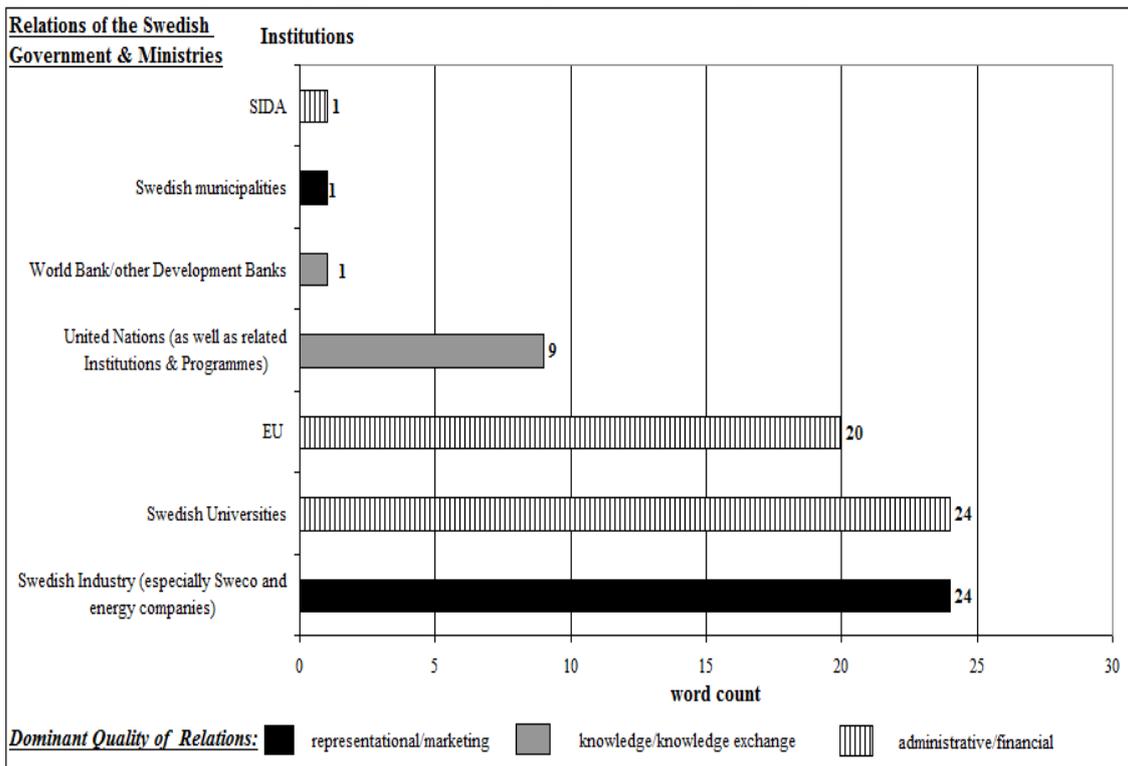
Source: Own illustration. Based on: SALAR (2011, 2010).

As representative body for Swedish municipalities, SALAR showcases the experience of Swedish municipalities in regard to sustainable urban development. SALAR does so, by linking municipal experience to Swedish industries and universities which contribute to sustainable development through innovation and technological expertise. The reference to EU norms regarding sustainable urban development (see Fig. 5) is done to showcase the frame of action and Sweden’s performance within it. As such, SALAR puts Swedish municipalities in an international competition about sustainable urban development solutions. SIDA and the Swedish government are mainly referred to as donors and administrative leaders for this development.

Administering the Swedish stories of sustainable urban development

The relations on which this administrative pillar of the SymbioCity Approach and SymbioCity resides are now presented in Fig. 6 (to be found on the following page). When examining Fig. 6 it becomes apparent that the Swedish government points towards Swedish industries as crucial actors for sustainable urban development. At the same time, the Swedish government is financing universities and their research in regard to sustainable urban development for example through the Ministry of Education or through support from State Agencies such as SIDA. In compliance with SALAR, the Swedish government and ministries also refer to supra-national bodies (EU) to showcase current benchmarks and Swedish efforts to address these. Additionally, the knowledge put forward by international development organisations (UN-Habitat; World Bank) is referred to showcase the global demand for sustainable urban development solutions.

Fig. 6: Institutional relations of the Swedish Government and its Ministries in regard to SymbioCity/the SymbioCity approach. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)

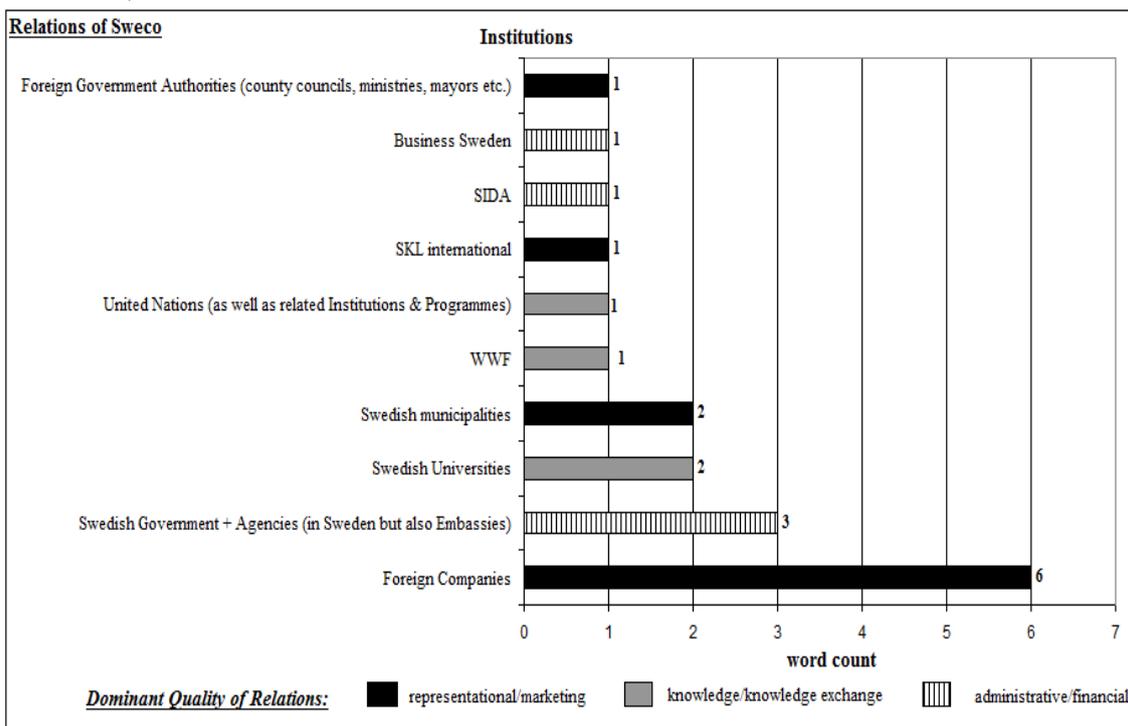


Source: Own illustration. Based on: SWEDISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ET AL. (2011); SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT (2003); GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN (2017).

The Actor-Network of SymbioCity

The second story of Swedish sustainable urban development, namely SymbioCity draws on similar relations (see Fig. 7, to be found on the following page). As Fig. 7, demonstrates, Swedish companies such as Sweco draw knowledge from global institutions (WWF) to legitimize their actions. Through referencing SIDA and SKL International “the other story” of sustainable urban development is acknowledged but not further alluded to (see Fig. 7). Furthermore, Fig. 7 highlights foreign companies as main partners of cooperation and representation. This finding stands in sharp contrast to Fig. 3-4 which did not showcase any relations to private economic actors. Similar to SALAR, Sweco draws on narratives about the interaction between university knowledge and Swedish municipalities to showcase examples for sustainable urban development. Despite financial support from the ministry of Enterprise, the Swedish government also offers its embassies as platforms (similar to the SymbioCity approach) in which Swedish and foreign experience in regard to sustainable urban development can be linked together.

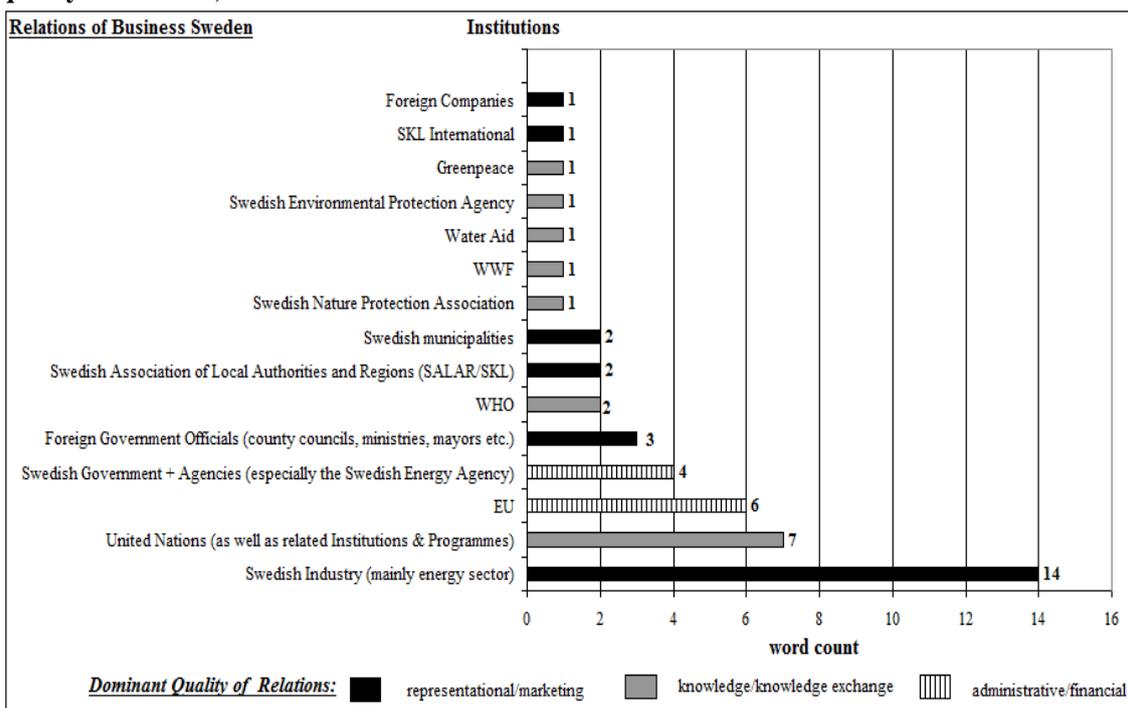
Fig. 7: Institutional relations of SWECO in regard to SymbioCity. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)



Source: Own illustration. Based on: RANHAGEN (2011); SWECO (n.d.).

Fig. 8 now confirms the relational setting of SymbioCity, which Fig. 7 introduced by highlighting the relations which Business Sweden is engaged in. Business Sweden, as well as Sweco (Fig. 7) acknowledge the story of sustainable urban development (SymbioCity Approach).

Fig. 8: Institutional relations of Business Sweden in regard to SymbioCity. (Intensity and dominant quality of relations)



Source: Own illustration. Based on: BUSINESS SWEDEN (n.d.).

