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FUTURIST FEMINIST POLITICAL ECOLOGY – REWRITING STOCKHOLM'S VISION 2030

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Despite increased environmental awareness as manifested in plans and policies for sustainable development, new ecotechnology and ecolabelling of products, the trajectory of increasing resource use and global emissions of greenhouse gases has not been curbed (WWF 2014). Rather, the strategies for greening cities in the wealthy global North have at times displaced socioenvironmental problems to the hinterlands and/or to distant peoples and territories. As Swyngedouw (2007, p. 36) has phrased it, there is an urgent need for "foregrounding and naming alternative socioenvironmental futures", in plural. We argue that taking a feminist environmental perspective is productive in rethinking the dominant development path, i.e. seeing that the domination of other genders and species are interlinked and calling for systemic change. In this chapter, we develop an analytical framework that can be used in urban development practices and in formulations of city visions that strive for more environmentally just feminist futures. By cross-reading feminist political ecology and ecofeminist literature with feminist economic geographers such as J.K. Gibson-Graham and peak-oil strategists such as Sharon Astyk, we develop a *futurist feminist political ecology perspective*. With this framework, we read and rewrite the City of Stockholm vision for the year 2030 and discuss it with citizen groups and city officials. Through fictional stories and images of the future, we show how alternative analytical frameworks such as ours can be used in urban visioning and strategy making towards more environmentally just futures.

In spite of years of environmental alarms and international, national and local programs for *sustainable development,* there is still much more to be done in order to safeguard an environmentally just development. Even countries claiming to have achieved 'green growth' and a position at the forefront of sustainability, like Sweden, have actually raised greenhouse gas emissions in the last decade.[1] Low-income nations, and more specifically low-income groups, are generally the most vulnerable to the consequences of climate change, while having the least impact on its causes (Agyeman et al. 2003, Schlosberg 2013). As has been illustrated by environmental justice research, there are recurrent patterns of injustices between territories, socioeconomic

groups, ethnicities and genders in terms of access to environmental resources, as well as exposure to environmental risks (e.g. Low and Gleeson 1997, Bullard 2000, Agyeman et al. 2003, Walker 2011, Schlosberg 2013).

At a time when international and national institutions have had difficulties handling climate change, expectations have been placed increasingly on the local or city level to take the lead in sustainability politics (Raco 2007). In the field of sustainable urban development in the global North, efforts have been made to transform the technical infrastructure and built environment: green roofs, new light-rail trams, densification schemes, bike lanes, energy-efficient building materials and environmental rating systems (Farr 2008, Nijkamp and Perrels 2009, Wheeler and Beatley 2009). These types of initiatives are often regarded not only as beneficial for the environment, but also good for the city's attractiveness, global competitiveness and economic growth. In this way, potential conflicts between ecological sustainability and other societal goals, such as economic growth, are generally not foregrounded. However, as Keil (2007, p. 56) argues, these types of strategies for greening cities "…cannot reach deeply enough to fundamentally redirect the destructive dynamics of today's urbanism". Moreover, in the 'smart growth' and 'sustainable urbanism' strands of research and related best practice, there is little critique of the overall unsustainable socioeconomic structures in which these practices are imbedded (Keil 2007, Swyngedouw 2007, Bradley et al. 2013).

What is needed to bring climate change under control is a profound transition of the dominant socioeconomic order – a redirection of the over-consumption by the few at the expense of other peoples and territories (Worldwatch Institute 2012). The often-used conceptualizations of sustainable development as a Venn diagram, searching for eco-logical, social and economic dimensions in balance, seems of little help on the path towards a more profound transition. What conceptualizations might be more useful, then? There are several alternative perspectives and traditions to draw from which demand radical systemic change, including deep ecology, ecofeminism, environmental justice and political ecology. Our primary intention is not to add to the societal critique, but rather to illustrate how futures can be imagined and articulated differently. As Bergman et al. (2014, p. 67) point out, describing varied futures "…could be a way of making temporal knowledge production more tangible and enga-ging, as well as a way of intensifying the debate about the future in politics and planning". We are therefore inspired by the academic field of futures studies, which provide stories/images about the future coupled with an analysis of how those pro-spective futures relate to the current state (Svenfelt and Höjer 2012).

We build our analytical framework on feminist political ecological (Rocheleau et al. 1996, Elmhirst 2011) and ecofeminist perspectives (Mies et al. 2014, Warren 2000). We then translate these theoretical approaches to a more practice-oriented framework with the use of peak-oil strategist Sharon Astyk's handbook (2008) and tactics and strategies de-veloped by the feminist economic geographers J.K. Gibson-Graham (1996, 2006, 2011).

In order to illustrate how this framework can be used, we apply it to the case of the city of Stock-holm, where we live and work. Stockholm is also a city that is often referred to as being in the forefront of the sustainability metrics league; in 2010, the city received the EU Green Capital award for its achieve-ments. However, Stockholm's current urban devel-opment and official strategies have been criticized for glossing over social divides, as well as disregard-ing environmental effects outside its administrative boundaries (Rader Olsson and Metzger 2013, Bradley et al. 2013). In this way, Stockholm is an interesting case for exploring socially and environmentally more radical futures.

Here, we analyse Stockholm's official vision for the year 2030, highlighting the vision's theoretical and normative underpinnings. We then rewrite and reillustrate the vision. In doing so, we aim to demonstrate how a different set of theoretical and normative perspectives can give rise to quite differ-ent goals, strategies and images of the future. This clarifies that there is no singular future, but many different ways of imagining the future. In order to get feedback on our alternative vision, and to test and develop this revisioning exercise, we organized three meetings in November 2014 with stakeholder

groups involved in urban development in relation to environmental and/or gender concerns: (1) eight persons engaged in feminist and women's perspectives on the built environment from Kvinnors Byggforum (Women's Building Forum); (2) three persons engaged in activism around environmental justice and alternative urban development, members of Alternativ stad (Alternative City) and Jordens Vänner (Friends of the Earth); and (3) three officials at the Executive Office of the City of Stockholm, who are responsible for leading the process of updating the *Vision 2030*. Prior to the meetings, the participants had received and read our alternative vision. At the meetings, we made a short presentation of the official vision, the alternative vision and our theoretical framework, and then opened up for a discussion on the content, the role of alternative visions and finally methodologies on how to generate and use these visions.

The intention is that a contesting revisioning exercise, in this case grounded in our different disciplinary backgrounds, namely urban planning (Bradley), futures studies (Gunnarsson-Östling), and architecture (Schalk), can stimulate other groups – citizens, activists, professionals, etc. – to spell out their perspectives and visions of the future city. Taken together, a multitude of contrasting visions can form the basis for a more transparent public discussion about desired futures. Thus, it is a way of questioning the consensus ideal so common in planning and governance (Mouffe 2005).

