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Sustainability and the City

Past, Present and Future of Life in Sustainable Sydney

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Abstract

We are living in a crisis. The climate of the world is changing because of humans' actions. Pollution, emissions and the way we are living and developing is harming the planet. Something needs to be done, but what can we do for a sustainable future? One idea is the concept of compact cities, where people live in dense areas to decrease emissions. Cities are on the one hand drivers of economic growth, while on the other hand the solution for a more sustainable future.

In 2013 a strategic plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030 was released, fronted by the Lord Mayor Clover Moore. This plan consists of making Sydney Green, Global and Connected. The development of the area called Green Square is closely linked to this vision. Green Square is an area that encompasses several suburbs in Sydney. It is known for being an industrial area but is under the process of developing into a densely populated residential area. This development started in the year 2000 when Green Square train station was opened, followed by the construction of the town centre beginning in 2014. Today Green Square consists of a mix of old industrial buildings and new apartment buildings, and the development is just getting started, with plans to increase population density even further. The development is clearly in line with the plan for a sustainable city, with green areas and community facilities.

Based on six months of ethnographic fieldwork in Green Square, Sydney, conducted in 2022, this thesis studies ideas and narratives combined with actions and processes of a sustainable life and development. A critical view towards sustainability reveals issues in the concept. Through studying narratives of past, future and present, the thesis aims to shed light on how the complexity of the term sustainability allows everything and nothing to be sustainable, thus allowing power to play a vast role in what sustainability in the city is. I argue that sustainability appears when narrative and action resonate, and people feel like they can make a difference. There is a need to reveal when narrative and action resonate in lines of existing structures that are part of the problem. Nevertheless, to make a sustainable world, narratives of change need to resonate with actions, not just on the local scale, but also on a global level.

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Introduction

Introducing Green Square

If you walk from the Sydney Opera House by the coastline in the south-east direction, you can follow a path with the botanic garden on one side and the coast on the other. When you reach the end of the botanic garden, a pier appears in the water. Posh-looking restaurants and expensive boats fill the pier. This is also where Bourke Street begins. A street that goes all the way down to Green Square and continues from there as Bourke Road stretches down south to the airport. Green Square is the area this thesis will be centred around. An area under development from industrial to residential, this development is heavily influenced by the plan to make Sydney sustainable. Bourke Street connects this area to other parts of Sydney, making it part of several scales. If you walk from the harbour down Bourke Street, it runs parallel to the CBD (City Business District) until you reach Surry Hills. The part of Bourke Street that goes through Surry Hills is filled with cafes and restaurants on the side of the road. The stereotypical Australian terrace houses are to be found between the shops—two-store tall old buildings with a small terrace out-front. The houses are connected but separated by different colours—soft colours of yellow, orange, white, blue, beige and so on. A bed of plants and trees separates the pavement from the cars. Not much traffic goes through here, but several pedestrians are walking or sitting at a café table in the sun. The street consists of one lane and, at times, some parking on the side of the road. Pedestrians can cross the road safely at any time, and there are pedestrian crossings where walkers have the right of way.

The street changes when Bourke Street reaches Waterloo, one of the suburbs included in Green Square. Tall apartment complexes and industrial buildings appear on the side of the road. Suddenly the street is filled with cars. Pedestrians are standing at the red light, waiting to cross the street. Bourke Street now consists of two lanes of cars going in each direction. Trees are still planted on the side of the road, revealing that the area is moving away from its industrial period and becoming a “green” residential area. Walking further along into Waterloo and Zetland, the cafes and restaurants are replaced by fast food shops and different businesses, several car dealerships, Ferrari and Maserati, Toyota and Lexus, and a motorcycle shop. There is also a colossal shoe outlet and a gym supplier. Zetland Hotel is the only bar on this street in the Green Square area, a rundown yellow building with an advertisement in bright colours for VIP rooms, rooms with "pokies", aka slot machines. Sometimes they advertise for events on a chalkboard on the wall outside. There are also a few terrace houses along this part of the street. Storage rooms, a gas station and a vast laundry business, is also to

find a long Bourke Street in Green Square. These different occupants of the space along Bourke Street reflect the shifting times in Green Square, moving from an industrial to a residential area as part of a sustainable city. After walking through all these stores and apartments, you reach Green Square station. Right next to the station, Bourke Street enters into a giant cross with streets coming from five directions. Bourke Road comes out on the other side through Alexandria, another suburb partly under Green Square. This area is heavily industrial. The industry in the area of Green Square along Bourke Street has set the ground for sustainable development in Sydney. Along this street, one can see the first stages of a developed area while some industry is still hanging on. Industrial buildings and huge stores mixed with newly developed apartment buildings; this is the place where a sustainable city is coming to life. This is one of the streets where sustainable development is materialised and where people live their everyday lives, lives that are sustainable.



Figure 1: Along Bourke Street in Waterloo, still some industrial buildings remain. Source: Private photo



Figure 2: Bourke Street, Zetland Hotel and new apartment buildings. Source: Private photo

Green Square is this area, overlapping several suburbs, between an industrial area on one end and a cozy residential area on the other. Green Square stretches over the suburbs of Zetland, Beaconsfield and parts of Waterloo, Alexandria and Roseberry. The town centre is located behind Green Square Station. The City of Sydney's webpage advertises that this is the first time they are designing a new town centre in over a hundred years. They have invested 540 million Australian dollars in creating world-class community facilities; these include a new library, parks, playgrounds and an aquatic park and recreational centre. Necessary infrastructure is also built, including a drainage system, footpaths, cycling lanes and a possible path for a future light rail (City of Sydney, n.d. b).

Green Square is also included in the plan for Sustainable Sydney (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020). Building on the UN sustainable development goals, Sydney is planning to become a Sustainable city. They use the words Green, Global, and Connected to further this cause. Green includes trees, parks, gardens and open spaces for a modest environmental impact. The city will reduce emissions and adapt to be resilient. Global refers to the economy through global links, partnerships and knowledge sharing. They are aiming towards a global and open-minded attitude. Sydney will be connected through walking, cycling and public transport while also having connected communities. The feeling of

belonging and social wellbeing is emphasised. It also includes being connected across spheres of government. Green Square is highlighted as a case study under the sustainable development, renewal and design part of the community strategic plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030. Green Square is transformed from formerly industrial land to a high-density urban environment. This development goes across all levels of government and in cooperation with private developers who invest in and build residential and commercial properties. In 2017 about 24 000 residents lived in Green Square. The plan is to increase to 61 000 by 2030 (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020).

Alongside the City of Sydney, private developers have taken an essential part in developing the area of Green Square. In the initial development of Green Square, Landcome was the leading developer, a state-owned company that works with the government and private sector to deliver housing projects. Landcome has worked in cooperation with Mirvac since 2012, and in 2020 Mirvac acquired Landcome's ownership of the future stages in Green Square Town Centre (Landcome, 2020). Thereby Mirvac, a private property group, was the dominant developer during my fieldwork in 2022, and this thesis will focus on them as the private developers of Green Square.

Green Square is being developed by the council alongside private developers to become part of a sustainable city. This thesis will question what this means and who the actors taking part are. Sydney is developing to become a sustainable city, as can be seen in broader tendencies in cities developing around the world. A green and sustainable city can be set in place in various ways, and studying how this is happening in Green Square can be seen in line with common tendencies on a global scale. Looking at Green Square as a local place where sustainability and development take place in everyday life of residents can reveal broader ideas about sustainability in the world. Different people and institutions have varying understandings of what sustainability is and these understandings have effects that are important to understand to comprehend what goes into making a city sustainable. This thesis seeks to answer the question: Which factors are contributing to varying understandings of sustainability, and what are the consequences of these views? This will be studied by looking into processes and actions of how the sustainable city plays out in everyday life, how ideas about sustainability are narrated and how this affects the reality in Green Square. The term pair, narrative and practise, side by side with, ideas and actions, will be used in different chapters, as I see the words fit. These pairs do build up to the same argument and will in the end be used interchangeably or as narrative and action. As a start to answer the question, a

background of broader research on sustainability, compact cities and urban development and discourses will be laid out.

Theoretical Background

This theoretical background will provide literature that has inspired and influenced my thesis. The concept of sustainability is broad and challenging to grasp. One way to narrow it down is to focus solely on either environmental, social or economic sustainability. Several anthropologists have written about climate change (Greschke & Tischler, 2015), some focus on how people relate to or feel about the changing environment (Norgaard, 2011) and others highlight the need to understand the local in combination with other places, times and kinds of knowledge (Hastrup, 2013). In writing about sustainability, the main focus is often on the environment (Moran, 2010; Hölzl, 2010; Howell, 2017). However, as the development in Green Square has set a target to be Green, Global and Connected, it is necessary for this thesis to tackle all three as equally important. This thesis will build on a combination of literature from the anthropology of sustainability and urban anthropology, as these fields of study shed light on interesting and important aspects to understand the contemporary situation in Green Square. To understand sustainability in the city, theories of discourse analysis prove helpful to unravel varying understandings of sustainability and the consequences of these.