Simultaneously Business Sweden draws on international knowledge clusters (UN, WHO etc.) to legitimize its actions in the promotion of Swedish technologies (see Fig. 8). Similar to SIDA, Business Sweden also relies on government financing to sustain its practices. In showcasing the cooperation of Swedish industries with national associations (Nature Protection Association) and Swedish municipal solutions Business Sweden highlights the close linkage of environmental protection and technology development sustainable urban development. This linkage is intellectually utilized to showcase Swedish industries (and their answers to his challenge) to foreign government authorities.

Overall, this section enabled the author to identify the narrators of Swedish urban sustainable development. While these narrators tell different stories (SymbioCity, SymbioCity approach) based on different governmental mandates, they also share some common narratives. As such, the two stories draw on Swedish municipal experience in regard to sustainable urban development to argue for their translations of sustainable development. Moreover, they draw upon international knowledge clusters to position themselves in the global frame of action and concern. Hence in this respect it is not a simple top-down circulation of relations that is characteristic for SymbioCity and its approach. It is rather a selective composition of scale in which scalar narratives are drawn upon to serve particular purposes (such as the legitimization of action or capital investments).

Uncovering a “sustainable” network

By presenting the narrators and embedding those into a socio-historical and normative context Chapter 4 aimed to illustrate the *politics* of Swedish sustainable urban development. As such, it has outlined that historical notions of the “common good” have been increasingly occupied by notions of sustainability and economic growth. This labour intense translation process, engineered “the sustainable City” as construct under which a diverse set of actors can be assembled. Hereby, “the sustainable City” became the new common good as it disclosed the processes upon which it was constructed, creating post-political conditions.

Within this frame, this chapter revealed that SymbioCity and its approach identify common concerns through utilizing knowledge from global institutions and knowledge regimes. In this setting a diverse set of Swedish public, private actors come together to tackle these concerns. In doing so, these actors create stories of economic growth, nature protection, sustainable development, technological innovations etc. Upon these stories the narrators construct their relations, relations which are dependent on financing and administrative support from governmental authorities both in Sweden and abroad. To ensure that Swedish stories of urban sustainable development reach their audience, global knowledge regimes and learning programmes (ICLD, UNITAR) are used to facilitate the process of implementation. Hence, the two stories of Swedish urban sustainable development focused upon in this thesis legitimize a diverse set of actors both in public and private sectors; in turn these actors create diverse arrangements under the umbrella of urban sustainable development. Insofar the democommunity revealed itself as not one but several communities of practice which tell different stories, yet both are stories about sustainable urban development.

5. Grooming the tree - Plots of Sweden's Ecotopia

After presenting the narrators of Ecotopia's story, the following chapter will focus on the plots of this story. In this regard, this chapter will primarily address the symbolic and discursive composition of urban metabolisms which create "the sustainable City" (the urbanized Ecotopia). Specifically, it will be elaborated how such compositions and translations of urban metabolisms legitimize the frame of action and the actors within it. As such, this chapter will link the narrators to their stories; stories in which the urbanization process becomes translated and in which conditions for post-politicization are shaped and enacted. To erode this process, the following chapter will apply a "sociology of knowledge" approach to discourse analysis to answer the following analytical questions: *How is sustainable urban development argued for within SymbioCity and its approach? Who and what is part of this sustainable urban environment? How is such a sustainable urban environment conceptualized?* In answering these questions, KELLER'S (2005) scheme of analysis should serve as guideline throughout this chapter. Hence, the first section shall now focus on the first analytical question by elaborating on the *interpretive schemes and frames (Deutungsmuster)* which set the frame in which the story of sustainable urban development can be told.

5.1 Introducing stories of common sense

The two documents which have been investigated in relation to the SymbioCity approach (see Fig. 2) highlight climate change as major frame of action. Within this global frame, urbanization and urban development are highlighted as the main processes which shape global conditions (see RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012). Within this "urban world" cities become the dystopian sights in which "the poor and disadvantaged" live out their lives under environmental challenges, hazards, pollution, loss, crisis and epidemics. In the same vein, cities are not only rendered as dystopian sights but also as sights of opportunity (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 34). These cities of opportunity can be created through sustainable urban development. Hereby, sustainable urban development advocates for urban systems which can reduce the global footprint and increase adaptation, resilience and mitigation to climate change. In these "integrated" and "holistic" systems, capacity building is achieved through the linkage of different systems. As such, sustainable urban development is able to invoke city visions and spatial articulations of futures which can be realized (see RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012; ANDERSSON 2013). To achieve sustainable urban development, the inclusion of all people (especially disadvantaged groups) should be secured to create arenas in which environmental assessments can be made within a holistic frame of action. In this setting, sustainable urban development consensus and policy unity has to be achieved through the management of agreement and disagreement given "the bigger picture" (see ANDERSSON 2013). Such urban environments do not only address environmental issues but are also sights of beauty and art; they become places in which the common good can be enacted (see ANDERSSON 2013).

In comparison, the story told by SymbioCity about sustainable urban development invokes similar narratives. SymbioCity also regards cities as challenges which continuously contribute to an increasing global footprint (see RANHAGEN 2011; SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). However, they are also sights of potentials in which through a systematic and integrated approach a liveable, climate

neutral, accessible city can be realized. These spatial sights are portrayed to carry cost and value benefits, not only for its citizens but also for its administrative staff. In such “dynamic”, “sustainable” and “smart” cities “intelligent” and “efficient” technologies should contribute to a healthy, safe, liveable and cost efficient and green urban environment through an urban system perspective (SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). As such, managing sustainable urban development becomes a matter of responsibility (see RANHAGEN 2011).

In sum, SymbioCity and its approach create a common sense narrative of “the City” as a realistic utopia and place of opportunity. Through addressing climate change and urbanization within holistic systems, sustainable urban development creates “the City” which is beneficial for all. Insofar, a common sense narrative is constructed around sustainable urban development in which the management of “the City” becomes regarded as global responsibility rather than an ideological practice. Now that the frame of the storylines has been introduced, the focus will shift towards the protagonists of the stories. Hereby, the protagonists should be identified through investigating the construction of the collective (*Klassifizierung*) (see KELLER 2005). As such the following analytical question will be addressed: *Who and what is part of this sustainable urban environment?*

5.2 The Protagonists – “We” and “the City”

Within the story told by the SymbioCity approach, the urban environment becomes a place for all human beings (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 6). Particular, the urban environment is destined for urban citizens and their elected local representatives who become citizens and leaders of “successful” towns and cities. As such, the sustainable urban environment opens up for the inhabitants of the city and is simultaneously linked to success. Hence, in successful cities the sustainable urban environment becomes a place for all (see RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 12). The creation of such “success stories” is made possible through modifications by which the environment becomes dynamic, urban, manageable, improved and green (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 24). Such modifications are legitimized through a distinction between developed and developing countries in which the status of “developing” presents a point of opportunity. To take the lead in the development of sustainable urban environments the collective “We” is invoked when addressing administrative leaders and their role in shaping the collective urban environment (see ANDERSSON 2013). This appeal is translated in a demand for the leaders that “we need”. Hereby, “we” includes everyone who is concerned about the urban environment and who understands “the larger issues” (ANDERSSON 2013: 25).

In this context, the story told by SymbioCity portrays similar images about its protagonist. As such, representations of “We” support a process in which “the City” and the urban environment are created for the good of all. Hereby, the sustainable urban environment addresses the global responsibility in the wake of climate change. Amidst this global responsibility, dynamic and holistic concepts offer something for everyone yet also address the bigger picture (SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). SymbioCity is then able to look at this bigger picture and turn visions about the sustainable urban environment into reality. In contrast to its approach, SymbioCity also highlights the collective “We” as “Nordic identity” and as something which is part of “our lifestyle”, particular referring to Swedish sustainable urban development (see

RANHAGEN 2011; SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). In such a holistic environment urban metabolisms (energy, waste) are linked and managed to contribute a beneficial outcome for everyone.

Overall, the protagonists in the stories are “We”, the concerned citizens and leaders who want to live out our lives in the urban sustainable environment which offers possibilities of economic success and development. In such environments “We” become able to tackle planetary concerns while enhancing individual and collective economic growth and development. To address these concerns “We” identify solutions to tackle the problems which “We” face. As such, the protagonists of Ecotopia create a holistic sustainable urban environment by having the good for everybody in mind. Thereby “We” address the challenges of “the City” within a holistic frame into concrete and holistic solutions, as “We” are the ones who understand the larger issues. Moreover, “We” do not shy away to use other examples of good practices as these are part of another “We” that we are familiar with. As such, “we” become the democommunity, the population that is able to speak given our collective concern for the environment and the world. Now that the frame of narration and the protagonists have been introduced, the story can begin to unfold. To provide guidance through this story the following chapter will focus on KELLER’S (2005) analysis of the normative setting of a discourse the *phenomenal structure* of a discourse (*Phänomenstruktur*) to address the question: *How is such a sustainable urban environment conceptualized?*

5.3 The good, the bad and the sustainable - Stories about the development of urban environments

Within the SymbioCity Approach urban metabolisms such as energy and waste are mainly referred to in regards to an optimization and efficient use of their metabolic flows. As such, these metabolisms become renewable and efficient through integrated systems and managerial solutions regarding the urban environment. To create these efficient systems multi-disciplinary thinking supported by global environmental policies should be implemented and promoted. Given the increasing amount of people living in cities not only “the City” but also climate change is regarded as opportunity that has to be exploited by any urban development intervention (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 25).

Supported by the global footprint which becomes synonymous for the larger picture of action, the difference between developed and developing countries in terms of emissions is portrayed. A rapid urbanization and industrialization in developing countries is regarded to threaten human rights which cannot be lived out under such conditions. To escape these conditions urban metabolisms need to be brought into symbiosis with the City through efficient management. In this context, a lack of management is seen as major reason why holistic approaches are not realized. Such an holistic approaches are then based on notions of management of the urban poor who (according the SymbioCity approach) know what to do but are unable to do so (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 41).

In such a holistic approach, greening the economy is encouraged as the urban environment gets remodelled and rethought through design. To argue for such developments sustainable urban development is linked to the reduction of the global footprint and the strengthening of the natural environment. For achieving this common

narrative, consensus is seen as essential for democratic governance which should also aim for decentralization. In such a democratic setting new and conflicting issues can be incorporated if needed (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012: 63). Dissent then can be enacted in the fields of details and methods, as feedback is encouraged on initial drafts (ANDERSSON 2013). Furthermore, the concept of democracy is aligned with the involvement of a larger variety and amount of stakeholders in which good quality information and the environment shall be provided to establish linkages, dialogs about optimal solutions. Design and planning should be marked by an efficient usage of urban metabolic cycles such as energy and are linked to notions of safety. In this respect urban sustainability needs to be defined and agreed upon in local contexts to develop the synergies which enable the inclusion of everyone and create the good environment of “the City” (RANHAGEN & GROTH 2012:104).