From ecological modernization to futurist feminist political ecology

There are varied and competing discourses of sustainable development. A dominant interpretation has come to be that of *ecological modernization,* implying a belief that continued economic growth is compatible – and sometimes necessary – for benign environmental development (Spaargaren and Mol 1992, Hajer 1995, Fisher and Freudenberg 2001). Environmental aspects and gender are to be 'integrated' into the development without challenging the overall model. New technology paired with smart economic incentives is often seen as the solution, through the advancement of electric

cars, water-saving toilets and ecological products (Hobson 2006). From this ecological modernization perspective, environmental issues are generally presented as if they concerned everybody the same way. Questions of who/what causes or are affected by environmental problems are seldom highlighted, nor are questions of who will be able to access and afford the new ecotechnology, or whose needs and desires are prioritized in the strategies and technologies for green growth.

Using a political ecology perspective in the field of sustainable urban development entails highlighting how planning strategies affect different societal groups and nonhuman entities. It could also mean exploring questions such as: does environmental improvement in one place have disadvantageous effects elsewhere? Regarding sustainability assessments and plans: which actors or effects are included and which are excluded? How do the resource flows to and from a city affect groups and territories? How could societal structures be reconstructed so as to promote more just relations between groups of people, territories and species (see e.g. Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003, Heynen et al. 2004, Keil 2007, Pincetl 2007, Robbins 2012)? In short, the interest of feminist political ecology research is concerned with access to and control of environmental resources, with gender as its focus – though interacting with categories such as class, ethnicity and culture (Rocheleau et al. 1996). It also means focusing on women's knowledge, gendered ways of handling ecological change, the value of local knowledge and women's socioenvironmental struggles. Rocheleau et al. (1996) in particular recognize power relations in decision-making about the environment, and question the presumption of technological progress and domination of nature. They also recognize the relationship between gender, knowledge, environment and development and address gendered structures in the economic system, including analysis of the household. This approach resembles ecofeminist discourse of the late 1980s and 1990s (Merchant 1989, 1996, Plumwood 1993, Salleh 1997).

Since Rocheleau gathered political ecologists to extend their analysis to gender in the early 1990s, much has happened in the field of feminism and

gender studies (Rocheleau et al. 1996). Poststructuralist and performative approaches to gender, power and subjectivity have developed and gained strength in the 2000s (Butler 2004, Radcliffe 2006, Elmhirst and Resurreccion 2008), questioning the essentialist view of womanhood and bringing forward a more decentred subject and gender based on several interacting and changing subjectivities: class, ethnicity, sexuality, place and, more recently, 'more-than-human' approaches (Bennett 2010). Elmhirst (2011) calls for *new feminist political ecologies* extending from a decentred subject and poststructuralist power analysis and has gathered examples of such analysis of fishery, water management and forestry. This new feminist political ecology has primarily been used for critical analysis of the existing order (e.g. Truelove 2011, Sultana 2011), rather than being applied for exploring alternative futures.

In this chapter, we attempt to explore what a *futurist* feminist political ecology framework could mean. The ambition is to contribute a futurist and strategic angle to feminist political ecology and illustrate how it could be used to envision another future. Building on Elmhirst (2011), the ecofeminists Mies et al. (2014) and the feminist futures studies scholar Milojevic (1999), we view a feminist approach not only as concerning the roles of men and women, but also as questioning other divisions and hierarchies, i.e. nature-culture, developed-developing world, capitalism-socialism, etc. Milojevic (2008, p. 330) has also highlighted the exclusion of women in futures studies, viewing the general exclusion of women from professional activity as one cause, but also highlighting the fields' hypertechnological and scientific orientation and focus on economics, international politics and the impact of new technologies as other important contributing factors. Despite this, Milojevic (2008) argues that feminists would benefit from futures studies tools and methods when articulating feminist projects for the future. Drawing on the perspectives of Mies et al. (2014), Hurley (2008)[2] and Warren (2000), a futurist feminist political ecology perspective entails for us an imagination of another world-order, beyond the economic growth paradigm, freed from the complex of patriarchy-capitalism-militarism-colonialism. Mies et al. (2014) calls this a subsistence perspective: a system where the creation and quality of life is placed in the centre, where production is synchronized with needs of consumption (rather than focusing on profit and growth) – a society entailing decentralized and local economies and bureaucracies, and life characterised by equity between genders as well as between different societal groups, territories, species and generations.

Translating theories into practical strategies for alternative futures

With the theoretical framework and visions of the future outlined here, what could this mean in more practical terms? How could the framework be used to inform alternative practice-oriented visions and strategies in the field of urban planning? Here, we find the writings of feminist action researchers Gibson-Graham on micro-practices useful, as well as peak-oil strategist Astyk's focus on the household economy.

Under the pen name J.K. Gibson-Graham (1996, 2006, 2011), Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson have conceptualized what they describe as postcapitalist economies and relations. For them, just like Mies et al. (2014), capitalist hegemony is an entanglement of oppressive relations that play out in terms of gender, class, cultures and species. They illustrate the diversity of the economy by highlighting community economies and microscale noncapitalist economies that are continually practiced in nations that, on the macrolevel, are termed capitalist economies. *Postcapitalism* summarizes practices that exist in parallel: sometimes articulated as critiques and struggles *against* mainstream capitalism, and sometimes economies that simply supplement the dominant capitalist economy. Hence, the *post* prefix is not necessarily meant to denote a point in time.

Gibson-Graham (2006) argue for the importance of highlighting, understanding and naming non/post-capitalist economies, in order to acknowledge their existence and future possibilities. In their community action research, the duo has worked with 'skills and asset mapping' in order to make visible the skills, assets and functions that exist outside the formalized market. Such simple mapping exercises can contribute to "...an expansive

vision of what is possible" (ibid., p. xxxvi). In their mapping exercises, Gibson-Graham (2011) highlight examples of economic activity that are socially and environmentally beneficial, including cooperatives providing green laundry services, renewable energy, community-supported agriculture and experiments with alternative currencies that account for environmental impact.

With the contemporary backdrop of peak oil, or 'peak everything', and the difficulties nation states and supranational institutions face in handling climate change and fossil-fuel dependency, several researchers and activists have published books on how to act locally, addressing local civil-society communities as well as local governments and policy makers (Astyk 2008, Murphy 2008, Heinberg and Lerch 2010, Hopkins 2012). One such researcher and activist is Sharon Astyk. In her book *Depletion and Abundance – Life on the New Home Front* (2008), she outlines a present and future of decline (in economic and fossil-fuel terms) and explores what this decline, or postpeak era, might mean in terms of work, use of time, housing, cooperation and the remaking of social relations. She argues, "We are past the time at which we could hope to go on more or less as we have. For good or ill – and probably some of both – we have to make real changes in our lives. Most of us living in rich nations are going to have to learn to live simpler lives, using much less energy" (2008, p. 3).

In line with this, Astyk (2008) argues against high-tech solutions requiring distant materials, which serve to ensure that the affluent people of the world can continue to consume energy and products at the current levels, and instead presses for the need to find ways of using *less* resources while simultaneously assuring quality of life. These ways include low-tech solutions, products and infrastructures that are easy to construct and repair with local skills, and that are built with local and recyclable materials.