Sustainability

Sustainability is a complex and challenging concept to study, as it cannot be understood exclusively in technical terms. Anthropologists can help understand sustainability in alternative ways, as Brightman and Lewis (2017) show in their book *The Anthropology of Sustainability*, where they give an overview of how anthropologists have and can contribute to the study of sustainability. Their book is a collection of several anthropologist's work on sustainability and provides a showcase of anthropology on sustainability at the time of publishing. The amount of anthropological work explicitly on sustainability is not vast, but if the concept of sustainability is expanded to include anything that falls under UN's development goals, this would include almost all anthropological works. The critical lens of anthropology is helpful to understand the concept of sustainability, while wider anthropological work provides a background on topics of development, politics and the human-nature relationship that is part of a broader aspect of sustainability.

Brightman and Lewis (2017) highlight how anthropology, with its holistic view, by studying across temporal and spatial scales, from everyday situations to the more exotic, from the powerful to the subaltern, can contribute to translating and understanding different values, practices, ontologies and epistemologies between cultures. They further call for understanding sustainability outside the existing development system. There is a need for more than the protection and preservation of nature and technological fixes. They aim to understand sustainability as "the process of facilitating conditions for change by building and supporting diversity – ontological, biological, economic and political diversity" (Brightman & Lewis, 2017, p.2). This understanding of sustainability stands in contrast to a view where resilience is a solution. Neocleous (in Brightman & Lewis, 2017) shows how a focus on resilience shifts attention from addressing the underlying causes of the issues over to how to live with the problems. Inspired by these ideas about sustainability as something that needs to be understood outside of the existing structures today, because these structures are part of causing the problems, this thesis aims to comprehend different understandings of sustainability.

Brightman and Lewis (2017) show several ways anthropologists have dealt with and contributed to the critique of sustainability in existing systems. First, they problematise how the institutionalisation of sustainability puts sustainability in line with economic considerations, where cultural, social and ecological concerns are handled in ways compatible with economic growth. Following this, they highlight the issue that occurs when sustainability is coupled with development. Similar tendencies to Ferguson's (in Brightman & Lewis, 2017) anti-politics machine appear, where discourses of development and progress suppress local contingencies and political reality. The strength of anthropology is the spending of time in local realities, thereby leading to the production of critical analysis. Brightman and Lewis (2017) also uncover issues with market-based mechanisms to achieve sustainability. Governments and global elites use vague and misleading definitions of sustainability based on maintaining the status quo. Resilience thinking fits under this. Thus, it is important to understand sustainability beyond existing structures. This critical view of sustainability as part of economic growth and development will be an important tool to understand sustainability in Green Square.

Sustainability must be understood as a complex concept, and anthropologists have tackled this in varying ways. Yamada et al. (2022) study the moral landscape of environmental agendas. They unravel the definition of sustainability and emphasise that anthropologists can contribute to complicating the use of the concept by revealing political,

economic and cultural values often implicit in the use of the term. They highlight how anthropologists tend to reject universalistic definitions and that only having one definition of sustainability is problematic. What is seen as sustainable depends on who defines it and the subject's position. Yamada et al. aim to study both the processes and consequences of the sustainability agenda connected to moral boundaries. They propose to understand sustainability beyond its different meanings rather as a dynamic site of negotiation with moral communities at stake (Yamada et al., 2022). Studying morality can assist in understanding sustainability, as can other approaches. Brightman and Lewis (2017) stress how anthropological research can contribute to studying the Anthropocene, where humans and nature are connected. They emphasise Kawa's work studying human–nonhuman relations with a focus on the human agency to understand the role of human action in the Anthropocene (Kawa in Brightman & Lewis, 2017). They also highlight how anthropologists can offer insight into sustainability by studying how global change affects local systems and vice versa. Simultaneously, anthropologists explore both what people do and what they say about the environment. Actions alongside values, evaluations and judgement mediate the interference between humans and the environment (Brightman & Lewis, 2017). These critical ideas and tools of anthropology make a base for this study of sustainability in Sydney, as these tendencies can be seen in the development of Green Square.

While anthropology explicitly about sustainability provides a wider understanding of sustainability, a broad understanding of sustainability can build on other anthropological work. Anthropologist have provided a critical understanding of development, not only by revealing continuation of the colonial past, but also by unravelling how development work is constantly reframed to remain politically and morally viable (Mosse, 2005). This understanding of development, alongside seeing power through resilience (Foucault, 1982) and uncovering silencing of narratives (Trouillot, 2015) can shed light on power structures in sustainability implementation. Simultaneously, anthropologist open for different relations between nature and humans and criticise ideas about saving biodiversity through giving it monetary value (Turnhout, et al., 2013). Anthropology's critical understanding of development, power and human-nature relationships provide an important background to understand how sustainability enables development and vice versa in Green Square and to look deeper into relations between people and green areas in the city. Thus, anthropology contributes to the study of sustainability in several ways, moving beyond the explicit concept of sustainability.

Compact City

At the same time as this thesis aims to unravel issues of sustainability, it also wants to cover people's desire to contribute to a better future. Cities are an interesting local place for a critical view towards sustainability as interlocked in existing systems of growth and development, as the city simultaneously is a force for economic growth and a place where sustainability plans are incorporated. To show ideas about the sustainable city, a background about the compact city will be provided. Hanssen et al. (2015) write that the aim of the compact city is sustainable city development, building on the Brundtland commissions definition of sustainability, which highlights meeting needs today without destroying the possibility for future generations to cover their needs. The compact city is built to meet economic, social and environmental objectives. Hanssen et al. highlight some of the perks of a more densely populated city. Emissions from transport are lowered, the energy consumption is lower in smaller apartments than in houses, the city does not need to expand into forest areas, and the city will be diverse and possibilities for social activities are broad (Hanssen et al., 2015). Hu (2015) illustrates how the City of Sydney's plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030, with a vision for a green, global and connected city, goes hand in hand with broader trends with the classic three pillars of sustainable development, environmental, economic and social. The green vision addresses environmental sustainability, the global vision addresses Sydney's economic competitiveness, and the connected vision addresses social needs and desires. Hu shows how Sydney overcomes the sustainability paradox by linking environmentalism with neoliberal urbanism to create positive synergies for environmental sustainability and economic competitiveness. Mutually supportive benefits from the two are targeted (Hu, 2015).

This thesis will contribute with an anthropological angle to study sustainability in the city. Anthropological studies of urban areas have developed over time, and these methodological and theoretical shifts set the ground for this research in Sydney. Pardo and Prato (2012) address the need to understand urban dynamics empirically in their introduction to *Anthropology in the City*. They reveal how earlier anthropology on urban life is built on a distinction between urban and rural. For a long time, anthropologists neglected cities as a field of study. When they finally started studying cities, it was often with a problem-centred approach, focusing on the exotic other, rural migrants, slums, shantytowns and poverty. There has been a reluctance among anthropologists to engage classical research in cities, building on a fear of losing disciplinary identity, because the discipline was developed to study tribes and village communities and a view that this could not be transferred to large and more complex

communities. With time these fears were laid to rest, and views of participant observation as possible and contributing to studying cities rose. Pardo and Prato (2012) argue that urban anthropology should be anthropological research carried out in cities. Urban research can contribute to the holistic understanding that anthropology is built on (Pardo & Prato, 2012). This thesis aims to contribute to a study of the city without solely focusing on a vulnerable group and by using anthropological tools in an urban setting.

Anthropological studies of cities in earlier days have been built on dualisms between urban and rural, nature and culture, and human and nonhuman (Pardo & Prato, 2012; Stoetzer 2022). Stoetzer (2022) criticises this divide by writing about ruderal ecologies, organisms that spontaneously inhabit disrupted environments, often seen as inhabitable; this can, for example, be plants growing out of cracks in the pavement. Studying these ruderal ecologies and the stories people tell about them provides new ways of approaching nature in the city. This is not to study people as plants but the interaction and interconnectedness between people, plants and animals with projects of capitalist extraction and nation-making. She argues that similar to how the Anthropocene has broken down dualisms of nature and culture and humans and nonhumans, there has been a break in dualisms in urban studies, too, of infrastructure and ruins and active technology and passive matter that correspond with the nature-culture divide. Animals and plants in cities have for a long time been seen as other or outside in urban studies. Her study of ruderal cities offers an alternative to these binary oppositions in urban life. She aims to not only expand on urban analysis to include nature and the nonhuman but further, to trace relations between people, landscape, animals and plants and how these become sites of exclusion and racialisation while also creating new forms of solidarity, endurance and healing (Stoetzer, 2022). This thesis will build on moving away from binary couples of urban and rural, and also nature and culture, by using ethnographic methods to study interactions between people, land and plants connected to ideas of sustainability in the city. By combining anthropology of sustainability with ideas about the compact city and anthropological views in the city, views of growth and development as constituting cities and sustainability can be dismantled, and structures withholding these views can be understood. To better understand these structures, discourse analysis can help to shed light on different narrations of sustainability in the city. These narratives combined with actions constitute the sustainable city.