To arrive at such a stage, inspiring leadership is required that can argue for the translation of urban metabolism into manageable units (see ANDERSSON 2013). Hereby, leaders need to think holistically, so that they are able to see the whole picture; a picture which is comprised of synergies between different systems. To provide inspiration for holistic thinking, copying is regarded as useful tool as long as it is “good and adaptable” to local conditions. Copying is also argued to minimize dissent as anyone who has doubts about sustainable urban development should look at best case examples of such developments (ANDERSSON 2013: 13-14). Such examples include cases from “successful and decentralized cities” in Latin America and in Sweden which are used to engage with people’s feelings. To monitor this success of a sustainable urban environment measurements can be used to monitor sustainable performance, hereby Swedish municipalities serve once more as examples. This success of Swedish sustainable performance relies on the efficient use of urban metabolisms which can then be presented in statistics to argue for good upgrading and development. In this respect the SymbioCity approach showcases “the right decision” to implement something that is not a “nice to have” extra but an important tool for current sustainable development through the application of a holistic approach (ANDERSSON 2013: 49).

In a similar vein, the storyline of SymbioCity is also one of integration and holistic thinking, especially in respect to model cities. As successful examples Sweden’s role model character in the management of urban metabolisms is illustrated. In particular its development after the Stockholm summit in 1972, after which Sweden had developed into an “energy hero” (see RANHAGEN 2011). As such, efforts to build “the sustainable City” receive support through financing, training programmes and games in which mayors can create their own sustainable City. The sustainable City becomes rendered as smart and efficient, a city in which urban metabolisms are technological engineered to increase economic efficiency (see SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). Swedish efforts are then put in comparison to EU goals and international agreements to showcase the Swedish efforts which support Sweden’s leading role in such configurations in comparison to other countries.

Within SymbioCity urban sustainable development is portrayed as something that requires a shared vision to secure economic efficiency and as something inherently bound to the Swedish lifestyle. “Bad metabolism”, such as waste can be put too good use through SymbioCity which provides the configurations that can guide to an optimal outcome. SymbioCity is thereby showcased as “the right approach” as it applies holistic and Swedish knowledge about urban metabolisms and their management by illustrating best practice examples. To create the sustainable City the provision of the right

information and the right decisions at the right time is seen as crucial as the City becomes assigned with a smart character. Thanks to its holistic approach, ideas and components can be “cherry picked” to create good living conditions and welfare (see SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN 2017). In such a smart environment technologies are expected to streamline or automate the decision making process. In this context planning for the sustainable City is linked to health, attractiveness and safety. Through achieve this state, the SymbioCity (as platform) can guide through the process as it identifies relevant synergies between urban metabolisms as radical efficiency is something which is at the heart of SymbioCity.

Overall, this chapter illustrated that the stories told by SymbioCity and its approach reflect distinct yet also similar visions about the sustainable urban environment. They base their storyline on a holistic ideology which is rendered as good and non disputable. Moreover, both stories regard management of urban metabolisms as crucial to arrive at “the sustainable City” a management which can be argued about in detail but not on a larger scale as the bigger picture needs to be kept in mind. Now that the frames of the stories, their protagonists and plots have been revealed we are able to *retell the storyline of Swedish sustainable urban development* within SymbioCity and its approach.

5.4 Storylines of Swedish sustainable urban development: Two stories about “the City”

The storylines within SymbioCity and its approach are manifold. They range from concerns about climate change to stories of economic development, environmental protection and planning to notions about democracy, human rights and stories about responsibility. As such both stories legitimize a wide variety of actors ranging from companies, development agencies, Swedish municipalities etc.

Though the stories may differ in their institutional embeddings, the core of their storyline remains similar. SymbioCity is a story of “the sustainable City” created through the optimal and efficient use of urban metabolisms and institutional configurations. It is a story about an agreed upon frame of action characterized by consent in the name of a bigger picture narrative. As such, “the City” does not only provide a spatial anchor point but also an ideological resource that evokes understandings about the desired future, a future in which successful examples serve to legitimize “the City”. As such, the City is made mobile and adaptable as the metabolisms of which it is comprised can be managed according to contextual needs. To make these configurations of urban metabolisms adaptable a holistic frame is created in which economic development, success and sustainability become synonymous with “the City”. Ultimately, the collective, shared and objective reality of “the City” is brought into being.

Overall, Chapter 5 has pointed out that it is through the discursive and symbolic configurations that actors and their stories of urban sustainable development come into being. Hereby, the narrators and the story they tell become multiple constitutive. In such a frame, meanings about sustainability can be disputed and argued about as well as details and methods of implementation; however argumentations about the larger frame of action are rendered obsolete in respect to the “bigger picture”. Herby, holistic thinking and adaptability provide the intellectual frames in which configurations of

urban metabolisms can form the collective reality of “the City”. A Reality, which is brought into being through notions of sustainable urban development, as the image of the City is constantly (re)confirmed and legitimized. As such, the stories told about Swedish urban sustainable development by SymbioCity and its approach can be regarded as post-political, as they frame the possibility of action under the umbrella of a holistic consensus narrative about sustainable urban development. Through the translation of democracy as “inclusion of the many” the two stories receive their political legitimacy, within a frame under which a diverse set of notions about sustainable urban development can be subsumed. As such, Ecotopia comes into being and is not argued about but rather notions of management, adaptability and technological innovations form the central issues of dispute. Now that the stories of Swedish sustainable urban development have been identified as post-political one question still remains unanswered: *What happens if these stories get told to other people? Does this mobilization offer room for the political or does it reconfirm the demos-community in its practices?* Elaborating on these questions will form the focus of the next chapter.

6. Extending the branches - Mobilizing the story of Ecotopia

After the narrators and their stories about Swedish urban sustainable development have been revealed, this chapter shall now focus on the processes of storytelling. These are the processes by which the story of Ecotopia becomes translated, mobilized and legitimized across spatial and institutional contexts; the processes which contribute to a growing Ecotopia. As such, the following chapter will be based on findings drawn from eleven semi-structured interviews with actors who have been identified through the actor-network analysis. Within the process of storytelling special attention will be paid to the planner's role in creating a coherent story about sustainable urban development. Therefore this chapter will address the following analytical questions: *How are notions of urban sustainability mobilized across spatial and institutional settings? How are they perceived? What roles do planners take within this process?*

6.1 Fuelling the sustainable urban development machinery

Over the course of the interviews it became apparent that the mobilization of Swedish narratives about urban sustainable development is mainly driven by capital investments and the prospect to increase influence on global urban development processes. These two driving mechanisms have been identified in both narratives and can therefore not be assigned exclusively to one story or the other.

From the perspective of Swedish companies and municipalities this process becomes especially apparent. Swedish companies and municipalities draw on supra-national organisations (EU, Union of Baltic Cities or the Nordic Council of Ministries) which offer funding to support projects related to Swedish urban sustainable development. This support is clustered around administrative and financial aid. Hereby, administrative support aims to enhance the global and national influence of the respective municipalities and companies (but also on the organisations themselves). In contrast, financial support is mainly aggregated to support the development of urban sustainable technologies. In relation to these supra-national bodies, representatives of Swedish companies and municipalities expressed the influence of such institutions to increase a city's influence within a wider inter-city competition about capital investments. Through the implementation of programmes related to sustainable urban development, these supra-national institutions offer an arena for branding, not only for cities but for entire countries. As such, supra-national institutions enable Swedish municipalities to overcome restrictions (such as national legislations) and to emphasize their efforts and benchmarks in relation to sustainable urban development.

In such a process Swedish municipalities regard themselves as the spatial manifestation of "the sustainable City". This status is underscored by organisational bodies (ICLD, business companies) who organize "sightseeing" events for foreign delegations in the respective municipalities. These sight visits are made possible through financing from large scale donors such as governmental organizations or supra-national institutions. The notion of "the sustainable City" is then also utilized by companies and Swedish municipalities to enhance regional capital accumulation through the involvement of universities and regional companies in the creation of sustainable technologies. To discuss the configuration of urban metabolisms through technological fixes,

international events such as the “Earth Hour” provide arenas for citizen dialog and participation.

As previously stated, Swedish narratives about sustainable urban development also get mobilized through a desire of increased influence within larger frameworks of action. In this regard, the interviews revealed that both narratives of Swedish urban sustainable development aim to increase their actor’s influences in global processes of development cooperation or business promotion. To increase influence several interviewees stressed the configurations of urban metabolisms as important tool to argue for “the sustainable City”. Despite study visits and the configurations of metabolisms Swedish embassies in foreign countries are also used as tools to facilitate the mobilization of policies. Hereby, interview-partners affiliated to Business Sweden, SIDA and SKL International stressed Swedish embassies as important arenas to link Swedish expertise to local contexts. More than administrative support they contribute with financial aid to secure sustainable urban development projects in the respective countries. Hence, again capital plays a decisive role in the mobilization of urban sustainability as it determines the geographical direction in which policies of Swedish urban sustainable development move. Throughout the interviews it has become clear that this process is guided by marked based logics of “impact assessments” and narratives about supply and demand. In this respect, successful examples of implementation and managerial models are used in both Swedish narratives to argue for the benefits of sustainability performance to foreign government officials.

From a Swedish perspective, the sustainment of these “success stories” is highly important as it not only stresses the influential role of Swedish companies and agencies but also secures funds from national levels institutions (such as ministries or SIDA). Given its adaptability and its increasing alignment with Swedish companies the interviews have shown that urban sustainable development (in respect to SymbioCity) begins to transform into logics of innovative and smart city solutions. This adaptation is again supported by capital investments from national and foreign administrative levels. To secure investments for both narratives of the Swedish story, its notions need to be communicated and learned, for example through the development of methods. Through such learning processes, which are carried out by institutions such as ICLD or Swedish business companies, sustainability and its adaptations become constantly (re)confirmed through the provision of innovative managerial and technological solutions. These learning procedures enable the ideological composition of “sustainable cities” which are regarded as “good cities” that thus need agreement and commitment to be implemented. In such a context, knowledge which can provide and secure the re-contextualization of narratives has been regarded by all interviewees as vital for the continuous flow of capital and increasing influence.

All of the processes illustrated above contribute to the translation of urban sustainability into one holistic message through capital investment and desires of increased influence. As such, both narratives translate urban sustainable development into a “simplified, adaptable, and unique” process. Hereby a framework is created in which everyone can become an expert and argue what (especially Swedish) sustainable urban development is about. In such a process actors that would not normally participate in urban development processes are highly invited to develop these synergies. Synergies then become clustered around technological and managerial tools to achieve the sustainable City. To achieve the sustainable City all interviewees stressed that political commitment is important. If this commitment can not be secured Swedish

narratives of urban sustainability can not be mobilized. Hence, in addition to capital and influence, consensus in regard to the frame of action (urban sustainable development) becomes highly important. To argue for this frame the involvement of global institutions such as the World Bank or norms like the Sustainable Urban Development Goals is highlighted (mainly by actors involved with the SymbioCity approach). These global references legitimize the involvement of actors within the larger frame of action but also create global desires and frames of agreement for sustainable and smart urban solutions.