Both Astyk (2008) and Gibson-Graham with Cameron and Healy, in *Take Back the Economy* (2013) write in a handbook style, with concrete suggestions of what can be done from the perspective of a household. Astyk calls it "coming together on the home front" (2008, p. 33), in reference to creating socially and ecologically resilient communities which can then serve as a platform for working for political

and structural change. The primary question investigated by these works is how life in existing suburbs, settlements or towns can become more resilient. The focus is primarily on changing socioeconomic relations: localizing the circuits of production and consumption, downshifting, sharing goods and services and *reskilling* – rediscovering basic skills for resource management such as cultivation, construction and crafts (Astyk 2008, Murphy 2008, Hopkins 2012). Astyk (2008, p. 156) argues that, in a world of higher oil and food prices, productive land will be more valuable, and hence green space and the space between buildings will be seen as valuable assets. She points out that the current industrial and globalized production of food relies on cheap oil and phosphorus, and when these resources become more expensive, more human physical energy will be needed for food production. Decentralized systems for energy provision, food supply and waste and water systems are brought forward – systems in which households can be both consumers and producers, and hence less reliant on e.g. a central power provider or corporate food chains. This does not necessarily mean becoming self-reliant on food and energy, but rather that households can build closer ties with the producers of food and energy, for instance through joining wind-power cooperatives, community-supported agriculture or some form of schemes whereby households own shares in local farms or subscribe to their products. In line with Gibson-Graham's emphasis on noncapitalist economies, community spaces come to play an important role (Hopkins 2012, Astyk 2008). Assuring that there are good quality, accessible community spaces is important for the social life and organization of the neighborhood, but also for the cultivation of socioeconomic exchange, micro-businesses and support systems.

Gibson-Graham, Astyk and their affiliates are situated in different fields and have differently situated points of departure, yet there is a common focus on practical change on a local level, highlighting the roles of the household, civil society and agents and relations beyond the formal capitalist economy. In a feminist political ecology approach, there is a clear normative position, striving for a more equitable society across gender, class, territories and species.

The Stockholm *Vision 2030*

The future vision of the City of Stockholm is entitled *Vision 2030* and is presented in a booklet with the subtitle *A guide to the future*.[3] It has been developed by the Executive Office of the City of Stockholm after "dialogue with spokesmen for the City itself, with representatives of trade and industry, with schools and universities, as well as other public authorities" (p. 1).[4] It was adopted by the city council in 2007. Stockholm's *Vision 2030* still constitutes the framework and direction for the city's visioning work, and it is this version that will be analyzed here. All public bodies under the City of Stockholm are obliged to work for a realization of the envisioned future.[5]

Drawing questions from our futurist feminist political ecology perspective, this section will briefly describe the vision by asking, how are the overarching goals phrased? What types of lives and social relations are envisioned? What notions of production, consumption and exchange are put forward? And how does this translate to the built environment: housing, the use of space and infrastructure? How does the vision relate to equity in relation to gender, distant regions and peoples and the nonhuman world? Who is it written for?

The vision is to achieve "a world-class Stockholm" (p. 1), and the goals are phrased in terms of "sustainable growth and development". It envisions Stockholm as "a magnet for researchers, innovators and entrepreneurs" and "the green capital of the world" (p. 1). The vision is based on the assumption that the City of Stockholm will continue to grow from 809,000 residents in 2008 to 1,000,000 by 2030. Therefore, the vision is centred on how to expand infrastructure, housing, workplaces, schools and public services.

It includes three themes for Stockholm's future development: (1) "Versatile and full of experiences", (2) "Innovation and growth", and (3) "Citizens' Stockholm". Through images, texts and short interviews with three children, stories of the future tell what it is like to live, work and visit the city in 2030. In these stories, residents and visitors are attracted to Stockholm's rich culture, entertainment, nature and waterways. Stockholm is envisioned as having "a world-class business climate", in which "international high-technology companies work side by side with small spin-offs in the service sector" (p. 4). In this vision, Stockholm has a low municipal tax, as well as "the world's best IT infrastructure and a reliable energy supply system" (p. 4). Moreover, Stockholm is described as northern Europe's financial capital as well as "Europe's top growth region" (p. 6).

Fig 17.1 Excerpt from the official *Vision 2030* of Stockholm. Courtesy of the City of Stockholm.

We learn in *Vision 2030* that "competition among cities and regions is increasing, which makes marketing and profiling increasingly important" (p. 15), and that Stockholm in 2030 has succeeded in this global competition. In this future, the city has a knowledge-based high-tech and creative labour market successfully producing for an export market (p. 8).

In this discourse on cities in global competition, it is the highly skilled, educated and entrepreneurial residents that are desired – not caretakers, repairers or manufacturers. The role of planning in this envisioned future hence becomes ensuring that the city attracts the 'right' people and firms. It is furthermore stated that "It is important for the City to develop spectacular, momentous projects in conjunction with other players. These projects will make the vision clear and become symbols of the Stockholm of the future" (p. 16).

The vision ends with a map pointing out such momentous projects and expanded infrastructure that have supposedly been realized by 2030. These include two major shopping centres, three new

major roads, an expanded airport, internationally profiled conference and hotel facilities, new tram-ways and extensive new housing development that expands the compact city outwards.

In terms of environmental issues, the vision includes a short paragraph stating that "innovations have resolved many environmental problems, and the city is well on the way to achieving its goal of being fossil fuel-free by 2050" (p. 9). Stockholmers have reduced their energy consumption, drive clean vehicles, bike or use public transportation and the construction companies use environmentally sound methods and materials in all new buildings. The vision could be understood as grounded in an ecological modernization perspective – a belief that technical solutions will solve environmental problems and that continued economic growth goes hand in hand with benign environmental development. However, this vision of being fossil fuel-free does not take into account the emissions or socioenvironmental impact arising from Stockholmers' consumption of goods and use of transportation originating from beyond municipal boundaries (Bradley et al. 2013). Green areas are briefly mentioned as sites for recreation, particularly for visitors; their role in the eco-system, as habitats or as productive land is not mentioned. As for equity, there are efforts to improve "local democracy and equality among citizens", and in 2030, "no one faces discrimination because of gender, origin, age or social status" (p. 12). Apart from this, there is no further mention of equity or responsibility in relation to the lives of distant regions and peoples, future generations or the nonhuman world.

The target group of the vision – and the people who are to realize it – are professionals, the City's employees, the business community and "other public players" (p. 2). Citizens or civil society appear to have little or no role in realizing the vision.

Rewriting Stockholm's *Vision 2030*

From a futurist feminist political ecology perspective, then, how would a future vision for a city like Stockholm be formulated? Drawing from the previous theoretical section, we argue that such a framework could entail the following:

Working for greater equity *within* the city in terms of access to good living environments, fair resource use and influence on decision-making across gender, class and ethnicity.