Discourse, Knowledge and Power

There is a need to comprehend different understandings of sustainability, because these narratives influence what the sustainable city is. Discourse analysis can be a helpful tool when studying environmental politics (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Sharp & Richardson, 2001). These authors write about discourse analysis, building on discourse in the Foucauldian sense. Hajer and Versteeg (2005, p. 175) define discourse as “an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices.” Thereby discourse analysis is the study of language-in-use.

Hajer and Versteeg (2005) highlight that discourse analysis is a tradition that assumes the existence of multiple, socially constructed realities and has a critical stance towards truth. For interpretive environmental policy research, this understanding of reality as socially constructed gives opportunities to study how society gives meaning to an environmental phenomenon rather than studying the phenomena itself. Studying discourse analysis can be appealing because of the way it appreciates the messy and complex interactions that constitute the environmental process. Sustainable development cannot be studied in a straightforward or top-down way. It needs to be understood regarding the struggles of its meaning, interpretation and implementation (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). In this way, discourse analysis gives room to study issues related to understandings of sustainability.

Discourse analysis is a complex term and can function in varying ways. Sharp and Richardson (2001) study the move beyond a textually oriented approach in discourse analysis. They are building on Foucault's theory, which broadens discourse to embrace social action. They argue that while discourse can affect what happens in public meetings and policy processes, these events are just manifestations of discourse's existence. In distinction to more textual-oriented approaches to discourse analysis, the Foucauldian view of discourse is based on a model of social change where different systems of meaning or discourse compete for influence in society. Thereby shifts in the influence of different discourses conceptualise structural changes (Sharp & Richardson, 2001). Discourse analysis can help study text and language about sustainability, while also help reveal power in what discourses are winning space and become the common.

Hajer and Versteeg (2005) highlight three functions of discourse analysis, it can reveal the role of language in politics, unveil the embeddedness of language in practice, and it can illuminate mechanisms and answer "how" questions. Simultaneously it can uncover influence

on the definition of a problem. Finally, because the regime is not seen as a stable variable, discourse analysis can ask questions about how they work and what they do.

Hajer and Versteeg (2005) show different ways that discourse analysis can contribute to studies of environmental politics. One is by studying cultural politics, which includes the analysis of bias in the discourses and practices through which policy is made. This can help reveal when powerful agents, whose interests are threatened by change of or by current discourses, try to override development within discourse itself. They do not necessarily resist environmental values but cloak themselves in the language of environmentalism. A typical example is understanding sustainable development as a factor that can lead to economic growth.

A significant contribution of discourse analysis in environmental politics is the ability to trace underlying discursive power struggles. Hajer and Versteeg (2005) follow Foucault's ideas that power and knowledge are fundamentally intertwined. Discourse analysis can help study moments where discursive regularities and routines are broken up, which are prime moments of power struggle (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Discourse analysis contributes to understand sustainability as a socially constructed concept. Studying how narratives of the sustainable city is formed and power inherent in these narratives will contribute to understand how sustainability in the city comes to be.

Method

Entering the Field – Getting Access

To conduct research and find answers to these questions, I found it essential to take part in everyday life in Green Square. I moved to Australia in February 2022, a few months before starting fieldwork. The first month I stayed at my partner's parent's house until we found a place to live. As a part of my method, I wanted to live in Green Square, the area I studied. Finding and getting an apartment took work. However, after rounds of giving an offer, sending bank information, proof of income and visa documentation and so on, we finally got offered to rent an apartment in Bourke Street, Waterloo, for a year. I set a strict date for starting and ending fieldwork, from mid-April to early November, with a small break in July. Even though I lived in the area for 11 months, my fieldwork constitutes about six months.

In the initial period of the fieldwork, I reached out to people living in the same building through the strata network, an online platform managers and residents use to manage

the building. In this way, they could get back to me if they wanted to participate in an interview. This led to three loosely structured interviews where I got information on why they chose to live here and how they felt about it. I also went to Joynton Park, a popular park for dog owners, and tried to get in touch with people there. This led to two of my main interlocutors, May and Maria, with whom I spent much time. We explored the area together and visited cafes, restaurants, gyms and parks. I was participating in the lifestyle of the area. Another day in the park, I met an elderly lady, she was just about to meet a lady from the council. I got to join their meeting and later I had an interview with this council lady.

These strategies gave me a good base to get to know people in the area, but I also wanted to know people working on the area's development. This proved to be more difficult, and after several failed attempts at emails and phone calls, I had to seek help. My partner's father is a professor in construction at one of the universities in Sydney and helped get me in touch with some people who had researched Green Square. In this way, I got to know more people, who again set me in touch with more people. I also found the contact information for a lady working on community development for the City of Sydney and emailed her. I stayed in contact with Sofia throughout my fieldwork, giving me a peak into the work done by the City of Sydney. To get permission to do research on the City of Sydney, I had to be supported by a university in Sydney. I tried going through one of the researchers I had interviewed, but this seemed to be too much of a bureaucratic struggle, and again my partner's father helped me. After this was all set up, I was set in contact with several people working for the City of Sydney. They also connected me with a person working for one of the private developers in the area. Getting in touch with this developer was something I struggled with for a long time. I sent email after email with no answer. I am left with the impression that it matters who you know, and the only way to get in touch with someone is through contacts. Thus, the more contacts I got, the easier it was to evolve my fieldwork. Even though I got to interview and talk to several people working on the development in Green Square, I want to state that the work presented in this thesis is just a small fraction of all the work the City of Sydney and others do. Some of the people mentioned in this thesis are composite persons, characteristics are changed, or they are removed, as I see this necessary to protect their anonymity. I have sent the thesis to some informants and gotten feedback before handing it in.

Participant Observation

“Ethnographers talk, participate and observe simultaneously, and the sum total of these actions creates participant observation in its broadest sense.” (Madden, 2010, p.77) To

outline the methodological strategies used in my fieldwork, I will use Madden's division of participant observation into participation, observation and conversation.

I will start with participation, which includes living in the area, taking part in everyday life, and getting to know people. Madden (2010) highlights the fine line between being close and not too close. An ethnographer wants to take part in the life of people they study to understand, but at the same time, keep a distance and remain in the position of a critical outsider. During my fieldwork, I got to know people living in the area. On the one hand, getting to know people and creating relations was relevant and vital for my project, as building community is a big part of the plan for sustainable Sydney (Community Strategic Plan 2017- 2021, 2020). By living in Green Square and taking part in everyday life, I became a part of sustainability in the city, as sustainability is realised through residents and the life in Green Square. On the other hand, these relationships often felt more like friendships than work. Sometimes our activities were easy to relate to my project, but at other times it felt more like hanging out with any other friend. In contrast, the relations felt more formal when researching the area's development. The interactions were usually limited to an interview, staying in touch by email, and setting me in contact with new people. There was one exception to this, a person I met several times for casual interviews and I volunteered to help with their work. I got to know this person over time. This relationship felt collegial, as it was always set during worktime. Madden (2010) points out that it is not always the ethnographer's choice to set the limits of what is close. Often the participants set these boundaries. These boundaries felt naturally set in my fieldwork. I was limited to work hours when interacting with developers. In difference, with people living in the area, I joined recreational activities and spent time outside work. It was not natural to participate in their workday.

Another way I participated was through embodiment. Madden (2010) writes about how the ethnographer's body is used in participation and the need to acquire relevant competence in basic body language. This does not necessarily mean that the ethnographer needs to be physically skilful or strong but can, in some instances, as it did for me. I was taken by surprise at how significant a role my body would take in my research. I have always been an active person and enjoyed working out, so in the beginning, I thought this was just a way I personally found it easy to get in touch with people. The more time I spent in the area of my research, the more I realised that this was a more significant trend. Several people mentioned physical activity as their primary social scene. I found it easier to meet people more frequently when we started working out together, and I would not look twice if someone walked past me on the street in sportswear. Using my body and working out became a big part

of my participation in life in the area. One of the places this was frequent was in a bouldering gym I joined.

Alongside participation, observation is another essential methodological tool used in fieldwork. Madden (2010) shows how anthropologists, as well as any other person, have a way of seeing the world affected by our perspectives and positions in life. The ethnographic gaze is likewise affected by the ethnographer's oriental climate, experiences, and interests. The gaze can be trained, and ethnographers will pick up on relevant things to their research. Madden (2010) highlights structures and behaviour as two points of emphasis for the systematic eye. In my research, I have used my ethnographic gaze to study the structures of the streets in the area. Inspired by Russel's (2017) building of explicit awareness, encouraging to describe mundane things in as much detail as possible, I set out to describe the streets in the area. I had a mental map in my head and wrote descriptions of different parts I found especially interesting. After writing, I returned to the place for a new look, took pictures, and returned to fill in the details I had missed.