In such a frame, all actors (which are aligned with one of the narratives) are perceived as equally important by all interview partners, as actors who are not important do not belong to the frame of action. Given the two different agendas of Business Sweden and SKL International /SIDA the major form of dissent has formed around the use of the terminology of “SymbioCity”. Internationally, consensus is achieved through global schemes of reference, the illustration of Swedish examples but also through the integration of local knowledge (in regard to the translation of urban metabolisms). In such an international environment consensus becomes necessary and is easily agreed upon as disagreements are “planned” because “actors speak the same language”.

Overall, this section showcased that while capital and desires of increased influence on global development processes are the driving forces behind the mobilization of Swedish narratives of sustainable urban development; these processes require large amounts of labour. In this context labour, does not exclusively refer to work in a traditional sense but also in the discursive composition of a frame in which urban sustainable development can be enacted. The composition of this frame requires the creation of consent which is secured through the provision of best case examples underpinned by inclusive practices of citizens’ participation in relation to the configurations of urban metabolisms. As such, this frame constitutes the limits in which policies are able to mutate as they can not challenge the larger frame of action but rather managerial and technical solutions. However, these mutations (while limited) become crucial for the movement of policies as they make them adaptable and ultimately secure the frame in which capital and influence can grow and flourish. As such, the frame creates uneven geographies of policy mobility as everyone who contests the frame will not be integrated into this accumulation process. These geographies reside on the “power of translation”, a power that seemingly everyone posses but one that is also geographical traceable (to Sweden). Thereby the movement of policies becomes engineered and fuelled by capital and influence to keep the machinery of urban sustainable development in tact.

6.2 Naturalizing urban sustainable development

As the last section highlighted, consensus about the frame of action becomes engineered through the configurations of urban metabolisms supported by capital and desires of influence. Within such a consensual frame, *how is urban sustainable development conceptualized?*

Within SymbioCity and its approach “the packing” of sustainable urban development through these stories is frequently questioned by Swedish companies and agencies. This criticism mainly evolves around more productive, efficient and current translations of its core message. To update its message, policy learning from other countries has been

stressed (by Swedish companies) as one solution. However, while the package can be debated and argued about sustainable urban development in general is broadly perceived as something necessary, something that that can encourage other countries to make a difference.

Throughout all interviews it was stressed that “system and holistic thinking” is a “natural part” of Sweden’s planning approach to sustainable urban development. Hence, sustainability becomes naturalized as an integral characteristic of Sweden. Moreover, sustainability in a Swedish context is often regarded as something rooted in historical and traditional development. The “tradition” and the natural character of Swedish sustainability is then used (especially within SymbioCity) to argue for the transformation of urban metabolisms within a global framework of inter-city competition. This natural character of holistic in systematic thinking is also increasingly incorporated and argued for in relation to the organizational structure of Swedish companies. Hereby Swedish companies stress holistic and sustainable thinking as inherently inscribed in their working procedures. To support this sustainable thinking, several interviewees (affiliated with SymbioCity and its approach) argued that benchmarks are important to make the performance of cities comparable and to enhance knowledge exchange.

From the perspective of Swedish municipalities, agencies and companies, urban sustainable development is associated with “smart” solutions that can provide best results. In this regard the term “smart” refers to the efficient implementation of technologies and management practices. As such, sustainability becomes a commodity, which receives spatial legitimacy and material articulation through Swedish municipal experience in relation to sustainable urban development. Hereby, the (co)modifications of urban metabolisms can increase success and make this success measurable to legitimize urban sustainable development to national authorities (primarily in foreign settings).

Swedish government authorities (through embassies) and their agencies provide the frame in which urban sustainable development can be negotiated. A frame mainly constituted through capital and perceptions about “good development” which creates and protects the good environment and provides room for economic growth under the current circumstances of urbanisation and climate change. Again, urban sustainable development becomes conceptualized as a vehicle under which smart and innovative solutions as well as contextual learning about new ways of doing can be shared to enhance economic and sustainable growth. To uncover these new ways of doing Swedish municipalities draw on inspirations from foreign contexts (mainly European) to achieve uniqueness in Sweden and within a global inter-city competition. As such, Swedish urban sustainability (through its holistic approach) is also seen as a brand which can distinct Swedish (or even Nordic) approaches from other development or business approaches in the world.

Overall, sustainability is acknowledged to be a floating signifier. However, this status is seen as an advantage given its adaptable character. In foreign settings, a holistic approach is equally conceived as the good and right approach to achieve sustainable urban development which is required to address urban growth. Hereby foreign authorities refer to Sweden as “a good and right place” to learn from in regard to its sustainable urban development. In this respect urban sustainable development is perceived as something that can be put correctly in place through a holistic frame in

which the urban environment becomes manageable. Swedish organizations also stressed that urban sustainable development can be utilized to make cities more democratic regarding the involvement of people in discussions about ways to adapt configurations to their local contexts. Thus, it also has to be acknowledged that some interview-partners stressed a difficulty in the character of sustainability as floating signifier, given the different meanings it has in various contexts. Therefore the meaning of urban sustainable development has to be made locally adaptable.

In sum, sustainable urban development is perceived as common good that everyone wants to achieve. Hereby Swedish solutions offer practices, institutional settings and the symbolic and discursive meanings to create a holistic frame in which urban sustainable development can be made adaptable. Given the naturalization of sustainability, a Swedish approach becomes linked to experience and organisational, technological structures of implementation. As such the universal of sustainable urban development becomes particularized through common good narratives linked to notions of economic growth.

After the mobilization and perceptions of Swedish sustainable urban development have been highlighted the focus will now shift towards the planning profession. To offer a self-reflective critique towards his own profession the author aims to explore the role of his profession in sustaining or contesting the notions of Swedish sustainable urban development. This issue will be addressed in the following chapter by addressing the question: *What roles do planners take within this process?*

6.3 “The Planner”: Becoming a better storyteller?

Prior to conceptualizing the “roles of the planner” the author deems it as important to stress who “the planner” ought to be in the context of SymbioCity and its approach. The author deemed this investigation to be important to account for the role of his profession in (re)confirming the story of Ecotopia.

Who is the planner within the story of Ecotopia? Before addressing this question it has to be noted that merely three interview-partners had an academic background in urban planning. These interview-partners are mostly found in a Swedish academic and administrative context. Hence, several interview-partners stressed that “the planner” does not play a decisive role within the conceptualization of Swedish sustainable urban development. While the planner is not regarded as integral part for the genesis of sustainable urban development narratives, the planner is thus increasingly perceived as process manager within a Swedish context. In a foreign context however, the planner should rather be an executive force that can implement and translate foreign sustainable urban technologies and management practices to local contexts.

Given these conceptualizations of the planner as process manager and executive force what role does the planner take in the spread of Swedish sustainable urban development narratives? The planner as process manager is frequently expected to create consensus a constant field of tensions between citizens, public and private stakeholders. To achieve this consensus, the planner should advocate new technologies, building techniques and organisational solutions and frame these within a holistic perspective that can be made adaptable. In such a setting, planners are expected to create an inclusive and democratic setting in which “plans” can be debated regarding the configurations they introduce. In

such an inclusive setting, the planner should be increasingly educated as communicator between different sectors to generate synergies which can enable new forms of configurations and knowledge about these. Such a systematic understanding has been perceived (by several interview-partners) as a natural characteristic of Swedish planning education system, something that can be used to argue for Swedish planning in foreign contexts. As such, planners do not become involved in the creation of the process but in its translation and implementation in different contexts. In this regard planners have been showcased as the ones who see opportunities and then argue for consent and compromise to achieve these opportunities. Hereby it is seen as evident (from all interview-partners) that one solution can not fit everyone, however planners should argue for the overall goal (sustainable urban development) to make adjustments so that solutions can be made applicable. Hence, planners are expected to make meanings of sustainable urban development adaptable through the invocation of holistic solutions. Hereby, sustainable urban development serves as common denominator which can not be argued about.

In foreign contexts, planners are expected to enable such synergies within the urban environment but also across institutional contexts. Given the challenges posed by climate change planners are regarded to maximize these synergies and implement solutions which can also be directly imported (given the institutional context in the respective countries). As such, interview-partners who are embedded in foreign contexts stressed that planners should not only become process managers but also the executive force that can implement and adapt sustainable urban development solutions.

Overall, this section identified planners and their roles in relation to the creation of Ecotopia. It showcased that planners from a Swedish perspective are regarded as “process managers”. As such, planners should facilitate the translation of urban metabolism and advocate for a holistic and Swedish understanding of sustainable urban development. To become these urban managers planners are expected to learn more about latest technological innovations and strategies to communicate these narratives across different institutional and spatial contexts. Moreover, these managers should be able to secure consensus amongst citizens and their inclusion in relation to different implementation strategies and configurations of urban metabolisms. On the other side of this demand-supply logic (which SymbioCity and its approach introduce) planners are expected to be the executive force of sustainable urban development ideologies. This executive task encompasses institutional transformations and material co modifications of space to reflect holistic logics of sustainable urban development. These translations of the urban environment are regarded as necessary to tackle climate change and urbanization.

In sum, Chapter 6 highlighted the processes which construct the frame of action, the black box of urban sustainability. In this regard it has been emphasized that processes relating to the spread of urban sustainable development are directed by flows of capital and desires to influence current developments. Hereby, the two stories of Swedish sustainable urban development stretch out in highly selective ways, ways guided by capital investments and logics of efficiency and maximization. To secure these processes the elements of sustainable urban development policies (such as urban metabolisms) are translated into highly mobile commodities that underlie a holistic logic which makes them adaptable to nearly every context. In this regard citizens are welcomed and be part of the process of constructing Ecotopia as they are able to take part in participation processes about ways of implementation. Planners in this context

become the managers to secure this process of participation through the invocation of synergies which then they ultimately implement in their respective contexts. Hereby they increasingly yield the power of translation. Overall, the spread of urban sustainable development through SymbioCity and its approach did not construct a political narrative but rather contributed to the spread and spatial manifestation of post-political conditions. Conditions constantly reconfirmed by planners who become the advocates, promoters and executors of this process.

7. Ecotopia: A discussion for the political

In the following chapter, the empirical findings of this thesis are going to be discussed based on the overall research question: *How do mobile policies stemming from SymbioCity and its approach shape, legitimise and mobilize de-politicized urban environments?* In this regard, this chapter will also elaborate on the notion of Ecotopia and its suitability to address this question. Following the methodological triad (used to deconstruct the story of Ecotopia), the discussion will start by elaborating on the findings regarding the *actor-network which creates and sustains the frame of urban environmental production* within SymbioCity and the SymbioCity approach.