Finding forms of production and consumption through which the lives of the city's residents do not negatively affect distant peoples or territories.

Highlighting resource flows and inter-dependencies and accounting for the social and environmental costs of production, consumption and transportation. Accounting for these 'invisible' costs means acknowledging support structures, unpaid work and socioenvironmental aspects of the economy in which women are often involved. Accounting for local and distant socioenvironmental costs are likely to push for more circular and localized economies.

Acknowledging postcapitalist relations and forms of exchange that are the foundation of the formalized wage economy, again a sector where women and marginalized groups are highly present. This includes seeing the role of common space for noncommercial forms of exchange, socializing and organizing.

Using local lay knowledge, the perspectives of all genders and ages and foregrounding the roles of households and everyday micropractices.

Based on this, we have formulated a set of goals for the city of Stockholm (see Table 1). In the official *Vision 2030*, detailed goals are not spelled out, but are instead phrased in general terms like "a top growth region" and "a world class city". Little is said about the responsibility of different societal actors, and nothing about the role of civil society. In order to facilitate a transparent public discussion about desired futures, it is important to spell out goals, strategies and roles, not only of institutions but also of civil society. For these goals to materialize there must be institutional, political and legal change, sometimes beyond the city level. Some of these institutional changes will be noted, but most

Table 1: Goals, strategies and practices for a more environmentally just Stockholm

MACRO GOALS FOR THE CITY	INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES for local, regional, national and supranational institutions	MICRO PRACTICES of civil society
A diverse and localized economy	Include social and environmental costs of products, services and transportation through taxation	Develop existing postcapitalist economies, such as sharing, bartering and cooperatives
	Ensure that the region has complementary primary, secondary and tertiary sectors	Start a local exchange trading scheme, such as a time bank or local currency
	Shift higher salaries into less working hours	
	Provide infrastructure for sharing vehicles, spaces, machines and other idle resources	
A circular economy	Introduce schemes for individual emissions quotas ensuring fair environmental space for all	Lower the level of resource-intensive private consumption
	Make producers take on the costs of repair and maintenance	Produce and consume local goods
	Provide facilities and incentives for local ecocycling of water and waste	Reuse, share, swap and trade goods
		Recycle and compost what you cannot reuse, retrofit, swap or trade
		Use and develop common spaces for shared facilities
A local food system with biodiversity	Activate land-use planning to provide qualitative green space for recreation, biodiversity and food production	Cultivate gardens and empty lots
	Facilitate for local farmers to sell their goods in standard food stores	Join a local garden club or a community-supported agriculture in the region
	Allow chickens and other household animals in urban and suburban areas	Start a food cooperative
		Keep productive animals in yards and gardens – bees, hens…
Robust technical infrastructure	Ensure that energy, waste and water systems are robust and can be repaired with local skills and materials	Complement high-tech with low-tech facilities that can be easily repaired with local skills and materials
	Facilitate for communities to construct local water and waste systems, nested into a larger system	

Renewable and local energy provision	Provide grids where households and other entities can be both producers and consumers of energy	Set up individual or collective facilities for local renewable energy provision (solar, wind, hydro, biogas...)
	Allow public institutions like schools and public housing organizations to be producers of energy	Buy renewable energy but also find practices that lower energy use
Affordable retrofitted housing for all	Assure that there are different forms of affordable housing – such as nonprofit rental, self-owned cooperatives, cohousing	Try ways of living together with others
		Eco-retrofit existing buildings
	Facilitate for a wide array of builders and nonprofit cobuilding groups	Use local and recyclable materials
	Develop new areas gradually	Consider developing semipublic space at home or in the neighbourhood – a small work space, a guest apartment, a social space, a common garden – making home interlinked with the public sphere
Coproducing a fair society	Facilitate democratic cocreation of society and the built environment	Get organized. Engage in politics.
	Ensure that there are good common spaces for noncommercial activities	Alternate intellectual, political and practical work in seasons or phase in life
	Use local lay knowledge, the perspectives of all genders, young and elderly	Develop and use local space for social organizing, cocreation of goods, education
Fair accessibility	Map the purposes of transport in the region and minimize the need for undesired transport and facilitate for the desired	Live and work nearby
		Use local services
	Ensure that basic services can be found locally (schools, kindergartens, health-care centres...)	Care for your neighbourhood
		Forget international mass tourism and instead go abroad to do something meaningful for a longer period of time
	Facilitate for local work and neighborhood job hubs	
	Facilitate for nonmotorized forms of transport (develop rail, bike and pedestrian systems)	
	Ensure that living environments are enjoyable year-round	

attention will be directed to the ways micropractices at the local level could alter life and simultaneously influence and prepare the ground for institutional and macropolitical change.

The aim is not to formulate a new singular vision, but rather to show how futures can be imagined and articulated quite differently, depending on point-of-departure perspectives and goals. By spelling out an alternative vision and its theoretical and normative basis, it can be confronted, discussed and hopefully inspiring other actors/interest groups/ inhabitants etc. to spell out their normative goals and desired futures. Transforming the goals, strategies and practices described in Table 1 into a city vision raised questions of how key words, themes, images, stories and maps of the future could be (re) formulated. What practices are to be foregrounded and named? Using the same booklet format as the official vision, we rewrote and redesigned the cover page and preface, transformed the three themes with interviews into discussions between fictional characters, and finally redrew the map of new developments. The whole booklet entitled *Stockholm 2030 – Another guide to the future* can be found at the end of this chapter.

How a just city differs from a world-class city

So, how does our alternative vision differ from the official vision? The official vision is 'a world-class Stockholm', based on the idea that cities compete in a global arena for investments, residents and visitors. Our vision is an attempt to let a vision proceed from a theoretical basis and is formulated in terms of 'towards a just Stockholm'. We emphasize equality in a broad sense, across social groups, genders, territories and species.

Instead of focusing on how to attract the right firms and people – entrepreneurs, researchers and innovators – our starting point is how to attain good and responsible quality of life from an everyday resident perspective. Feminist approaches, such as that of Gibson-Graham, have inspired us to foreground existing and possible everyday ways of living, producing and reproducing. The official vision is made by and for 'the big players', giving them a central role in decision making and the construction of the future

city. Our alternative vision is primarily directed towards civil society, communities and households. In this future, inhabitants alternate intellectual, practical and political work in a way that has democratized decision making. Urban space is not only shaped by professionals and the big players but coproduced through the active involvement of citizens.

In the official vision, Stockholm is envisioned as fossil-fuel free by 2050, without accounting for effects outside its administrative boundaries. Hence, technical solutions – clean vehicles and energy-efficient buildings – are perceived as being sufficient to bring about this change. The vision we present has a relational perspective, emphasizing the responsibility of the effects of Stockholmers' consumption, travel and trade on distant peoples and territories and the nonhuman world. In practical terms, this means that Stockholmers by 2030 have drastically reduced their ecological footprint. In the vision we describe this has been enabled due to a UN Treaty in 2027 issuing individual resource entitlements for a fair share of environmental space. The alternative vision then pictures what less resource-intensive ways of living, producing and consuming might look like.