When it comes to observing behaviour, this is something I did all the time in different situations, but one place comes to mind as the spot where this was one of my most important tools, the bouldering gym. I participated and had an interview with the owner, but just being there and seeing how people interacted also gave me information. This was a place where I could see strangers getting in touch, old friends meeting up, or couples going on dates. It is impossible to separate the observation from the participation in this gym. However, the combination of feeling it on my body, getting cheered on by a stranger, and seeing this happening to other people gave me a good impression of the socialising and behaviour happening in this place.

Talking to people has been an essential tool in my research, from formal interviews to casual conversations. In general, I had more formal interviews with the people working in development and casual conversations with people living in the area. I found it comfortable to start with a more formal interview the first time I met a new person, and as I got to know them better, it went over to a friendly conversation. In my interviews, I worked on following some of the general advice Madden (2010) gives by having open-ended questions, avoiding leading questions, and finding a line between a natural flow of the conversation and the instrumentality research brings with it. The interviews I conducted had a casual tone. I had some questions in the back of my head but let the conversation flow where it was taken. Doing fieldwork in a world city, I relate to some of the issues Passaro (1997) mentions of being told the city is a too uncontrollable place to study. Because of this, I chose Sustainable

Sydney as a theme for my research, which would affect my questions. I tried to avoid leading questions, but the conversation was already led when I went in, telling the participant I was there to study sustainability.

Theses Outline

Chapter two, first and foremost, sets out to give a background and understanding of the history that takes part in making Green Square what it is today. Simultaneously as history gives context, it also reveals power. The name Green Square is new, but the area is old. Stories of the Eora, industry and development set the grounds for what Green Square is today. Silencing some stories and highlighting others set the ideal framework for developing Sustainable Sydney.

Chapter three studies silencing similarly, though not about history but rather the future. Looking into different ideas about the future reveals the power in shaping Green Square's future. Futures of disaster and inequality are silenced while the future of a perfect sustainable city is highlighted. Choices of how the future is framed affect the view of sustainability. The idea of development for a sustainable city stands strong in Green Square.

Chapter four builds heavily on participant observation with residents and planners of Green Square. Separating actions and ideas about a sustainable lifestyle helps to reveal the inherent problem. Different people, businesses and the council have varying ideas about what a sustainable city should look like, and their ideas and actions are intertwined. Sustainability is a broad concept; for some, emissions are important, while others highlight wellbeing. When these ideas and actions collide, setting a standard for a sustainable lifestyle becomes impossible.

Chapter five moves across scales of space and politics to get a better understanding of sustainability. Moving across different scales of government can change views on whether Green Square is sustainable. At the same time, moving scales of space, varying between Green Square as local and global, can make it look sustainable. Therefore, it is crucial to study across different scales, not to determine whether Green Square is sustainable, but to understand the entire process behind making it sustainable.

To answer questions about the factors that contribute to varying understandings of sustainability, and the consequences of these views, this thesis suggests looking into the when narratives and action is made to resonate and when they do not. Understanding this resonance can reveal when solutions are stuck in old structures and contribute to shed light on what is seen as sustainable and thereby understand what the sustainable city is made into.

The History of Green Square

Introduction

One day I was going for a walk in the area, and as I did, I noticed several commercial plates put up by the City of Sydney. They surrounded a construction area behind the library. The posters start with acknowledging the Gadigal of the Eora Nation as the traditional custodians of this place now called Sydney. Next to this, the poster depicts a timeline of the evolution of the landscape and development in the area now known as Green Square. It begins with a picture highlighting the importance of the sand and wetlands for Gadigal life for hundreds of generations, followed by another picture relating to the 1850s and early industry. The following sequence in the timeline highlights the migration of people to the area in the 1880s, placing emphasis on the arrival of Chinese market garden workers. The next event shows the establishment of the racecourse in the early 1990s on the ground of what is today Joynton Park. In the 1940s, Alexandria became the largest industrial area in Australia. From 1970-2000 new industries rose with commercial business and storage facilities, and in 2000 the Green Square train station was opened. The town centre construction began in 2014 and took shape over the next years. At this point, the poster goes on to more concrete developments. In 2018, the community and cultural precinct was opened, and the library opened the same year. Gunyama Park opened in 2021, and the last picture relates to the Drying Green Park opening in 2022, which opened during my stay in Green Square. Through this short summary, the City of Sydney brings history back into the area of Green Square.

This chapter seeks to gain an intimate understanding of the unique historical processes that led to the creation of Green Square as we know it today. History is not one all-consuming truth. Therefore, studying how people talk about and relate to the past can unravel power dynamics in the present. Green Square's history was rarely talked about during my fieldwork, and when it was, it was only briefly discussed. The area was first flagged for residential development in 1997. Prior to this, the land heavily consisted of industrial complexes throughout the 20th century. Before the industrial period, Green Square, like the rest of Sydney, has a history of European settlement. It is an unpleasant and uncomfortable past. I will argue that there is a conundrum in the way history and the development in Green Square intertwine. On the one hand, history is often not spoken about, creating a perception of Green Square as a clean slate for development. On the other hand, the council and developers have tried to remedy the area's history of displacement of First Nations people through

acknowledging the traditional custodians of the land. This is evident in the timeline described above, which makes development and acknowledgment constitute each other. This chapter will explore the connection between history and the development in Green Square, giving an overview of the area's history and exploring power dynamics in the development's correlation to history. To further this cause, the background is built on a growing common narrative of history in Green Square. Studying this narrative, among other common views, reveals how these set a perfect ground for development in the area.

New Name – Old Place

The first thing I did when I actively went to learn more about Green Square's history was to ask some of the people I had gotten to know while staying in the area. As a result, both researcher and employees at the City of Sydney sent me *Histories of Green Square* (Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004), a project run in a history class at the University of New South Wales with support from the council, where a group of students has focused on different aspects of Green Squares history. This source will be used throughout this chapter as a common narrative of Green Square's history among academics and the council. Therefore, it is also chosen to provide a background of Green Square's history.

The area of Green Square is interesting because it is quite an arbitrary boundary of a place. Karskens and Rogowsky (2004) highlight that you can take a train to the ultramodern Green Square station, but there is no suburb or postcode named Green Square. The name hovers largely as a planning idea and marketing concept. It is a brand-new name associated with a clean, green, sustainable urban vision (Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). Even though the boundaries and name of the Green Square area are new, there is obviously history in the suburbs included in Green Square and before they were even named as suburbs. Karskens and Rogowsky (2004) emphasise how Green Square is often talked about as a clean slate by developers. The area has fallen through the cracks of community history and urban planning. In the original Green Square Town Centre masterplan, a page and a half were devoted to European history in the area, while only four paragraphs were concerning the thousands of years of native occupation, and this stopped in 1788 as if they suddenly dropped out of history (Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). Today the City of Sydney work to emphasise indigenous history through initiatives like art, walks, creating a website, bringing back names of places and an advisory panel. Still, the history of Green Square is often just talked about as an old industrial area.

One day I went to Joynton Park and talked to a lady about Green Square. She told me she moved here ten years ago because this was the place that best fitted her economy. She told me the area used to be an industrial area you would only drive through, and when someone recemented her to look for a place there, she was surprised by how nice it had become. In another interview with a developer in Green Square, I was told that Green Square used to be this empty land just waiting to be developed. Even though there is a common discourse of Green Square's history as unimportant, some people like Karskens and Rogowsky (2004) show that planners and artists raise the need for history to create roots and a sense of belonging in the area. What we see is a combination of narratives of history in Green Square, the two main narratives being that history is seldom talked about and, if it is, it is as an industrial land ready to be developed and the other common narrative that works to bring history back into the picture. Alongside these, a narrative of Green Square's more recent history, as developed and global will be addressed. I will briefly review Green Square's history as Karskens and Rogowsky (2004) portray it and connect it to a narrative of the history of cities and economies. This is done to set the context for the rest of the thesis and show how Green Square has become what it is today. Several narratives of the history of Green Square are combined and constitute Green Square as it is today.

From the Eora to Europeans

In a similar way to the broader Sydney area and Australia as a whole, Green Square has a history before Europeans arrived. This is an important history of environment and culture that shapes Green Square as it is today. Sharp (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) writes that there is no clear name for traditional landowners in the Green Square area. Nevertheless, the word aborigines gave for "people" and "here, from this place" in the region is Eora. I will follow him in using this name. The Eora were fishing, hunting, collecting, cleaning up and maintaining the country. While the land was a source of food and shelter, it was also connected to identity and spiritual beliefs. This changed when the Europeans arrived, as hard times and catastrophes were ahead for the Eora. The number of people competing for food increased significantly, diseases spread, and the Eora were pushed out of the area (Sharp in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004).