Politics of Swedish sustainable urban development

To account for LAW'S (2009) conceptualization of "the webs of stories", in which stories are perceived as the outcomes of relations and socio-historical understandings, the author laid out the development of these "historical narratives". By linking these narratives to current planning ideologies, the author argued for a *palimpsest* in which current and former practices *construct* an ideological fundament on which various forms of relations can be enacted. On this basis, it has been revealed that the actor-network of SymbioCity and its approach consists of various actors which cross multiple spatial dimensions. Hence, these relations can not simply be put into conventional bottom-up or top-down hierarchies but rather reflect an "organised messiness" of relations in which scales are selectively drawn upon to serve particular interests. Under such relations, a diverse set of actors in various spatial settings and with multiple objectives come together to form relations of knowledge production, capital accumulation and administrative ordering. Hereby, these actors construct the realm of politics. The organisational aspect of this messy conglomeration of actors relies on governmental organisation and capital investments that enable actors and their ideologies. This development has been increasingly referred to under notions of "public-private partnership" arrangements and "governance" which are perceived as characteristically for "neo-liberalization" (see HEALEY 2006; TUNSTRÖM & BRADLEY 2014; MADUREIRA 2014). Hereby, urban planning scholars argue that current planning practices are the outcome of an enrolment of state functions to private companies and consultants. While the findings of this thesis support this conceptualization, they also allude to a more critical investigation of the role of the nation state.

In this regard, the findings suggest that these new "public-private partnership" arrangements are profoundly orchestrated by the nation state in the form of capital investments and administrative support. Hereby, this thesis runs in line with urban political ecology studies, as it argues that current forms of urban environmental production are the outcome of a mixture of notions of government and governance (see SWYNGEDOUW 2005; SWYNGEDOUW & KAIKA 2014). Consequently, the author highlights that (within planning and policy mobility studies) the nation state should be perceived to have a more proactive role in shaping relations which enable certain narratives. However, given that the network of actors presented in this thesis does not present a fully closed network but rather portrays the most prominent actors in the nexus of SymbioCity and its approach it is up for debate whether such orchestration might occur from actors outside the nation state apparatus. Moreover, it might be possible that other types of relations between the dominant actors (within SymbioCity and its approach) exist, then the ones illustrated in this thesis. This argumentation

however holds little ground against the overall intention of this thesis. Through identifying the most prominent actors and the ways in which they perceive their relations, it has been argued that these conceptualizations are necessary to understand the way of hegemonic and de-politicized urban environmental production. In this regard, the objective was not to unveil a fully closed network but the dominant actors and their relations within this network.

Constructing the post-political City

The objective of the second step of analysis then was to *describe the stories about sustainable urban developments* which are told by these dominant actors. Overall, despite the different mandates which underlie SymbioCity and its approach, the two stories reflect similar symbolic and discursive conceptualizations of spatial reality. Both stories construct “the City” as a place for everyone, the collective we. In such an environment, the City promises opportunity and sustainability through the configuration of urban metabolisms and institutions. In these stories, participation about ways to adapt configurations to local contexts is invited and allowed. To argue for this development, SymbioCity and its approach refer to Swedish cities which are becoming the ideological resource upon which the sustainable City can be build. As such, both stories about Swedish sustainable urban development particularize the universal of sustainable urban development and link it to certain spaces. Hereby, the ideological resource of the City becomes tangible and simultaneously offers assistance on how to arrive at Ecotopia. In such a frame, stories of the sustainable City become a post-political narrative, as they provide a holistic and adaptable frame of action that is non disputable, given the global and individual responsibility to tackle climate change. These findings can be confirmed through recent contributions within policy mobility, urban planning and urban political ecology studies. For example, urban political ecology studies have begun to pay closer attention to the black box of the City. Hereby, scholars stress the importance of investigating the power relations and transformations by which the City (as post-political construct) comes into being and obscures the processes upon which it is constructed (see HEYNEN 2014; GABRIEL 2014). In their book entitled “*Participation the new tyranny?*” COOKE & KOTHARI (2001) stress the contribution of participation in reconfirming these dominant and powerful narratives through the act of inclusion. As such, one can perceive the inclusion of the “we” (all) in the City as an attempt to confirm the dominant relations upon which the City is constructed.

This conceptualization of the stories told by SymbioCity and its approach is based on a fairly small amount of documents. Moreover, these documents reflect a very narrow institutional discourse which thus relates to larger discourses of sustainable urban development. As such, it can be argued that an investigation of such a narrow (institutional and temporal) and selective discourse does not allow for a clear conceptualization of the stories told by SymbioCity and its approach. While these points of critique are certainly justified, it has to be stressed that the selection of the documents has been guided by previous methods which identified the most prominent documents within SymbioCity and its approach. Therefore, the documents that have been selected are perceived (by the actors themselves) as some of the most important ones. Moreover, the quantity of documents has been chosen to achieve an equal representation of narratives. Given the high amount of documents published in relation to the SymbioCity approach compared to SymbioCity the author strived for an equal representation of narratives through the evaluation of two documents for each story.

Through the conceptualization of sustainability as floating signifier, the author deemed it as important to catch this signifier at a specific point in time to see how this signifier relates to recent and historical spatial developments. In this regard, the narrow focus of the discourse analysis presents a distinct, yet desirable “tool” to get a grasp on stories which are constantly in the (re)making.

Mobilizing uneven geographies

Lastly, this thesis aimed to reflect upon the *mobilization of these stories with special attention paid to the role of the planner*. As such, it has been revealed that the two narratives of Swedish sustainable urban development are mobilized through capital and desires to influence global development processes. Hereby, this thesis has outlined that the post-political character of these narratives gets reconfirmed through their travels. During their journeys, policies of sustainable urban development get translated in regard to the configurations of urban metabolisms. As such, ways of implementation, institutional adaptations, the packing (SymbioCity and its approach) and even different meanings of sustainable urban development become disputable while sustainable urban development itself is not argued about. This spread of post-political environments is further underscored by the City which provides the ideological narrative and material anchor point on which consensus can be build. In contexts where such a consensus over institutional configurations, translations of urban metabolisms or capital investments can not be enacted, policies of Swedish sustainable urban development are not able to move. In doing so, these policies create a highly uneven spatiality in which disagreement is transported outside of the political realm given “the power of translation”. Planners in this regard, are conceived as executors and facilitators of this process. Hereby, the planner is regarded and expected to be an “urban manager”. Given this role, planners should encourage the communication between different actors to increase the transport of holistic understanding about sustainable urban development. Moreover, planners should be able to implement these solutions to achieve sustainable urban development. In doing so, planners contribute to the spread of urban post-political environments by supporting the ideological and material construction of the City as a consensual agreed upon ideology for everyone.

These findings extend the state of current literature in the field of policy mobility. They depart from “conventional thoughts” on the topologies or fields of policies (see CRANG & THRIFT 2000; MCCANN 2011), understood as two dimensional or “flat” spaces and argue for a “spatiality of policies”. This spatiality is brought into being through uneven geographies of policies in which the power of translation elevates certain spaces and actors over others thereby creating spatial unevenness, dependencies and consequently a “three dimensional” policy spatiality. This spatiality becomes managed by neo-liberal ideologies of capital and desires of influence thereby creating a highly selective spread of policies in which disagreement about the frame of action is displaced to the outside and therefore becomes not possible. In creating this three dimensional spatiality policies rethink and modify space (see PECK & THEODORE 2010) but also naturalize the ordering of this spatiality. Hereby, planners become essential to uphold this policy spatiality as they communicate and materialize the consensus and mutual agreement upon which it relies (see HEALEY 2012; SAGER 2009).

These results rely on information provided by interview-partners which have been identified through a qualitative content analysis. The author however, was not able too interview national and foreign political authorities and elaborate on their perspectives

regarding the creation of post-political conditions. The author acknowledges this lack of perspective which is based on the low feedback rate from national governmental authorities. Moreover, the decision to put the focus on patterns instead of direct quotes might also have influence the findings of this thesis given the abstractions of statements made by the author. To reduce this bias, the author tried to exchange the transcripts and offered a copy of his thesis to his interview participants. Nevertheless, it remains questionable if this bias can be reduced through these ethical considerations. Thus, the author did not want to expose his participants to larger conflicts that might arise because of the conflict laden topic that this thesis addresses. Therefore, the abstractions of statements into larger patterns of analysis is a bias that can not be avoided but one that the author needs to account for.

The findings also incorporate the perspectives from two interview-partners in foreign settings who have been involved either with SymbioCity or its approach. Other narrations about the transport of Swedish urban sustainable development to foreign settings were mainly drawn from Swedish institutional contexts. This was yet another limitation, based on the willingness and available of foreign authorities to participate. Out of the people who were willing to participate, only three interview-partners had a background in urban planning and therefore could directly relate to the interview questions regarding planning education (see Appx. Fig. 1). Thus, the author deemed it as important to include the perspectives of all interview-partners to reflect upon the perception of dominant actors about what planners are expected to be and what they are expected to do in relation to the spread of de-politicized urban environments. As such, it also has to be acknowledged that the role of the planner is linked to individual and institutional interpretations of the planner's role (FOX-ROGERS & MURPHY 2016: 75). Therefore, "the role of the planner" does not exist given the multitude of perceptions what surround this profession. However, in identifying what the planner is expected to be one can map the institutional setting and ideologies upon which current planning relies. The role of the planner as "urban manager" (outlined above) does not necessarily refer to individual perceptions but the institutional perception that builds around the planning profession and shapes everyday practices. In this regard, it has to be emphasized that individual disagreement against sustainable urban development might exist; however the institutional embeddings of interview partners could have prevented an articulation about disagreement as they have to be held accountable for their institutional practices. Uncovering such an individualized articulation of disagreement within dominant narratives however was not within the main scope of this thesis.

Naturalizing the political through Ecotopia

As final point of critical discussion, the author argues what while he is criticizing the post-political charter of sustainable urban development policies he also contributed to a "naturalization" of this process through the metaphorical illustration of Ecotopia as "a growing tree". In this regard, it has to be stressed that the author utilized this metaphor to address the "myth" of sustainability as natural phenomenon. Through utilizing this metaphor the author aimed to emphasize the paradox of a highly engineered and exclusive form of what is commonly perceived as natural. By pointing out the labour intense processes by which the machinery of urban sustainability is uphold and (re)modelled into something "natural" the author wanted to create public and scientific awareness for the "dangers" that the black box of urban sustainability entails.

As such, the notion of Ecotopia has been applied to provide insights into how the black box of urban sustainability is upheld and mobilized across various spatial and institutional contexts. Through its emphasis on the mutual constitution of process and structure, Ecotopia helped to deconstruct the plot of its own story; the post-political imaginary of the perfect balance between human interests and their environment. In doing so, the “story narrative” in which Ecotopia was staged offered the methodological tools to account for this mutual constitution. Whilst this story narrative enabled the creation of a complementary theoretical and methodological framework, it could be argued that such a narrative neglects the material implications of SymbioCity and its approach. However, by arguing for the mutual constitution of process and structure the notion of Ecotopia does not negate considerations about “the material” but rather regards the material as co-constituted by the social processes upon which it resides. These socio-material arrangements, which are introduced in the story of Ecotopia, then construct the de-politicized sustainable City. Hence, the story narrative is profoundly grounded in material and spatial realities as well as in the social processes by which such realities become constituted. Therefore, Ecotopia has to be regarded as profoundly material and spatial notion. Moreover, it became apparent that the notion of Ecotopia does little to politicize current spatial realities as it does not offer any conceptualization of *the political* but rather portrays the current status quo, constituted by *politics*. Ecotopia presents a tool to investigate how policies obscure the political but offers no account for the political act; therefore Ecotopia could be regarded as carrying few performative capacities. Yet, the intention of this thesis has never been to overturn the current state of affairs. Primarily, Ecotopia serves as a cautious reminder about the present status quo and thereby calls for the imagination of alternatives to current politics; as such Ecotopia presents a discussion for the political. Hereby, Ecotopia proved to be an insightful notion within this thesis because it offered a way to explore how consensus and dissent in regard to Swedish sustainable urban development are formed. In doing so, Ecotopia argues for the necessity to broadly politicize the debate around Swedish sustainable urban development. Consequently, the notion of Ecotopia provides the possibility to engage into *pre-political* conversation and thought which could lead to political action and ultimately to a naturalization of the political.