In line with peak-oil strategist Astyk, we have developed a story of the future in which Stockholmers consume less overall, as well as increasingly utilizing local resources. In this vision, production of basic goods such as food, clothing and utilities has been progressively localized. In the official vision, it is international high-tech companies in information technology, the life sciences, clean tech and finance that are highlighted. We have instead portrayed a future in which residents alternate intellectual work with cultivation, manufacturing and use of low- and high-tech methods. The social hierarchies that currently exist based on what is considered a high-skilled or low-skilled work, or a male/female work, have vanished. The official vision briefly presents Stockholm's greenery and waterways as sites for recreation, particularly for visitors. In the official map of planned developments, none of the 22 projects deal with developing the city's green or blue spaces. Starting out from the theoretical framework developed for our alternative vision, we see the greenery and waterways as sites for food production but also as homes for plants and animals, all playing

important roles in the ecosystem.

In the official vision, the emphasis is on the citizen's role as *consumer* of culture, services, goods, greenery, open space and energy. In the alternative vision, we try to depict a future in which the residents are also *producers* of these entities. The notion of 40 hours of salary work for an international high-tech corporation followed by time for recreation, travel and consumption has been changed into lives in which citizens are both producers *and* consumers of goods, culture and energy; hence, 'work' and 'free time' are distributed differently. In this future, the amount of working hours in formal salary jobs has decreased, whereas forms of social and reproductive work, or postcapitalist relations, have become more recognized and well-organized. In this way, the social and reproductive work (in which women often have a larger role) has become upgraded, paving the way for a more gender-equal society. In line with Gibson-Graham's emphasis on the importance of postcapitalist relations, we have described and mapped such relations – many of which flourish already today, though they are seldom acknowledged in official documents. These include caring for elderly and children, political and social organizing, bartering and sharing of goods and resources and other forms of support systems outside the formal economy. In the alternative vision future, 'homes' have opened: some becoming live-work collectives, with others including shared spaces for socializing, organizing or producing.

Concluding discussion: Working with alternative visions

What difficulties did we encounter in the making of this alternative vision? And what were the reactions that we received at the stakeholder meetings? Our intent was to create a normative image of the future marked by environmental justice across genders, social groups, territories and species. Our ambition has not been to say *how* this might happen. Nevertheless, the vision may be interpreted as downplaying the path dependency of current socio-economic and environmental development. Perhaps we should have considered scenarios as where European and national policies of migration have opened to allow more refugees and people seeking a better life to come to cities like Stockholm. In such a scenario, Stockholm might have grown immensely. Or, we could have assumed that the Gulf Stream might have changed direction so that Stockholm became an arctic zone, and that large parts of the population would have left the city. In the rewriting of the vision, we have explored internal factors and assumed that the world around Stockholm has somehow developed in an environmentally just direction, enabling people to find agreeable living conditions all around the world. However, an in-depth discussion of how to relate to external factors, desirable as well as undesirable, would be relevant to develop in future research.

The development of Stockholm is also largely dependent on development in the greater region and nation. Currently there is a large influx of people to Stockholm, motivated by the search for work and a better life as a result of the politics emphasizing big cities as the 'growth engines' of the country. In our alternative future, we have not taken a continued urbanization for granted. Starting out from our theoretical framework, we have instead imagined a movement towards decentralization where people are able to find good lives in towns and settlements across the country.

For a vision to be credible, it is important to show how it relates to desired goals as well as possible undesired side effects. How can we assess the social and environmental impacts of this vision, locally and globally? This is beyond the scope of this chapter, but for future work, it would be worthwhile to explore assessment methods that consider production *and* consumption beyond administrative boundaries[6] as well as effects on the welfare system and people's wellbeing.

In order to get feedback on the alternative vision, we arranged three stakeholder meetings. The reactions we received at these meetings ranged from that the alternative vision was too utopian (according to a representative from the City of Stockholm), to that it was not radical enough and could have gone even further to portray a post-capitalist economy (according to representatives of *Kvinnors Byggforum* (Women's Building Forum)). A common reflection was that this type of exercise

– discussing an image of a normative, fairly distant future – can help us to see beyond current structures and actually put another society into words. There were also several comments and suggestions for how to develop the vision: for instance, that it should encompass the whole region of Stockholm rather than just the City of Stockholm, particularly important when discussing food supply systems; that the potential for public transport on the waterways could be developed; and that the issue of health care should be dealt with. In particular, how the envisioned co-production of society is going to work for disabled, sick and old people was a crucial question.

At the stakeholder meetings, we also discussed ideas of how the format and function of alternative visions could be developed. All of the three groups expressed that alternative visions like the one presented here are useful as bases for discussions about values and desired futures. Suggestions came up to arrange vision workshops with different citizen organizations as well as political parties so that a set of multiple visions for the same city could be developed and contrasted. Another idea was to develop an online template that could help other groups to develop their own visions. It was pointed out that citizen groups tend to criticize urban planning proposals, but seldom devote time to envision and argue for alternative developments. Here, methods and exercises for developing alternative visions clearly have a role to play.

With this chapter, we hope to contribute to the work on how to navigate urban planning and vision making towards more environmentally just futures. We have argued that a futurist feminist political ecology framework is useful for this purpose, and illustrated how such a framework can be used to work out concrete goals, strategies and images of everyday practices for the future. Our alternative vision is of course simplified – developed by a small group, departing from a specific normative framework – and is therefore not to be understood as something to be implemented. Rather, the intent is for it to spark discussion about desired futures, triggering others to articulate their opinions, critiques and alternatives. In this way, it can also serve as a basis for discussing the current way of living, planning and doing politics, in Stockholm and elsewhere.

1
To the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Sweden and other countries report emission levels based on what is being emitted *within* national boundaries. However, if emissions arising from consumption by Swedes of products produced *outside* national boundaries are accounted for, the figures are quite different. When total consumption is accounted for, Sweden has not lowered greenhouse gas emissions by 13% but in fact raised them by 9% between 2000 and 2008 (Naturvårdsverket 2012, p. 7–9). This is mainly because consumption levels have risen, and goods are to a large extent imported.

2
Hurley calls for images of the future that can form resistance to the hegemonic images of e.g. Hollywood films.

3
An English version of the vision is printed but no longer available on the Internet. The booklet is not paginated; however, in order for the reader to easily locate the quotes referred to, we have added page numbers.

4
www.stockholm.se/OmStockholm/Vision/, accessed July 17, 2016.