Before the Europeans arrived, the environment was different to how it is today. Pavement cover most of the ground in Green Square, except for parks and some trees here and there. Doran (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) unveils that the area of Green Square was

covered in wetlands, dunes and dense shrubland that gradually turned into low open woodland and forests. Under Sydney, there is a massive sandstone that was formed more than 200 million years ago. The Eora have lived in and around the area of Green Square for thousands of years. The inaccessible area repelled early Europeans. The community in general first appreciated the area with its wetlands and biodiversity in the late twentieth century. But industrial exploitation, drainage and infilling of swaps have long destroyed this earlier environment in the area of Green Square (Doran in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004).

While the Eora were still living without disruption in the area this is today called Green Square, things were happening in Europe that would affect their future. Kim and Short (2008) state that mercantile capitalism developed from the economic growth in medieval Europe and became a driving force towards more modern societies and a new commercial urban culture. From 1400 to 1800, mercantile cities were a big part of economic and social change. Mercantile capitalism then became a driver for the overseas expansion of European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kim & Short, 2008). Even though the occupation of Australia had different motivations it is defined and affected by this period of time. I do not have enough space to go into the details of motivations behind the occupation here, but in short, settlers came to stay, beyond the extraction of resources for gain in the home country. European settlers occupied Australia, driving new changes in the Green Square area.

Around 1800 a new engine of urban economic growth developed. The industrial revolution meant new ways of making things. This led to more dense urban growth due to more concentrated production (Kim & Short, 2008). Kim and Short (2008) reveal how these cities were often described in terrible terms, loud, noisy, dirty, poor and dreadful living conditions. Simultaneously there was a community for the working class. Instead of a major revolution, they were working within the system to improve their working and living conditions. These tendencies can also be seen in Sydney. Firth (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) sums up the industrial history of Green Square, dating back to 1815. Woolwashing and grain mills were the major industries in the beginning. In the 1850s, more noxious trades developed that later were joined by manufacturers such as jointers, founders and engineers. Following this shift came better roads and access. In the aftermath of the world wars, there was an expansion in large-scale industries and factories. First, in the 1970s, there was a move away from the heavy industries with technological change and towards service industries like wholesaling, public administration and storage. The living conditions in Green Square are described in terms of a strong community living in unpleasant environments (Firth, in

Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). The industrialisation in Green Square followed broader tendencies of cities in the world.

Even though there are similarities between Green Square in Sydney and other cities, the degree of planning, or lack thereof, makes Green Square special. Kim and Short (2008) write that the rapid growth of cities under industrialisation with its problems led to the planned city. They highlight famous city planners like Howard's garden cities in 1898 and other more design-minded urban visionaries like Le Corbusier and Haussmann. Haussmann's Paris was planned with broad open boulevards, difficult to barricade while easy to move troops (Kim & Short, 2008). Green Square, like the rest of Sydney, on the other hand, was not planned in a similar manner. Fairman (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) reveals that industrialisation led to a demand for housing in Green Square, and a sudden housing development followed that in the 1870s. This process was not planned in Waterloo. It was chaotic and, at times, inequitable. Housing was sold to skilled workers who could afford it and rented out to others who could not. The poor sanitation conditions and the lack of sewage and clean water led to high mortality rates. This development in Waterloo reflects that Sydney has been called the "accidental city". When planning came, it was known as slum clearance. This went on from 1940 to 1970 when public protest led to new policies (Fairman in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). The living conditions in Green Square at this time were harsh, not only from pollution but also inequality. Sharp (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) shows that in the twentieth century native people lost land and were pushed out of rural areas back into Sydney. They moved to Waterloo and Redfern, neighbouring suburbs, but only Waterloo is part of Green Square today to find jobs and housing. They were ruled by the whites, who, among other things, had the right to take away their children. Redfern became an epicentre for the next wave of civil rights and is today Sydney's symbolic and literal aboriginal space. A place won back from the white urban Australia (Sharp in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004).

The environment in Green Square also suffered from the arrival of Europeans. Cumming (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) shows how local capitalists turned to Green Square's water flow to power grinding grain and milling cloth. Green Square became a source of water for a growing city. By 1869 the environment had changed radically. Steams almost ceased flowing, and diverse plants disappeared from the area. Green Square became an industrial waste drain. This pollution reflects European Australians' view of the natural environment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the 1960s, Green Square was used by other parts of Sydney to dump waste. Despite local protests, a colossal incinerator was

built in 1972. First, in 1996 Greenpeace and the South Sydney council succeeded in shutting it down (Cumming in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004).

With the arrival of Europeans, the long industrial period that Green Square is best known for started, but from this period as well, some stories are less told. Rogowsky (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) reveals that Chinese residents have lived in the area around Retreat Street in Alexandria and Waterloo since at least the 1870s. This street is still a significant place for people with links to the Chinese communities of this neighbourhood. It is a reminder that Sydney has a rich multicultural past, and there were and are broad Chinese settlements outside of "Chinatown". Green Square was not only a wasteland but had a strong community (Rogowsky in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). Not only Chinese immigrants came to Sydney. O'Reilly (in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004) emphasises a lack of history written on immigration, but there are stories. Green Square had Irish, Greek, Italian, Eastern European, Chinese and Vietnamese communities. The stories about them are not extraordinary, and rarely filled with conflict or scandal, revealing an ability to live side by side with different cultures. They made sure to remember their traditions and incorporated them into the wider community of the area (O'Reilly in Karskens & Rogowsky, 2004). Green Square has a history from the industrial time of immigration, which is still strong today.

Global Cities

One evening shortly after moving into Sydney, I went to an event by the City of Sydney in Town Hall. This event became a mark of starting my fieldwork to me. Town Hall is a majestic building in the CBD (City Business District), that I will describe in more detail in a later chapter. This night it was packed with people, and we were shown to a huge room with a stage. I sat on a balcony one level up from the stage. The room was filled with interested residents of the inner city, looking at the stage that was filled with some seats and a big screen with the words Green, Global and Connected lighting up. Several people were invited to speak during the event, including the Lord Mayor in Sydney, and also the Mayor of London. He was there to share the vision for the future of London. This is one of the ways that the narrative of Sydney as a global city plays out, by sharing thoughts and views with other world cities.

Narratives of recent history also affect Green Square today. Sydney, among other cities, can be seen as going towards a trend of globalising cities. Kim and Short (2008) show that around the year 2000, manufacturing declined, and there was a shift over to a service-dominated economy. At this time, the global framework became a way to study cities in the

developed world. Despite differing histories and socio-political systems, several large cities were experiencing similar economic, cultural and spatial changes. The globalisation–urbanisation nexus builds on this idea (Kim & Short, 2008). Friedman (in Kim & Short, 2008) ranked cities according to their level of globalisation. He defined world cities as:

...basing points for global capital in the spatial organisation and articulation of production and markets; sites with expanding sectors attached to corporate headquarters, international finance, global transport and communications and high-level business services; major sites for the concentration and accumulation of international capital; and points of destination for large numbers of domestic and/or international migrants.

In Friedman's list of world cities, Sydney is among the secondary cities (Kim & Short, 2008). This shows that since the beginning of measuring cities as globalised, Sydney has been high on the list. Immigration plays a vital role in this, as we have seen through the history of Green Square, and still today many international people live in the area. According to Mirvac's commercial pamphlet, 56% of Green Square's residents were born overseas (Mirvac, 2020). Kim and Short (2008) highlight that Friedman's list of world cities has been criticised based on a narrow focus on the economy. There is a sole focus on large cities, and it creates a hierarchy of cities. World cities are commonly measured against the top three, New York, London and Tokyo. Alternatives to this measurement focus on different categories for measurement. Cities have been measured according to world cities in a culturally globalising world, and Sydney is on the 2nd tier list. On the list according to urban migration, Sydney is 1st tier. Sydney did not make the list when cities were measured as the world's most powerful and prestigious cities or on international passenger traffic (Kim & Short, 2008). This highlights the importance of immigration for Sydney as a global city.

In accordance with the progress of cities in “the developed world”, Green Square is developing away from industry and towards a residential area. The first draft of Green Square's master plan was released in 1997. Some of the essential developments in Green Square were the opening of the train station in 2000 and, later, a drainage system completed in 2019. This had to be set in place for the dense population planned in Green Square to be possible. The City of Sydney (2019) writes that the urbanisation of the Green Square area has included a vast amount of pavement that has drastically reduced natural draining for stormwater. Consequently, flooding was a constant and dangerous threat. Therefore, it was

decided to construct a 2,4 km long underground drain. This was done while life above continued as normal (City of Sydney, 2019). Today the streets in Green Square can take a lot of rain, thanks to the drainage system and the parks that are built.