In this regard the thesis aimed to offer an entry point for such pre-political discussions amongst the public sphere. It invites other people to tell their own story based on the one outline by the author (Ecotopia). Hence it should be up to the reader to determine whether the notion of Ecotopia illustrates a utopian or dystopian narrative. Given the fact that stories continuously lay out further webs (see LAW 2009) the author’s narrative should serve as entry point for other “critical” stories. In this regard, this thesis argues for the creation of arenas in which radical disagreement (in all forms and shapes) can be enacted. The author deems this as important contribution given the current state of de-politicized urbanization.

For planning practitioners this thesis offers no valuation of good or bad policy practices but rather illustrates the state of current urbanization processes. Departing from this point, this thesis should be conceptualized as encouragement for planning practitioners to think differently and to imagine alternatives to this current “Reality”. Though portraying the current status quo and how planners contribute to its existence, planners should feel encouraged to think about the realities that they want to help bringing into existence. However, given the current frame of strong neo-liberal ideologies paired with notions of the common good and sustainability it remains to be seen whether such an ideological switch can occur.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that the spread of de-politicized urban environments through mobile policies is constituted by the creation of a “policy spatiality” as well as by the discursive and material construction of “the City”. These two processes have to be regarded as mutual constitutive in shaping current de-politicized urbanization processes.

It has been stressed that policies stemming from SymbioCity and its approach shape and enact a diffuse spatiality, expanding along the lines of capital and desires of global influence. Hence, the spatiality of policy becomes selective and uneven as the “power of translation” leverages certain actors and spaces over others. In this “three dimensional” spatiality, policies of sustainable urban development reshape the spaces over which they travel, thereby legitimizing and expanding the policy spatiality. These policies however do not only become legitimized while moving across their own spatiality but also mutate while doing so. This mutation becomes essential to uphold the policy spatiality and the demos-community which enacts this spatiality. To enable this mutation and legitimize the spatiality in its existence, policies become linked to material practices (in Sweden and abroad) in a process in which the “material imaginary” of the City comes into being. The expression of “material imaginary” refers to the City as black box which obscures the processes upon which it is constructed. Throughout this thesis it has been emphasized that the narrative of the City is a highly engineered construct, build up by human labour, capital and desires of global influence. In the construction of this material imaginary, the transformation of urban metabolisms into manageable commodities becomes essential for the invocation and translation of the City narrative across various contexts. Despite the transformation of urban metabolisms, the City (or the SymbioCity) also transforms history itself. This transformation occurs to the invocation of a natural state of affairs which argues for the City narrative as common good and desired utopia which can be mobilized across the policy spatiality.

These two components come into existence upon another black box which is sustainable urban development. As such, the City comes into being through sustainable urban development narratives and policies. The City becomes an opportunity to achieve sustainable urban development through certain configurations of urban metabolisms. To achieve these sustainable transformations and to ultimately become the sustainable City, the spatiality of policies can be drawn upon to make the City ideology adaptable in a holistic frame of neo-liberal and welfare ideologies of the common good. In such a holistic framework dispute and participation can be enacted around the translation of urban metabolisms and the various adaptations of sustainability. However, this frame does not allow dissent against the overall frame of action which is the black box of urban sustainability, a black box which creates de-politicized urbanization process. In sum, sustainable urban development enables a de-politicized “spatiality of policies” which becomes mutable constitutive with the social relations, material practices, institutional and metabolic configurations and the ideological composition of the City upon which it is constructed.

Given its findings, this thesis holds important implications for planning research. First and foremost it articulates an appeal to theoretically and methodologically move beyond the City. Hereby, the thesis stresses a new spatial rationality that moves away from conceptual binaries between bounded and relational spaces and multi-scalar

schemes in which current spatial realities are constructed. The author argues that it is rather through the ideological composition of relational, bounded as well as scalar and temporal narratives that spatial reality comes into being and is constantly reconfirmed. In this spatial rationality, spaces (across geographical scales and time) hold various properties such as local, national, bounded, relational, democratic etc. These properties then become selectively drawn upon in a labour and capital intense process by which space is engineered, translated and obscured to serve certain objectives. During this process, spaces are made and become ideological exclusive as the wide array of their properties is simplified through the leverage of certain properties that are regarded as desirable. Consequently, spaces have a wide array of characteristics, they are never simply local, global, translocal, bounded, relational or both but are made so (into coherent frames of meaning) to support particular purposes. This line of thought then ultimately enables a theoretical departure from cities (within planning studies) and points towards the discursive and spatial struggles which form around the process of “planetary urbanization” by which cities become constituted. As such, this thesis argues that it should not be cities which should form the focus of investigation but the translation of diverse realities into black boxes such as “the City”. Consequently, further research needs to take this process seriously and address questions of how the City comes into being and how it can underscore and contest current de-politicized urbanization processes. These debates bare the possibility to pierce through the hegemonic frame of action and might open up our cherished black box of “the City”.

Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that planning research needs to account for the de-politicized character of current stories and practices of sustainable urban development. Accounting for this notion means that planners need to emancipate themselves from debates about sustainable or unsustainable urban development. To overcome this dualism further research needs to turn over the process of Ecotopia, namely the particularization of universals into a process of universalizing the particular. Through universalizing particular articulations of the political, it might be possible to pierce through the hegemonic frame of Ecotopia. In advocating for such a process the author deems it as fundamental importance for planners, not only to facilitate communication but to critically reflect upon what it is that they want to communicate. In this regard, this thesis has laid out an arena for planners to (re)conceptualize their understandings of “the good City”. As such, it becomes of fundamental intellectually importance to investigate the processes under which cities (as birthplaces of democracy) have been ideologically remoulded under current planetary urbanization.

To conclude, the author demonstrated that it is through the opening of black boxes that we might be able to envision an alternative to current urbanization processes. As it has been showcased that utopia and dystopia are mutable constitutive, the author has to take responsibility (after framing current urbanization processes related to SymbioCity and its approach as dystopia) and articulate his vision of utopia. While we may encounter several black boxes (sustainable urban development, the City) along our paths towards utopia, what we find after we truly have seen all the horrors in “the box of Pandora” is hope (LATOURE 1999: 300). For the author this hope entails a vision of Ecotopia that is realizable. In such an Ecotopia the political would be fully embraced and enacted by all kinds of societies, in which alternative realities can be envisioned, argued about but also put into place. Within this vision of Ecotopia the demos would be driven out of *the polis* to invite the ones who have been expelled from the political everyday life and argument so that everyone might be able to occupy “the political place of power”. Retrieving this hope is thus a labour intense process; however it is the authors firm

believe that if we are able to retrieve it, we might be able to envision an alternative urbanization process.

9. References

- ANDERSSON, G. (2013): Get Started, Move Forward! Leadership in Sustainable Urban Development. Available through: <http://www.symbiocity.org/PublicDownloads/Get%20Started,%20Move%20Forward/Get%20started%20move%20forward.pdf> (retrieved: 21.05.2017).
- ANDERSSON, G., CARLSON, B. & S. LARSSON (2011): Developing Sustainable Cities in Sweden. Available through: http://www.vaxjo.se/upload/www.vaxjo.se/Kommunledningsf%C3%B6rvaltningen/Planeringskontoret/SusCit_maildocument_111124.pdf (retrieved: 21.05.2017).
- ANDERSSON, I. (2016): 'Green cities' going greener? Local-environmental policy-making and place branding in the 'Greenest City in Europe'. *European Planning Studies* 24, (6), pp. 1197-1215.
- APPADURAI, A. (2002): Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics. *Public Culture* 14, (1), pp. 21-47.
- ALLMENDINGER, P. (2009²): *Planning Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- BERGER, P. L. & T. LUCKMANN (1996): *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Available through: <http://perflensburg.se/Berger%20social-construction-of-reality.pdf> (retrieved: 18.05.2017).
- BIRCH, E. L. (2012): Cities, People, and Processes as Planning Case Studies. In: Crane, R. & R. Weber (eds.): *The Oxford handbook of Urban Planning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-34.
- BRADLEY, K., HULT, A. & G. CARS (2013): From Eco-Modernizing to Political Ecologizing: Future Challenges for the Green Capital. In: METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (eds.): *Sustainable Stockholm: Exploring urban sustainability in Europe's Greenest city*. New York: Routledge, pp. 168-194.
- BRENNER, N. (2013): Theses on Urbanization. *Public Culture* 25, (1), pp. 85-114.
- BRENNER, N. (ed.) (2014): *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis.
- BOSE, S. (2015): Universities and the redevelopment politics of the neoliberal city. *Urban Studies* 52, (14), pp. 2616-2632.
- BRENNER, N., PECK, J. & N. THEODORE (2010): After neoliberalization? *Globalization* 7, (3), pp. 327-345.
- BRYMAN, A. (2012⁴): *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BULKELEY, H., CASTÁN BROTO, V. & G. A. S. EDWARDS (2015): *An Urban Politics of Climate Change: Experimentation and the governing of Socio-technical Transitions*. London: Routledge.
- BUSINESS SWEDEN (ed.) (n.d.): Archive. Documents related to SymbioCity. Available through: <http://www.business-sweden.se/Export> (retrieved: 19.05.2017).
- CALLENBACH, E. (1975): *Ecotopia*. New York: Bantam Dell.
- CALLON, M. & B. LATOUR (1981): Unscrewing the big Leviathan: how actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so. In: KNORR-CETINA, K. & A. V. CICOUREL (eds.): *Advances in social theory and methodology: Toward an integration of micro- and macro-sociologies*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 277-303. Available through: <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/09-LEVIATHAN-GB.pdf> (retrieved: 20.05.2017).