5
Stockholm City's visioning work began in 2004 under the government of a coalition of conservative parties, and was revised under a new government, which, since 2014, consists of the Social Democratic party, the Green party, the Left party and the Feminist Initiative party. By the time of concluding this chapter, there is an updated version, *Vision 2040* on the Internet, with the title: "A City for All", but Stockholm's *Vision 2030* still constitutes the major framework and direction for the city's visioning work and it is this version that is analyzed here.
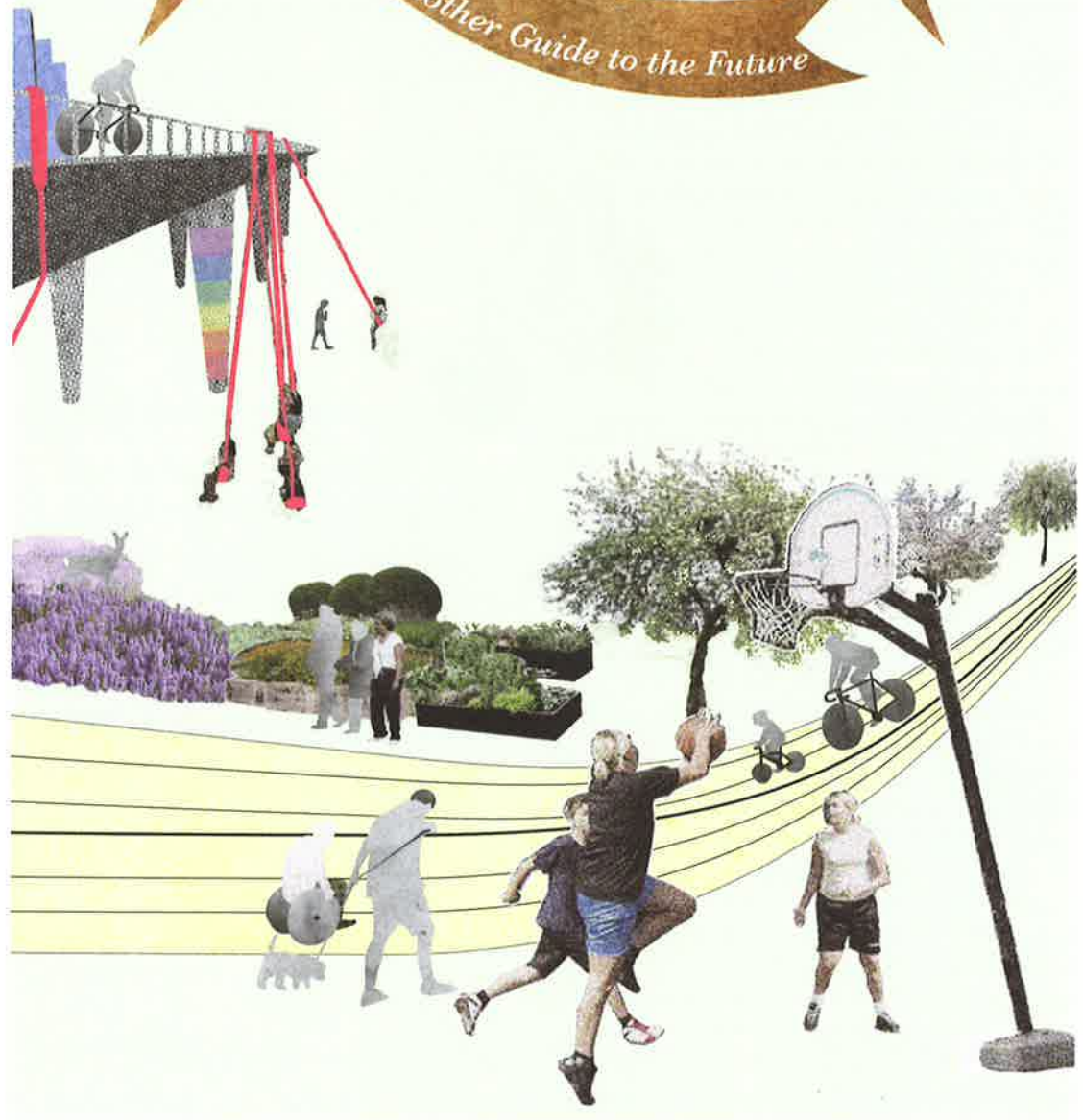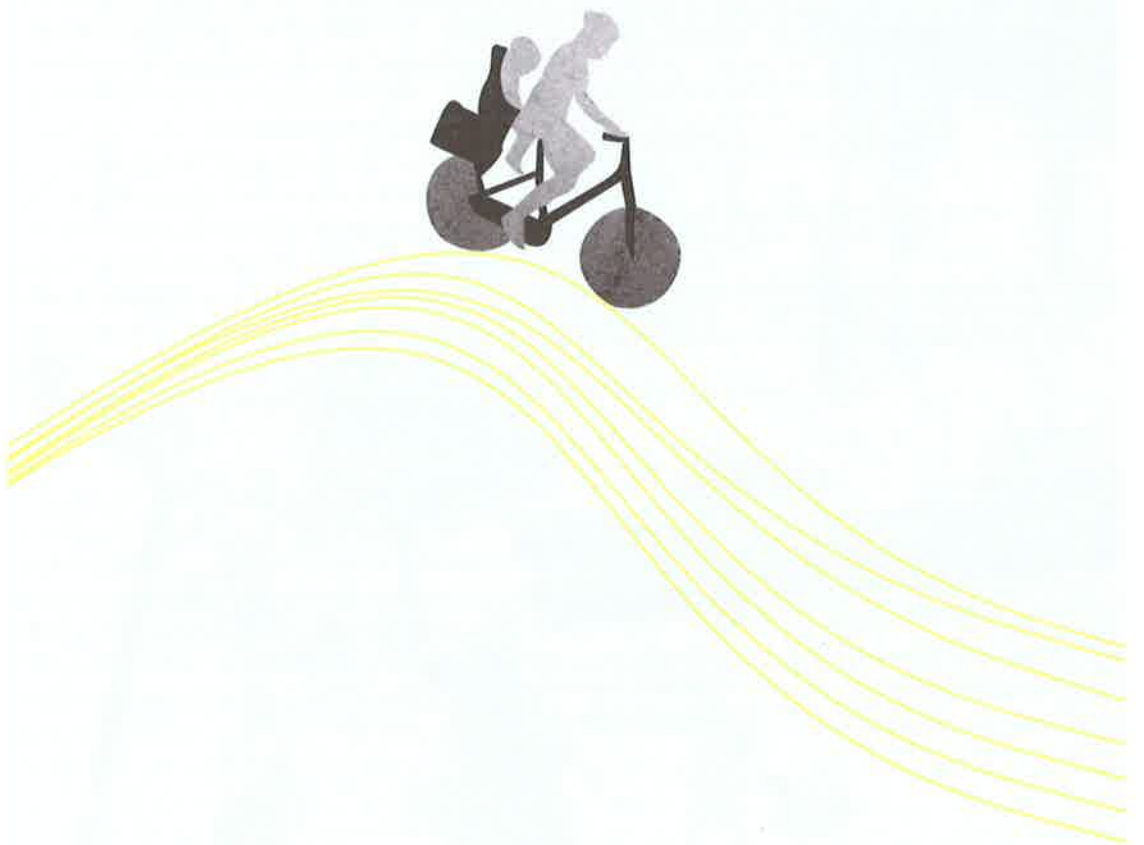
6
One such tool is REAP: Resources and Energy Analysis Programme developed by Stockholm Environment Institute, see www.sei-international.org/reap, accessed 7 November 2013.