Narratives of Green Square's newer history portray Green Square as developed and global. Following trends in the world, Sydney is a global city, exchanging ideas and people across country borders. This stands in line with Sydney as a developed city, and the latest development in Green Square sets the ground for a dense living situation in the area.

Power to Develop

The history of Green Square shown thus far in this chapter is an academic type of history. Palmier and Stewart (2016) call this historicising, in other words, standard western history. However, they highlight the need to realise that alternative historicising practices are also present in western societies. The history of Green Square is to be found in archives and academic texts, but it can also be seen elsewhere. An example of this can be seen in the commercial plates by the City of Sydney, summing up Green Square's history by highlighting the events they find important. It can also be found in the acknowledgement of land and dance.

A couple months into my fieldwork, I went to an event by the City of Sydney. I will focus on the introduction of this event. On a sunny Saturday in the early spring, it was set up for an event, moving across different parks in Green Square. The opening to this event was on a grass field next to 107, a community and cultural centre occupying the building that once was the nurse wing of a hospital in Green Square. The grass field that is usually empty, with a dogwalker crossing at times, is filled with chairs and tents today. On one side, there is a stage set up, and this is where the opening of the event is happening. In most events in Sydney, a speaker starts with a welcome to country or acknowledgment of country. A welcome to country is when a traditional Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander custodian welcomes to their land. An appropriate person, such as a recognised Elder from the local area, must do this. An acknowledgement of country is done when no Elder or other appropriate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community members is present. Another person then acknowledges and shows respect for the traditional custodians of the land on which the event is taking place. A statement like this can then be used: "I would like to acknowledge the Gadigal of the Eora Nation, the traditional custodians of this land and pay my respects to the Elders, both past and present." (City of Sydney, 2021). The event I am attending is opened with a welcome to

country and followed by a dance performance. Before this performance, we are told not to film and share it on social media.

This paragraph reveals not only different ways of relating to the creation of history, as the dancers did not want their performance captured, but it also shows varying ways history exists in this time. Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders are recognised as traditional custodians of the land, bringing history to present moments. The building next to the park is an old hospital building, relating to the poor living conditions in the industrial times of the area. Different historicising practices are present in the western society that Sydney is, and by studying these, we can better understand history's role in the present.

Trouillot (2015) likewise acknowledges that next to professional historians, there are artisans of different kinds. He writes about silencing and power connected to history. Silencing happens at four crucial stages, in fact creation, that is, the making of sources, in fact assembly, the making of archives, in fact retrieval, the making of narratives and in moments of retrospect significance, the making of history in the final instance (Trouillot, 2015). I will not go into detail on what stages silencing is happening in Green Square's history but follow Trouillot's ideas about power connected to silencing. He writes that silencing is also due to uneven power in producing sources, archives and narratives. There is a need to look into the overlap between what history is and how history works to discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible, and others silenced. He also emphasises that silencing appears in conflicts between previous interpreters. Therefore, history cannot be studied as chronological silencing; the narrative is created in and overlaps with real-time. Power is part of creating history and cannot be seen as entering the story at one point. It happens at different times and angles (Trouillot, 2015). Thus, power and history are deeply intertwined.

The power in history in Green Square can be seen at different times and angles. I will argue that the combination of narratives of history sets the perfect stage for development in the area. On the one hand, the history of Green Square has been silenced at several stages. The most essential being the history of the Eora; their land was taken over by European settlers and the environment damaged. Similar tendencies can be seen in Voyles's (2015) introduction to *Wastelanding*, where she writes about uranium mining on native land in Navajo, USA. She connects environmental destruction, racism and injustice to settler colonialism, by showing how uranium is disproportionately mined on and around native land, thus, communities of colour are disproportionately exposed to or target of environmental harm. This is environmental racism, which is, according to her, a term that loses meaning for

native people in settler colonies, as racism has always meant environmental harm to them. Colonised people are too familiar with people in power manipulating recourses and disregarding the natural environment. Compared to other colonies, settler colonialism not only extracts recourses for the gain of the home country but also makes land that is already home to native people belong to the settler. This is done by creating wasteland, empty and unusable land. As a repercussion, the realities of environmental conditions become invisible. Voyles (2015) writes about the concept of Wastelanding, a process that renders an environment and the people that live there pollutable. This process happens in two primary forms, seeing non-white land as valueless and the subsequent devastation of this land by polluting industries (Voyles, 2015). This process can easily be compared to the history described by Karskens and Rogowsky (2004) in Green Square, Eora land was seen as valueless by settlers before they polluted it with industry and waste. Green Square went through the process of wastelanding and ended up as industrial land. The industry has declined, and the area was again viewed as a clean slate for development. If the process of wastelanding had never happened, it would probably be more challenging to get approval for developing the area of Green Square today. The natural environment is already destroyed, and arguing to move away from industry is not difficult. In other words, there is no history to be taken care of, the area is free to be developed. This is power for developers.

On the other hand, history is seemingly brought back in. There is an acknowledgement that history has been silenced and that this was wrong. The City of Sydney and others acknowledge the traditional custodians of the land and the wrongs that have been done to them. Merlan (2014) shows that while many people feel that rituals of welcoming and acknowledgement are positive steps in the relationship between indigenous and nonindigenous people, there is also widespread unease about the rituals. One of her arguments is that the state of Australia's prioritisation of traditional relations to land is continued. While many indigenous people have a traditional belonging to particular localities, not everyone does, following dislocation and dispossession from colonial and recent history. She also raises the possibility that the speaker is coerced by public expectation, mentioning that several indigenous people had told her they felt as some organisers simply want them to perform. Merlan (2014) states that these issues raise further unease in the guest-and-host relationship that welcoming implies. It is common that the guests are only guests in the moment of the welcoming, as they live in the country and attend events, often the welcomers are the special invitees. Another point that complicates this relation is that the guests are not leaving. Merlan (2014) thus reveals the rituals' issues while recognising that they are often seen as positive.

My aim here is not to take part in the debate of whether welcoming and acknowledging is good or bad but rather to show how it has repercussions connected to development. First, welcome to country, and acknowledgement sets the stage for good developers. The developers take part in acknowledging and thus are portrayed as good actors. Secondly, it gives the development a chance to make things better. Development makes further acknowledgement possible. Rose (2004) criticizes western societies concept of time, where the focus is on the future and progress and the past is done. This normalised view of the future enables regimes of violence to continue, while simultaneously allowing the moral ground to be claimed through making the future better in a society built on destruction (Rose, 2004). In Sydney, the sustainable city includes different people and sets social wellbeing highly, the city can be developed into an inclusive space. The way that development makes sustainability possible, and the developers are portrayed as good is reflected in the City of Sydney's video of the Eora journey, where they state that it is a journey of sustainability. The video highlights places where indigenous art is exhibited in Sydney, as part of building a stronger future (City of Sydney, n.d. c).

In this way, the private and government developers are in a powerful position where they can reap the benefits from both narratives. The narrative of Green Square as a clean slate for development is made possible through what Voyles (2015) calls wastelanding. The Eora and their land were turned into an industrial and waste area. The industry has, with time, declined, and a narrative of global cities has arisen. Sydney is developed and global, and this must be continued. Thus, the narrative of global cities continues to set the ground for further development in Green Square. While these narratives set the ground for development, the narrative that brings history back and acknowledges the wrongs of the past creates a space where the developers become the "good guy". These narratives combined in a specific way make development possible and positive. Thereby the narrative and actions resonate well, an empty area ready to be developed by good developers that include different people, followed by actions of building up the area. In contrast, a critical view towards welcoming and acknowledgement can reveal issues. Looking further into the guest and host relationship that welcoming implies can complicate the present development in Green Square, seeing the developers as guests make their right to develop the land awkward. Then the narrative and actions do not resonate, the narrative of developers as guests, followed by them taking over and building on the land does not comply well. In this way, studying different narratives has helped shed light on power in the development of Green Square.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to set the ground for further analysis of the development in Green Square. To do this, history narratives have functioned on one side as a background. The area of Green Square has gone from wetlands and an environment where the Eora lived among the environment, to then being taken over by industry, with pollution and poor living conditions. Alongside this, there are stories of immigration. Today Green Square is an area developing with dense living as a part of Sydney as a global city, aiming towards a sustainable future. Studying Green Square's history in broader terms than archived and academic history has revealed power within the story. The development in Green Square is possible because of how history is narrated. The area is cleared or wasted and can be developed, while simultaneously, the developers take part in a sustainable future where history is brought back in and people are acknowledged.

Silencing Futures – "Sustainability is long term."