- CALLON, M. (1986): Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fisherman of St. Brieuc Bay. In: LAW, J. (ed.): Power, action and belief: a new sociology of knowledge? London: Routledge, pp. 196-223.
- CARETTA, M. A. (2016): 'Member checking: A feminist participatory analysis of the use of preliminary results pamphlets in cross-cultural, cross-language research', *Qualitative Research* 16, (3), pp. 305–318.
- CASTÁN BROTO, V. & H. BULKELY (2013): Maintaining Climate Change Experiments: Urban Political Ecology and the Everyday Reconfiguration of Urban infrastructure. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, (6), pp. 1934-1948.
- COCHRANE, A. & K. WARD (2012): Researching the geographies of policy mobility: confronting the methodological challenges. *Environment and Planning* 44, (1), pp. 5-12.
- COOK, I. R. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (2012): Cities, Social Cohesion and the Environment: Towards a Future Research Agenda. *Urban Studies* 49, (9), pp. 1959-1979.
- COOKE, B. & U. KOTHARI (eds.) (2001): Participation: the New Tyranny? New York: Zed Books.
- CRANG, M. & N. THRIFT (eds.) (2000): Thinking space. London: Routledge.
- CROSSA, V. (2009): Resisting the entrepreneurial city: Street vendors' struggle in Mexico City's historic centre. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, (1), pp. 43-63.
- CUGURULLO, F. (2016): Urban eco-modernization and the policy context of new eco-city projects: Where Masdar City fails and why? *Urban Studies* 53, (1), pp. 2417-2433.
- DAHLGREN, S. & C. WAMSLER (2014): Evaluation of the Development of the Sustainable City Approach. Available through: http://www.sida.se/contentassets/b5b2be280b5a4a728100d1b545ebfa82/evaluation-of-the-development-of-the-sustainable-city-approach---final-report_3737.pdf (retrieved: 19.05.2017).
- DEGEN, M. & M. GARCÍA (2012): The Transformation of the 'Barcelona model': An Analysis of Culture, Urban Regeneration and Governance. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36, (5), pp. 1022-1038.
- DE JONG, M., JOSS, S., SCHRAVEN, P., ZHAN, L. & M. WEIJNEN (2015): Sustainable-smart-resilient-low carbon-eco-knowledge cities: making sense of a multitude of concepts promoting sustainable urbanization. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 109, pp. 25-38.
- DOLOWITZ, D. & D. MARSH (1996): Who learns what from whom? A review of the policy transfer literature. *Political Studies* 44, (2), pp. 343-357.
- EDWARDS, G. A. S. & H. BULKELEY (2017): Urban political ecologies of housing and climate change: The 'Coolest Block' Contest in Philadelphia. *Urban Studies* 54, (5), pp. 1126-1141.
- ELLISON, N. (2017): Politics, power and policy transfer. *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 10, (1), pp. 8-24.
- ENGELHARDT, A. (2015): The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis in Innovation Research: Evolutions of Innovations in Contemporary Fine Art. *Historical Social Research* 40, (3), pp. 130-160.
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. (1995): Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language. London: Longman.
- FISHMAN, R. (2016): Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century. Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. In: FAINSTEIN S. S. & J. DEFILIPPIS (eds.): Readings in Planning Theory. 4. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 23-51.

- FLYVBJERG, B. (2006): Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, (2), pp. 219-245.
- FREEMAN, R. (2012): Reverb: Policy making in wave form. *Environment and Planning* 44, (1), pp. 13-20.
- FOUCAULT (1972): *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language*. Available through: https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault_Michel_Archaeology_of_Knowledge.pdf (retrieved: 19.05.2017).
- FOX-ROGERS, L. & E. MURPHY (2016): Self-perceptions of the role of the planner. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 43, (1), pp.74-92.
- GABRIEL, N. (2014): Urban Political Ecology: Environmental Imaginary, Governance, and the Non-Human. *Geography Compass* 8, (1), pp. 38-48.
- GANDY, M. (2006): Urban nature and the ecological imaginary. In: HEYNEN, C., KAIKA, M. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (eds.): *In the Nature of Cities: urban Political ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolisms*. London: Routledge, pp. 62-73.
- GIBSON-GRAHAM, J. K. (2008): Diverse economics: performative practices for 'other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography* 32, (5), pp. 613-632.
- GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN (ed.) (2017): *Government Agencies*. Available through: government.se/government-agencies (retrieved: 17.05. 2017).
- GUSTAFSON, S., HEYNEN, N., RICE, J. L., GRADSON, T., SHEPHERD, J. M. & C. STROTHER (2014): Megapolitan Political Ecology and Urban Metabolism in Southern Appalachia. *The Professional Geographer* 66, (4), 2014, pp. 664-675.
- HAGERMAN, C. (2007): Shaping neighbourhoods and nature: Urban political ecologies of urban waterfront transformations in Portland, Oregon. *Cities* 24, (4), pp. 285-297.
- HARVEY, D. (1993): *The Nature of Environment: Dialectics of Social and Environmental Change*. In: Miliband, R. & L. Panitch (eds.): *Real Problems, False Solutions*. London: Merlin Press.
- HARVEY, D. (1996): *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- HARVEY, D. (2007): *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HASSAN A., M. & H. LEE (2015): Toward the sustainable urban development of urban areas: An overview of global trends in trials and policies. *Land Use Policy* 48, pp. 199-212.
- HEALEY, P. (2006): Relational complexity and the Imaginative Power of Strategic Spatial Planning. *European Planning Studies* 14, (4), pp. 525-546.
- HEALEY, P. (2010): *Making Better Places: The planning Project in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Palgrave Macmillian.
- HEALEY, P. (2011): The universal and the contingent: Some reflections on the transnational flow of planning ideas and practices. *Planning Theory* 11, (2), pp.188-207.
- HEALEY, P. (2012): Communicative Planning: practices, Concepts and Rhetorics. In: Sanyal, B., Vale L. J. & C. D. Rosan (eds.): *Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and- Reflective Practice*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 333-357.
- HEYNEN, N., KAIKA, M. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (2006): Urban political ecology: politicising the production of urban natures. In: HEYNEN, N., KAIKA, M. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (eds.): *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-20.
- HEYNEN, N. C. (2014): Urban political ecology I: The urban century. *Progress in Human Geography* 38, (4), pp. 598-604.

- HILDING-RYDEVIK T., HÅKANSSON M. & K. ISAKSSON (2011): "Sustainable growth" – the Swedish governmental discourse on sustainable regional development. *International Planning Studies* 16, (2), pp. 169-187
- HOLIFIELD, R. & N. SCHUELKE (2015): The Place and Time of the Political in urban Political Ecology: Contested imaginations of a River's Future. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105, (2), pp. 294-303.
- HÖGSTRÖM, E., WANGEL, J. & G. HENRIKSSON (2013): Performing Sustainability: Institutions, Inertia and the Practices of Everyday Life. In: METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (eds.): *Sustainable Stockholm: Exploring urban sustainability in Europe's Greenest city*. New York: Routledge, pp. 147-167.
- HULT, A. (2013): Swedish Production of Sustainable Urban Imaginaries in China. *The Journal of Urban Technology* 20, (1), pp. 77-94.
- HULT, A. (2015): The circulation of Swedish urban sustainability practices: to China and back. *Environment and Planning* 47, (3), 537-553.
- HÅRSMAN, B. & B. WIJMARK (2013): From ugly duckling to Europe's first green capital. A Historical Perspective on the Development of Stockholm's Urban Environment. In: METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (eds.): *Sustainable Stockholm: Exploring urban sustainability in Europe's Greenest city*. New York: Routledge, pp. 10-46..
- JOSS, S. (2011): Eco-cities: the mainstreaming of urban sustainability; key characteristics and driving factors. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 6, (3), pp. 268-285.
- JOSS, S. & A. P. MOLELLA (2013): The Eco-City as Urban Technology: Perspectives on Caofeidian International Eco-City (China). *Journal of Urban Technology* 20, (1), pp. 115-137.
- KAIKA, M. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (2012): Cities, Natures and the Political Imaginary. *Architectural Design* 82, (4), pp. 22-27.
- KELLER, R. (2005): Analysing Discourse. An Approach from the Sociology of Knowledge. *Qualitative Social Research* 6, (3), n. p.
- KELLER, R. (2011): The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD). *Human Studies* 34, (1), pp. 43-65.
- KELLER, R. (2012): Entering Discourses: A New Agenda for Qualitative Research and Sociology of Knowledge. *Qualitative Social Research* 8, (2), pp. 46-75.
- KUCHENBUCH, D. (2016): In Search of the "Human Scale": Delimiting the social in German and Swedish urban Planning in the 1930s and 1940s. *Journal of Urban History* 42, (86), pp. 1044-1064.
- KUUS, M. (2014): *Geopolitics and Expertise: Knowledge and Authority in European Diplomacy*. Hoboken: Wiley.
- LATOUR, B. (1999): *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- LATOUR, B. (2005): *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network-theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- LAW, J. (2004): *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. London: Routledge.
- LAW, J. & J. URRY (2005): Enacting the social. *Economy and Society* 33, (3), pp. 390-410.
- LAW, J. (2006): Traduction / Trahison: Notes on ANT. *Convergencia* 13, (42), pp. 47-72.
- LAW, J. (2009): Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics. In: TURNER, B. S. (ed.): *The new Blackwell companion to social theory*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 141-158.

- LAW, J. & V. SINGLETON (2013): ANT and Politics: Working in and on the world. *Qualitative Sociology* 36, (4) pp. 485-502.
- LAWHON, M., ERNSTSON, E. & J. SILVER (2013): Provincializing Urban Political Ecology: Towards a Situated UPE Through African Urbanism. *Antipode* 46, (2), pp. 497-516.
- LELE, S. (2015): Childhood in a neoliberal utopia: Planning Rethoric and Parental conceptions in conemporary Stockholm. *Human Geography* 97, (3), pp. 233-247.
- LINDSTRÖM, P. & M. J. LUNDSTRÖM (eds.) (2008): Sustainability by Sweden. Perspectives on Urban Governance. Stockholm: Boverket.
- LU, X. (2013): Linked Ego-Networks: Improving estimate reliability and validity with respondent-driven sampling. *Social Networks* 35, pp. 669-685.
- MADURERIA, M. A. (2014): Physical Planning in Entrepreneurial Urban Governance- Experiences from the Bo01 and Brunnsög projects in Sweden. *European Planning Studies* 22, (11), pp. 2368-2388.
- MAYRING, P. (2000): Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Social Research* 1, (2), n. p.
- MCCANN, E. (2011): Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101, (1), pp. 107-130.
- MCCANN, E. & K. WARD (2012): Assembling urbanism: following the policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policy making. *Environment and Planning* 44, (1), pp. 42-51.
- METZGER, J. (2011): Dispatches from a time capsule? Moving the ANT, normativity and democracy discussion ten years down the road: an intervention in the Boelens-Rydin-Webb debate. *Planning Theory* 10, (3), pp. 288-295.
- METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (2013): Urban Sustainable Development. The Stockholm Way. In: METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (eds.): Sustainable Stockholm: Exploring urban sustainability in Europe's Greenest city. New York: Routledge, pp. 195-212.
- MOL, A. (1999): Ontological politics. A word and some questions. *Sociological Review Monograph* 47, (1), pp. 74-89.
- MOL, A. (2010): Actor-Network Theory: Sensitive Terms and Enduring Tensions. *Köln Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie* 50, (1), pp. 253-269.
- MÜLLER, S. (2015): Assemblages and Actor-networks: Rethinking Socio-material Power, Politics and Space. *Geography Compass* 9, (1), pp. 27-41.
- MÜLLER, S. & C. SCHURR (2016): Assemblage thinking and actor-network theory: conjunctions, disjunctions, cross-fertilisations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41, (3), pp. 217-229.
- OHGAKI, S., HARATA, N., JESSEN, J., KIDOKORO, T., MOTTE, A., SELTZER, E. P. & S. LEKSONO PROBO (eds.) (2008): Sustainable City Regions: Space, Place and Governance. Tokyo: Springer.
- OLLSON A. R & J. METZGER (2013): Urban Sustainable Development the Stockholm Way. In: METZGER, J. & A. R. OLSSON (eds.): Sustainable Stockholm: Exploring urban sustainability in Europe's Greenest city. New York: Routledge, pp. 195-212.
- ORRSHOG, L. & K. BRADLEY (2006): Vitalizing Planning for a Neo-Welfare State: A Suggestion based on Swedish Experiences. *International Planning Studies* 11, (2), pp. 125-136.