Stockholm
Towards a Just City

Stockholm 2030

Another Guide to the Future

Towards a Just Stockholm

As of late 2013, Stockholm is one of the fastest growing cities in Europe, and the region is expected to house half a million more residents by 2030. In 2010 the city received the EU Green Capital award amid claims of being at the forefront of the international sustainability league. At the same time, figures show the per capita ecological footprint to be three times greater than if resources were divided in a fair and sustainable way. Politicians and planners are not sure what to do about this, or how to handle it, or, we may add, how long they can describe the city as "green" when the patterns of resource use go in the opposite direction.

Like many other Scandinavian regions, Stockholm is known for good and equal housing and living standards for all. However, this image is cracking as socioeconomic and ethnic segregation increases. Public participation is requested, but the planning of the city is considered largely to be a task for "the big players" and their public-private consortia, not for citizens.

The shadow version of Stockholm's official vision presented here envisions a future marked by more just use of resources across social groups, genders, territories and species. The ambition of this vision is not to describe one future desired by all but rather to illustrate how futures can be imagined and articulated differently, based on varied perspectives and values. There could – and should – be a multitude of articulated visions for a city so that different values, goals and strategies can be confronted. We hope that these snapshots of the future will encourage you to share yours.

Welcome to another future!

Karin Bradley, Ulrika Gunnarsson-Östling, Meike Schalk and Jenny Andreasson

Stockholm, 8 November 2013

3

A Diverse Economy

With the signing of the 2027 UN Bogotá Resource Entitlements Treaty, all humans are entitled to a fair share of environmental space. Stockholmers have found ways to live within the resource entitlements that are issued along with their democratic rights. The time of people overusing resources, stealing from future generations and marginalized peoples, is viewed as a bizarre era. Ever since the

We share a workspace, and we exchange time to help each other, for instance, with renovations and childcare.

BAGARMOSS-recycling

Since we grow food on the front lawn, we enjoy fresh salads and good neighbourly relations.

environmental and social costs of pro-
duction and transportation have been
adequately accounted for, the production
of basic goods, such as food, clothing and
utilities, have been localized.

Basic goods are traded through the local
currency, the Stockholm krona, or ex-
changed in time banks and swapping sys-
tems. Specialized goods, such as medical
equipment, are traded in the Tellus global
peer-to-peer currency.

Stockholmers in 2030 live on less resourc-
es than they did in the 2010s. They travel
and consume goods in wiser ways and
enjoy a great quality of life in terms of
meaningful and varied work, belonging,
good local food, greater freedom in car-
free environments where children walk
and play outside.

We open our home to the
public sometimes with concerts,
exhibitions, and even political
debates, which has contributed to
a lively community.

Now, in 2030, local social enterprises and cooperatives are flourishing. Most citizens alternate intellectual work, practical work and political work. Universities award double degrees and have developed production/cultivation labs on campus. Low-tech and high-tech hardware and software are produced through open-source models. The municipality facilitates housing construction and retrofitting by cobuilding in nonprofit cooperatives. Citizens collectively own and manage housing and often own a share in a local workshop or farm. All people engage in forming society and are met with equal respect. The era of some groups dominating and setting the social norms is history.

Idiots! Nobody liked my good idea.

I'm happy to leave behind the focus on material success, competition and bonuses. I'm part of this political organizing— and I spend more time with the kids!

7

A City for All Species

Stockholm is home to many different species – plants and animals have reclaimed the city. As motorways and parking lots were turned into green paths, the deer, fox, rabbits and badgers could easily pass between the urban forests. There are plenty of wildflowers along the paths, in parks and courtyards, keeping the bees and butterflies busy. Most kindergartens and schools have their own pigs that eat leftovers from lunch. The fish have returned to Lake Mälaren. Methods for raising fish in small ponds have been developed, and there are microfisheries in many urban courtyards. Every Sunday there is a fish market at the Slussen commons.
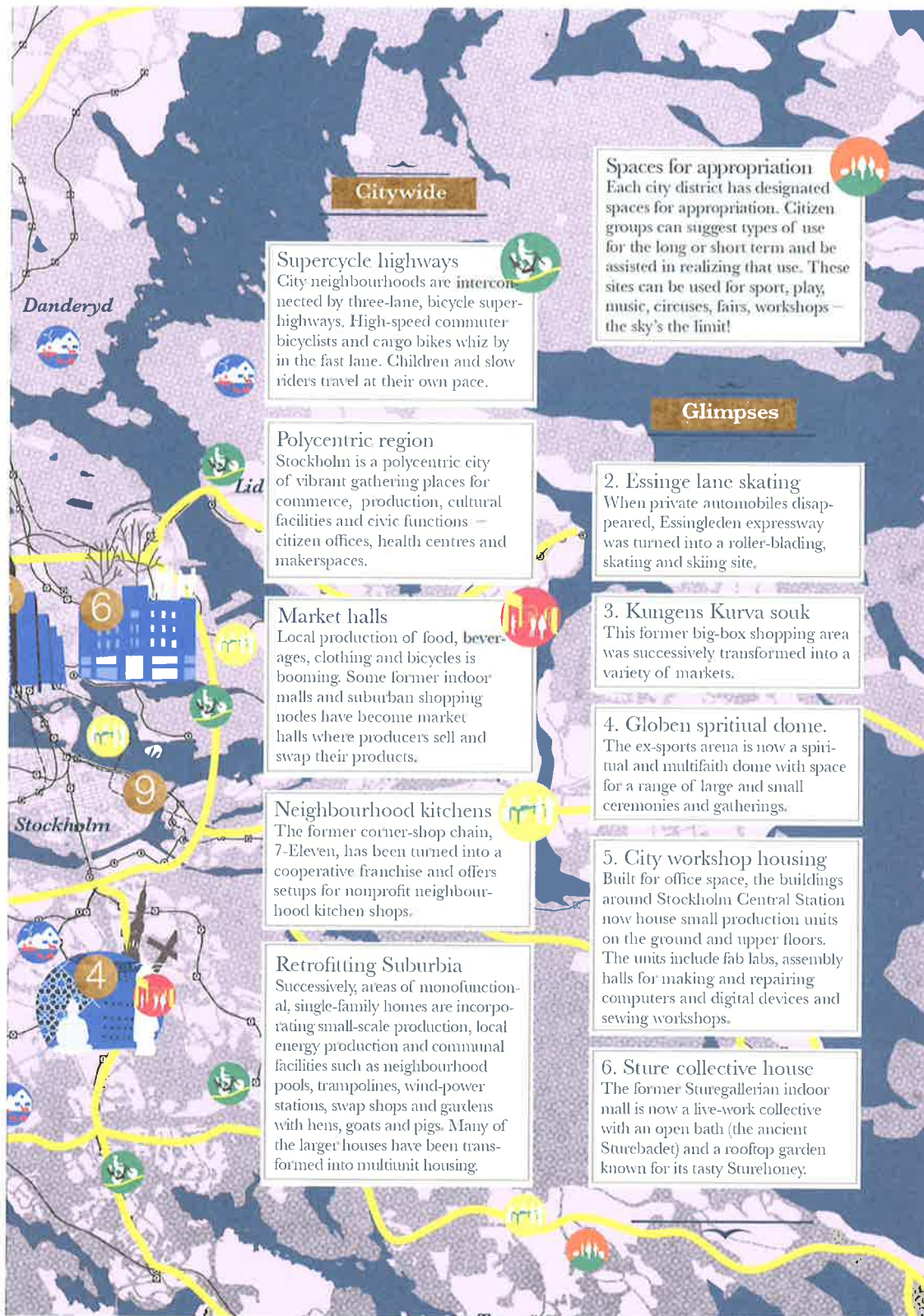
Mm, the yummy things people grow!