Introduction

Walking around the corner of Green Square station reveals a combination of high-rises and flat ground for future construction right next to the library. The high-rises are new buildings, glass windows cover the walls, and the terraces are predominantly empty, except for some plants. On the first floor, there is a showroom. One can look in from the street or go inside and browse in this picture-perfect apartment—imagine life in one of the newly built or to-be-constructed buildings. The colours are clean, dominated by shades of beige and grey. A king-size bed in the middle, with huge fluffy pillows, of course, coordinated with the surrounding colours. A little table with some inspirational books, one of which is from Channel. It is like living in a luxurious hotel room. Next to these buildings are fenced-off areas that you cannot look into from street level, concealing the construction areas. Commercial plates from the firm developing these spots cover the one-store tall fences. The colours on the posters go well together, primarily blue, green, black, white, and other natural colours. Nothing sticks out. Each poster describes "The A-Z of living wellness", "A is for AIR", "B is for BELONGING", "C is for COMMUNITY", and so on. There is either a picture or a blank background with a simple drawing behind the letters. For example, one of the posters has a picture of the blue ocean, with "W is for WATER" written in white letters across. The whole place is generic and akin to a model village. It would be hard to guess which country you were in if you did not already know. Being surrounded by all these new developments reminds one of being on a set of a science-fiction movie. You know, that little town all the rich people move to when the rest of the world is going under.



Figure 3: Construction and new apartments next to Green Square station. Source: Private photo

This is one of the ways developers are taking part in making the future of Green Square. The luxurious showroom apartment and the commercial plates create a view of the future in Green Square as a comfortable, good life that is also sustainable and green. Going forwards, this chapter will look into the combination of development and sustainability. It uncovers how this is phrased as a positive synergy for some and challenged by others.

There are several ideas and views of the future in Green Square and studying these can help to shed light on ideas and reality of the lifestyle in the sustainable city. Silencing is not only found in relation to history as the last chapter tackled, but it can also be found in views of the future. This chapter will take inspiration from Trouillot's (2015) silencing the past by aiming at understanding the power inherent in making futures, or in other words silencing the future. Trouillot (2015) criticises the dichotomy of positivism and constructivism in history. Positivism distinguishes between historical processes (what happened) and narratives about that process (that which is said to have happened), whereas constructivism highlights the overlap between them. To track power, one cannot exclude either the actor in the production of knowledge or the sites where this production happens (Trouillot, 2015). This chapter aims to study future-making in a broader sense by both looking at the actions people do today that directly affect the future while also looking at the narratives of futures and how these affect the present and future. By seeing how the actions and narratives are connected and disconnected, this chapter aims to reveal the power inherent in future-making and how this takes part in silencing future.

Different people portray the future in different ways, and this can both directly and indirectly affect tomorrow. While developers and the council portray a future where development and sustainability work well together, other views of the future can be seen as resistance against this. With the purpose of understanding the power inherent in future-making, several examples of views of the future will be highlighted to give a broad view of future-making and how it is connected with and affects the present. Covering the resistance against the developer's view of the future will shed light on the silencing of the future and reveals power structures. Studying narratives and actions concerning the future is part of understanding views of sustainability and the consequences of these.

City of Sydney's Future

Green Square is often talked about as an old industrial area, being developed from nothing to a nice residential area. In the initial process, a drainage system was completed.

This set the grounds for the possibility of building tall residential buildings (City of Sydney, 2019). Based on conversations with several people working on the development in Green Square, I am left with an impression that the beginning of the development was based on big ideas about the drainage system and solar power, but now it is at a different level, mainly in the sense that dense living is efficient. Getting approval for the drainage and waterways was easy, as this made it possible to develop the land on top. The possibility of building substantial apartment buildings and high-rises made the economic benefits clear. One of the projects being worked on these days, is developing a school. Initially, young couples were expected to move into the area, but over time they have gotten children and want to stay. Now more families are expected in the future, which has led to the plan to develop the school. The school can be used as an example for combining different sustainability goals in the development of Green Square. Some obvious social goals are being covered, like access to a school and rooms after hours for the local community. When it comes to the environmental goals, the fact that the infrastructure was already there made this easier. The water and solar energy systems could be used. The importance of a long-term view is often highlighted. First, in the sense that the environmental goals should be more than just boxes to tick off in the development but also continue into the running of the place. Second, the long-term view helped show that environmental goals are also economically beneficial. Sustainability is long term, as one developer put it.

The future is deeply connected with the City of Sydney's work. Both in the way that their actions today affect the future, while at the same time, views of the future affect the present. The council is developing a city for people to live comfortable lives now and in the future. This is made possible by developing a resilient city. Water systems and infrastructure have made the ground capable of holding apartment buildings and housing several tens of thousands of people. Even in periods of heavy rain, the waterways lead the water out of Green Square. (City of Sydney, 2019) Thus, the choice to develop Green Square with this infrastructure is not only making it possible to live here today but setting the grounds for a planned 30000 more residential dwellings in the future (City of Sydney, n.d. b). The actions of today directly affect the future.

At the same time, views of the future can affect the present. Person and Van Est (2000) stress the lack of anthropological studies of the future, as anthropologists tend to focus on the past and present. They emphasise the need to focus on the future in anthropological studies to understand how concepts of the future function in the present day. There is a need to study how ideas about the future can influence and direct human behaviour (Person & Van

Est, 2000). This can be seen through the fact that it was easy to get approval for developing a water system in Green Square as the economic benefits were clear. A future view of Green Square with big apartment blocks and high-rises that create economic income affected the decision to approve the drainage system.

The way the City of Sydney frames the future of Green Square makes it inherent that sustainability and development go hand in hand. Not only does the sustainable water system and solar energy make "good" development possible, but the development also supports the possibility of continuing a sustainable lifestyle. In the same way as Clausen and Rudolph (2020) write about the taken-for-granted positive synergy between renewable energy and rural development, I will argue that sustainability and development are framed as a positive synergy in the way the council frames the future. Clausen and Rudolph (2020) emphasise the synergy between renewable energy and rural development through socio-ecological fixes. Building on Harvey's spatial fix, finding new recourses through geographical expansion, Clausen and Rudolph argue that renewable energy is a type of socio-ecological fix by commodifying new types of nature. This enables development within the same old system and sets the ground for the positive synergy between renewable energy and rural development. They criticise this assumed synergy, as this political approach aims to overcome economic and environmental problems by reproducing the principles that created the problem in the first place. (Clausen & Rudolph, 2020). The development in Green Square is made possible by a new drainage system. This sets the ground for a spatial fix, a new area where the development of huge apartment buildings is made possible. The land becomes a recourse in itself and creates ground to increase recourses in the form of buildings and businesses. At the same time, the solar energy system can be seen as a socio-ecological fix. These fixes set the ground for a positive synergy between sustainability and development in Green Square. They make it possible to continue developing the area in a familiar way, but now it is sustainable.

Simultaneously, in this view, development into the future is needed for sustainability to be possible. Sustainability is not framed as something that can happen right now. Sustainability is long-term. And there is a need to develop the way forward to reach it in the future. This view fits well under modernisation theory in development. Within this line of thought, development is a linear process towards technologically more advanced forms of modern society. This linear process is often seen as equal for all places, where different countries are on different stages along the same line (Gardner & Lewis, 2015). The City of Sydney creates a view of the future in Green Square as sustainable and developed into something that will be good in the future.

Developers' Future

After seeing the commercial plates, showcase apartment and the high-rises clearly under construction, I wanted to reach out and talk to someone working for Mirvac, the dominant private developer in the area. I sent several emails and tried calling without luck. At this point, I had almost given up. After a while I was finally set in touch with someone working for Mirvac, through a contact working for The City of Sydney. This time he answered straight away, and we set up a time for a Zoom call.

David entered the Zoom call; an energetic man, friendly and easy to talk to. He seemed super excited when I gave him a short update on my project. To start, he gave me a good overview of how the council and private developers work together. He also painted a good picture of the area's five development stages, which Mirvac continues after Lancome. The first stage is the already built colourful oval building and the apartments over Woolworth, the supermarket. The second stage is the apartment currently under construction, closer to the Drying Green Park. These are followed by the third stage, crammed between these, today just areas fenced off with Mirvac commercial signs. The fourth and fifth stages of development are still awaiting approval.



Figure 4: Commercial plates around the construction area. Source: Private photo

In between the first to third steps of development is the location of Small Lane. A little street between the commercial plates, decorated with plants and lights. An effort by Mirvac to help create community and show that it is nice to live in Green Square today, not just in the future. This, alongside the choice of having a supermarket, was what David mentioned as

social sustainability when I asked about their focus on sustainability. On environmental sustainability, he listed a bunch of small measures like filtering water, making the bathrooms in a different place, and then putting the room in at once to reduce waste. The fact that they were building on such a large scale, with many apartments, made it easier to be efficient and reduce waste. He framed it as taking small steps, they are not building a 100% timber building, as he states the technology is not good enough yet, but they are taking smaller steps towards getting better.