- PARK, C., WILDING M. & C. CHUNG (2014): The importance of feedback: policy transfer, translation and the role of communication. *Policy Studies* 35, (4), pp. 397-412.
- PECK, J. & N. THEODORE (2010): Mobilizing policy: Models, methods and mutations. *Geoforum* 41, (2), pp. 169-174.
- PECK, J. (2011): Geographies of policy: From transfer-diffusion to mobility-mutation. *Progress in Human Geography* 35, (6), pp. 773-797.
- PECK, J., THEODORE, N. & N. BRENNER (2013): Neoliberal Urbanism Redux. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, (3), pp. 1091-1099.
- PECK, J. (2015): Cities beyond Compare. *Regional Studies* 49, (1), pp. 160-182.
- RANCIÈRE, J. (1999): *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Minnesota: Minnesota University Press.
- RANHAGEN, U. (2011): Sustainable Urban Development. The Swedish SymbioCity Approach. Available through: <http://www.swedenabroad.com/SelectImageX/259357/03SymbioCity.pdf> (retrieved: 18.05.2017).
- RANHAGEN, U. & K. GROTH (2012): The SymbioCity Approach: A Conceptual Framework for Urban Development. Available through: [http://www.symbiocity.org/PublicDownloads/The%20SymbioCity%20Approach/SCA%20full%20version%20\(6,1%20Mb\).pdf](http://www.symbiocity.org/PublicDownloads/The%20SymbioCity%20Approach/SCA%20full%20version%20(6,1%20Mb).pdf) (retrieved: 19.05. 2017).
- ROBBINS, P. (ed.) (2012²): *Political ecology*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- SAGER, T. (2011): Neo-liberal urban planning policies: A literature survey 1990-2010. *Progress in Planning* 76, (1), pp. 147-199.
- SALAR (ed.) (2010): Hållbar statsutveckling. Postionspapper. Available through: http://www.hallbarastader.gov.se/Bazment/Alias/Files/?skl_positionspapper (retrieved: 19.05.2017).
- SALAR (ed.) (2011): Samhällsbyggande för klimatet. Kommuner och landsting som visar vägen. Available through: <http://webbutik.skl.se/bilder/artiklar/pdf/7164-626-2.pdf?issuusl=ignore> (retrieved: 19.05.2017).
- SCHALL, C. A. (2016): *The Rise and Fall of the Miraculous welfare Machine: Immigration and social democracy in the Twentieth-Century Sweden*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- SCHREIER, M. (2014): Varianten qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse. Ein Wegweiser im Dickicht der Begrifflichkeiten. *Qualitative Social Research* 15, (1), pp. 1-27.
- SIDA & SKL International (eds.) (n.d.): *The SymbioCity Approach. A Conceptual Framework for support to sustainable urban development in low and middle income countries*. Available through: http://www.swedenabroad.com/SelectImageX/254969/SymbioCity_summary_11_0330_low.pdf (retrieved: 20.05.2017).
- SKL INTERNATIONAL & BUSINESS SWEDEN (eds.) (2017): SymbioCity webpage. Available through: <http://www.symbiocity.org/> (retrieved: 20.5. 2017).
- STAMANN, C., JANSSEN, M. & M. SCHREIER (2016): Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse- Versuch einer Begriffbestimmung und Systematisierung. *Qualitative Social Research* 17, (3), n. p.
- STURGES, J. E. & K. J. HANRAHAN (2004): Comparing telephone and face-to-face qualitative interviewing: a research note. *Qualitative Research* 4, (1), pp. 107-118.
- SWECO (ed.) (n.d.): *Sustainable City Development: The Sweco Approach*. Available through: http://en.sweco.se/Global/Sweden/Areas%20of%20operation/Architecture/Documents/suci_folder_A4.pdf (retrieved: 20.05.2017).

- SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT (ed.) (2003): A Swedish Strategy for Sustainable Development – Economic, Social and Environmental. Available through: <http://www.government.se/49b73c/contentassets/3f67e0b1e47b4e83b542ed6892563d95/a-swedish-strategy-for-sustainable-development-summary> (retrieved: 18.05.2017).
- SWEDISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, SWEDISH MINISTRY OF ENTERPRISE ENERGY AND COMMUNICATION (eds.) (2013): Environmental technology-13 Swedish Solutions. Available through: <http://www.regeringen.se/contentassets/724f78d9290f4ea7974341bbac04a1f8/environmental-technology---13-swedish-solutions> (retrieved: 20.05.2017).
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. & N. C. HEYNEN (2003): Urban Political Ecology, Justice and the Politics of Scale. *Antipode* 35, (5), pp. 898-918.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (2005): Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janous Face of Governance. *Urban Studies* 42, (11), pp. 1991-2006.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (2009): The Antinomies of the Postpolitical City: In Search of a Democratic Politics of Environmental Production. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, (3), pp. 601-620.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. & M. KAIKA (2014): Urban political ecology. Great promises, deadlock ... and new beginnings? *Documents d'Analisys Geografica* 60, (3), pp. 459-481.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (2015a): Depoliticized Environments and the Promises of the Anthropocene. In: BRYANT, R. (ed.): *International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., pp. 131- 145.
- SWYNGEDOUW, E. (2015b): Urbanization and Environmental Futures: Politicizing urban political ecologies. In: PERREAULT, T. A., BRIDGE, G. & J. P. MCCARTHY (eds.): *The Routledge handbook of political ecology*. New York: Routledge, pp. 609-619.
- TEMENOS, C. & E. MCCANN (2012): The local politics of policy mobility: Learning, persuasion, and the production of a municipal sustainability fix. *Environment and Planning* 44, (6), pp. 1389-1406.
- TUNSTRÖM, M. & K. BRADLEY (2014): Opposing the Postpolitical Swedish Urban Discourse. In: METZGER, J., P. ALLMENDINGER & S. OOSTERLYNCK (eds.): *Planning Against The Political: Democratic Deficits in European territorial Governance*. New York: Routledge, pp. 69-84.
- TUNSTRÖM, M., SMAS, L. & L. PERJO (2016): Envisioning Sustainable Lifestyles in Stockholm's Urban Development. Available through: http://www.corp.at/archive/CORP2016_87.pdf (retrieved: 21.05.2017).
- WARD, S.V. (2013): Cities as planning models. *Planning Perspectives* 28, (2), pp. 295-313.
- WILSON, J. & E. SWYNGEDOUW (2014): *The Post-political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- WORLD COMMISSION ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (WCED) (1987): *Our Common Future*. Available through: <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf> (retrieved: 21.05.2017).
- YIN, R. K. (2009⁴): *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: SAGE.
- ŽIŽEK (1999): *The ticklish subject: the absent centre of political ontology*. New York: Verso.

Appendix

Appx. Fig. 1: Interview guide.

Preface

- Presenting the author as part of Stockholm University, working on a Master thesis based on the mobility of urban sustainability in regard to SymbioCity / SymbioCity Approach.

- Assuring the participant that the obtained data will be treated confidentially.

- Trying to achieve consent to record the interview for later transcription. If some statements should not be recorded the author will pose the respective question again at the end of the interview when the recording device as been turned off.

Introduction:

1) Please describe your involvement within SymbioCity / SymbioCity Approach (in past and present).

- Important events/outcomes?
- Which actors have been/are most important for your involvement? Why?
- Why did you become involved?

(Revelation of the actor's positionality within the evolution of SymbioCity / SymbioCity Approach)

Mobility of policies

2) What are the guidelines and objectives which you follow in your work with SymbioCity / SymbioCity Approach?

- Who sets these guidelines?
- Why do you perceive them to be important?
- How do you work with them?

(Revelation of the influence of global notions on sustainable development)

3) In what ways and through which channels do you collaborate with other organizations and institutions in regard to SymbioCity / SymbioCity Approach?

- Have there been problems/crucial differences in the collaboration process, if so why?
- What kind of institutions are of less importance in your collaborations, why?
- Could you establish new collaborations because of your involvement with SymbioCity /SymbioCity approach? If so with whom and what do these relations look like?

(Revelation of the mobilization of narratives)

4) Why do you perceive the spread of urban sustainability through SymbioCity /SymbioCity Approach to be important?

- Do you see or have you experienced any conflict potentials in regard to this spread?
- What role does the origin of SymbioCity /SymbioCity Approach play? Is it important that it comes from Sweden, if so, why?

(Revelation of the motives of mobilization)

Perceptions of sustainability

5) How does the work of your institution reflect urban sustainable development?

- What makes your institution's work more favorable than others to work with in regard to the promotion of urban sustainability?

(Revelation of the institutionalized understandings of sustainability)

6) In what ways do you think SymbioCity / the SymbioCity Approach supports current urban sustainable development?

- What is most crucial for urban sustainable development?
- Why is SymbioCity / the SymbioCity Approach needed for sustainable urban development?

(Revelation of the individualized understandings of sustainability)

7) What aspects of SymbioCity / the SymbioCity Approach do you consider to be most important for future urban sustainable development? Why?

- How do you envision the future urban environment created by SymbioCity/the SymbioCity approach?
- Who and what should be part of that?

(Revelation of understandings about future sustainable development and the maintenance of narratives)

Planning and sustainability

8) How can planners (in the public and private sector) plan for such a sustainable future?

(Revelation of the role of planners in regard to sustainable urban development)

9) How do you perceive the role of urban planning in regard to urban sustainable development?

- What does "good" urban planning look like in this regard?
- What should it priorities and why?

(Revelation of what is considered as sustainable urban planning)

10) From your perspective: How can planning education be designed to meet urban sustainable goals and objectives?

- What should future planners learn in regard to urban sustainable development, why?
- Do you see a lack in current planning education?

(Revelation of the kind of future planners who are desired in regard to sustainable urban development)

Conclusion

11) What potentials do you see for the future development of SymbioCity / SymbioCity approach?

- With what institutions do you want to collaborate in the future, why?
- Do you see any challenges for SymbioCity / SymbioCity approach in the future?

(Revelation about how discourses surrounding sustainable urban development should develop in the future)

After the interview:

- *Stopping the recording device and announcing that the interview is officially finished.*
- *Allowing the participant to add something.*
- *Expressing gratitude for the participant's involvement in the research.*
- *Offering to send a copy of the thesis*
- *Offering to send the transcript to the participants*