Well, well! Now we're the main protein source for humans. They like us roasted with hot red sauce.

8

Mapping Stockholm 2030

Täby

Sollentuna

Sundbyberg

Solna

1.Bromma Open Air Farm
The former airfield is now an urban farm and space for open-air noncommercial events. Once a shopping centre, Bromma Blocks has been transformed into a noncommercial cultural space for film screenings, performances and dance parties.

Huddinge

Bradley, Gunnarsson-Östling, Schalk with Andreasson Futurist Feminist Political Ecology – Rewriting Stockholm's Vision 2030

Danderyd

Supercycle highways
City neighbourhoods are interconnected by three-lane, bicycle super-highways. High-speed commuter bicyclists and cargo bikes whiz by in the fast lane. Children and slow riders travel at their own pace.

Polycentric region
Stockholm is a polycentric city of vibrant gathering places for commerce, production, cultural facilities and civic functions — citizen offices, health centres and makerspaces.

Market halls
Local production of food, beverages, clothing and bicycles is booming. Some former indoor malls and suburban shopping nodes have become market halls where producers sell and swap their products.

Neighbourhood kitchens
The former corner-shop chain, 7-Eleven, has been turned into a cooperative franchise and offers setups for nonprofit neighbourhood kitchen shops.

Stockholm

Retrofitting Suburbia
Successively, areas of monofunctional, single-family homes are incorporating small-scale production, local energy production and communal facilities such as neighbourhood pools, trampolines, wind-power stations, swap shops and gardens with hens, goats and pigs. Many of the larger houses have been transformed into multiunit housing.

Spaces for appropriation
Each city district has designated spaces for appropriation. Citizen groups can suggest types of use for the long or short term and be assisted in realizing that use. These sites can be used for sport, play, music, circuses, fairs, workshops — the sky's the limit!

Glimpses

2. Essinge lane skating
When private automobiles disappeared, Essingleden expressway was turned into a roller-blading, skating and skiing site.

3. Kungens Kurva souk
This former big-box shopping area was successively transformed into a variety of markets.

4. Globen spritiual dome.
The ex-sports arena is now a spiritual and multifaith dome with space for a range of large and small ceremonies and gatherings.

5. City workshop housing
Built for office space, the buildings around Stockholm Central Station now house small production units on the ground and upper floors. The units include fab labs, assembly halls for making and repairing computers and digital devices and sewing workshops.

6. Sture collective house
The former Sturegallerian indoor mall is now a live-work collective with an open bath (the ancient Sturebadet) and a rooftop garden known for its tasty Sturehoney.

Getting there

Macro goals for the city	A diverse and localized economy	A circular economy
Institutional strategies for local, regional, national and supranational institutions	Include social and environmental costs of products, services and transportation through taxation Ensure that the region has complementary primary, secondary and tertiary sectors Shift higher salaries into less working hours Provide infrastructure for sharing vehicles, spaces, machines and other idle resources	Introduce schemes for individual emissions quotas ensuring fair environmental space for all Make producers take on the costs of repair and maintenance Provide facilities and incentives for local ecocycling of water and waste
Micro strategies of civil society	Develop existing postcapitalist economies, such as sharing, bartering and cooperatives Start a local exchange trading scheme, such as a time bank or local currency	Lower the level of resource-intensive private consumption Produce and consume local goods Reuse, share, swap and trade goods Recycle and compost what you cannot reuse, retrofit, swap or trade Use and develop common spaces for shared facilities

12

A local food system with biodiversity

Activate land-use planning to provide qualitative green space for recreation, biodiversity and food production

Facilitate for local farmers to sell their goods in standard food stores

Allow chickens and other household animals in urban and suburban areas

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Cultivate gardens and empty lots

Join a local garden club or community-supported agriculture in the region

Start a food cooperative

Keep productive animals in yards and gardens – bees, hens...

Robust technical infrastructure

Ensure that energy, waste and water systems are robust and can be repaired with local skills and materials

Facilitate for communities to construct local water and waste systems, nested into a larger system

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Complement high-tech with low-tech facilities that can be easily repaired with local skills and materials

13

Macro goals for the city	Renewable and local energy provision	Affordable retrofitted housing for all
Institutional strategies for local, regional, national and supranational institutions	Provide grids where households and other entities can be both producers and consumers of energy Allow public institutions like schools and public housing organizations to be producers of energy	Assure that there are different forms of affordable housing – such as non-profit rental, self-owned cooperatives, cohousing Facilitate for a wide array of builders and nonprofit cobuilding groups Develop new areas gradually
Micro strategies of civil society	Set up individual or collective facilities for local renewable energy provision (solar, wind, hydro, biogas…) Buy renewable energy but also find practices that lower energy use	Try ways of living together with others Ecoretrofit existing buildings Use local and recyclable materials Consider developing semipublic space at home or in the neighbourhood – a small work space, a guest apartment, a social space, a common garden – making home interlinked with the public sphere

14

Coproducing a fair society

Facilitate democratic cocreation of society and the built environment

Ensure that there are good common spaces for noncommercial activities

Get organized. Engage in politics.

Alternate intellectual, political and practical work in seasons or phase in life

Develop and use local space for social organizing, cocreation of goods, education

Fair accessibility

Map the purposes of transport in the region and minimize the need for undesired transport and facilitate for the desired

Ensure that basic services can be found locally (schools, kindergartens, health-care centres...)

Facilitate for local work and neighbourhood job hubs

Facilitate for nonmotorized forms of transport (develop rail, bike and pedestrian systems)

Ensure that living environments are enjoyable year-round

Live and work nearby

Use local services

Care for your neighborhood so you want to stay

Forget mass tourism and instead go abroad to do something meaningful for a longer period of time

15

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FEMINIST FUTURES OF SPATIAL PRACTICE

MATERIALISMS
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