Following previous examples, this can also shed light on the connection between the future and the present in Green Square. It is clear to see here that the actions of Mirvac will affect the future. Luxurious apartments are being built, waste is being reduced, and water is being filtered. In the future, people can live the perfect life in Green Square. These actions of today that affect the future are not separate from ideas of the future that affects the present. They are tied together and affect each other. These sustainable measures taken by Mirvac lay the ground for the same view of the future as shown through the example of the City of Sydney. This view is constituted by a combination of development and sustainability, where the two go hand in hand. Green Square's future is high-rises and a sustainable good life, and no problem is inherent in this combination. They portray this as possible, but in a way, what Bateson (1956) calls a double bind is present—a situation where no matter what choice is made, it cannot be right. On the one hand, developing a new area with apartments will increase emissions, but at the same time, they are doing it more sustainably by reducing waste. In this view, sustainability cannot come without development. This can also be seen in comparison with Dewan's (2020) article about climate change as a spice to attract donor funding. She writes about the World Bank's project in Bangladesh, creating bigger embankments against rising sea levels. They overlook how the embankments have led to drying rivers and damaging floods, harming rural livelihood. Dewan shows how climate change is translated to legitimise these actions (Dewan, 2020). Similar tendencies can be seen in the development of Green Square. Sustainability is a "buzzword" at the front of this development. It is a crucial ingredient in getting approval for projects. While this helps to increase the number of climate measures, it does not shed light on the actual emissions of the development. The ways the development is sustainable are highlighted, while the emissions are silenced. By taking small steps and implementing measures over time, the present becomes sustainable through the idea that the future will be sustainable. There might be emissions today, and the small steps do not fix everything at once, but they move in the right direction, thus it is seen as sustainable in the present.

David also told me how the plans have changed over time, as the first stage was bought mainly by investors, buying up a significant share of the apartments to rent out. This was both local investors living in Sydney and Chinese investors. When covid happened, they saw a change in people living in the apartments. Chinese exchange students moved out, but the people who stayed were there for more of their time, with home offices. The sales of the later stages are more influenced by buyers buying to live in the apartment. Families that want to own but cannot afford a house. I asked how they balance the want to be apartments for people not having the money to buy houses and the fact that Green Square is seen as a cheaper place to live than, for example, Surry Hills, the pretty suburb further up Bourke Street, with the fact that they are selling luxury apartments. He said this was a good question and told me they were aiming for this specific group that does not have the money to buy a house but still wants an apartment that is big and nice enough to live in. As the area is heavily Asian-influenced, he told me they know there is a trend to like a bit of bling, and they wanted to make this—the hotel experience at home.

When I asked him what he thought about Green Square, he started by saying that it was like this empty land just waiting to be developed back in the day. This reflects one of the dominant narratives of history in Green Square. He followed this by saying it is getting close now, and people can start envisioning what the finished product will be like. This has led to more people buying apartments to live in rather than for investment purposes. I asked him if he could tell me what his idea of a sustainable lifestyle looked like, like the ideal way of life in the city. He started by saying it is personal and people want different things. For some, the forest or the beach is important, and you can obviously not have that in Green Square. Then he moved on to the positive things that are possible in the city and highlighted the words happy, healthy and convenient. Convenient is focusing on the connectedness of the area and life in it. It is easy to get around in the area, there are stores nearby, and you have what you need. It is also just a short train ride if you need to go further away. When it comes to the health aspect, it is having doctors and other needs close by and being able to live an active lifestyle. Furthermore, happiness is about feeling safe and having a good relationship with the people around you.

I ask if he thinks it is like this in Green Square, and he says no, but it is getting there. He tells me they were working to promote this and that they have a lot of agency in creating apartments for a diverse group of people. They are now building bigger apartments, opening for a different group of people than in the already existing smaller apartments. At the same time, they keep control over who rents the retail spaces in their buildings. Thus, giving them

the power to choose and control some aspects of the area. I ask if he knows about the retail space in the building over the station. This is not a Mirvac building but another private developer. He tells me they worked differently by selling the retail space for the best value for money. These spaces are filled with chain brand takeaway, like McDonald's, KFC and Taco Bell. In contrast, the stores in the Mirvac buildings seem to fit their idea of Green Square a lot better. There is a big supermarket and a huge space selling coffee machines and equipment. The last question I ask is if he knows something about the idea of the commercial plates around the new developments. He tells me this is from a-z as in the complete alphabet, in other words, the complete lifestyle. After this, I thank him for the interview, and he tells me that I have his contacts and that I can reach out if there is anything. I find this ironic after I struggled so much to get in touch with him, and now it is this easy.

Not only can views of the future help us understand decisions in the present, but they can also simultaneously function as a resource. Mathews and Barnes (2016) underscore that the unknowability of the future makes it a resource for those seeking political, financial or technical recourses. Futures are remade everywhere. There is not one single future, but plural. However, those who create futures tend to narrow them down (Mathews & Barnes, 2016). Mirvac's commercial plates narrow the future to "everything good in life", choosing not to focus on the issues ahead. They focus on nature, well-being and luxury. The construction site portrays the ideal future. Mirvac's capability of claiming this future increases their income. At the same time, they hold onto control over who rents the retail space in their buildings. Their ideas of what Green Square should be are out there and visible. If you walk past commercial plates, the showcase apartment, and the stores, it all affects one's view of the future in Green Square and whether this is an ideal place to live in. This is where I will argue that the silencing of futures starts. By highlighting all that is good and framing sustainability and development as a positive synergy, the City of Sydney and Mirvac set themselves in a position where they are good actors and can earn money simultaneously. In both cases sustainability is something that happens over time through small steps, leading to narrative and actions complying well. Sustainability is framed as taking small steps, and this can easily be followed by action. If sustainability required bigger steps in a shorter amount of time, it would be more difficult follow it with complying actions. Individuals are not necessarily conscious of these consequences of their work. Silencing is not intentional but rather a precaution of people doing what they can to implement a more sustainable future within today's existing systems. Next, the question that needs to be tackled is: What or who is being silenced?

Educating Future

I am waiting outside the library in the sun, and the wind blows quite heavily. Winter is here. As a Norwegian, I never believed it could get cold in Australia, but 13 degrees and wind get through your bones in a different way here. I am layering up with sweaters, denying getting a puffer jacket like everyone else. I get a bit stressed and start thinking I might have gotten the time or place wrong when they do not show up on time. Ten minutes past three, I see two shadows coming towards me, the sun is making it difficult to see, but I realise it is them. Clair is dressed in a long coat and a hat in natural colours, looking very thought through. She has her dog with her. Margret is wearing a thin black puffer jacket and black jeans. They are professors at one of the universities in Sydney, and have done a recent project in Green Square, therefore we have arranged to have an interview while we go for a walk in the area.

The first thing they do after a short introduction is to give me a copy of their latest book and leave some at the library for people to grab. They are sharing their view of Green Square, and I feel lucky to get a walk through it. We do not get far on the walk before they comment on the surroundings. Outside behind the library, is an ample open space covered in stone tiles. Small circles on the ground function as windows, giving light to the underground library underneath us. In the middle of the spot, a bigger circle opens up to see down into the library. The circle is filled with a little garden on the level of the underground floor. Glass walls separate the garden from the library. The outside area around this circle is filled with benches and artwork. There is also another entrance down to the library, and this one has wooden stairs shaped like an amphitheatre, making it possible to have little shows with an audience. A few steps away from the entrance is a grass spot, which is what Clair comments on. The grass is shaped in a square spot, with nothing on it. No one seems to be using it. Claire points out that this is a good example of ticking boxes without considering the actual use. They now have the "green" that they need.

As we walk further and cross the road, we come up to a construction area where a new park is being built. In the middle is a hill of green grass with nothing on it. At the end of the hill is a small area with benches and a roof with no walls, covering this area from the sun. Palm trees and a fountain surround the park. The fountain consists of stones on the ground, in the shape of a staircase, with big square steps. Water is running down the steps. In the middle of the step is a small plateau with a palm tree. This time Margret is the one to comment that it looks like it could be anywhere in the world. It reminds her of Dubai.

We walk past parks they seem more fond of for the remainder of the walk. We stop by a sculpture made by one of their former students. This sculpture is placed on a path behind the Aquatic Centre, built by the city. The path is filled with plants on both sides and goes between the centre and an outdoor football field. The sculpture sticks out between the plants on the side of the path. As we walk further, we get to a little park with native plants and a little constructed dam. At this point, I started realising that they see different greens, as I see this as green and pretty and do not think much more about it. They have different views; this is a “developer's garden” in front of a building, made to be pretty; this plant is the “council plant” often used by the council for practical reasons, as it grows easily without too much maintenance. After reading their book and walking with them, I am starting to see how different green areas are from each other. In this way, their research contributes to education.



Figure 5: Path behind Gunyama Park, a sculpture called Bangala made by Jonathan Jones and Aunty Julie Freeman (City of Sydney, nd.a). Source: Private photo

Our walk is coming to an end, and we are almost back at the library when Clair laughs a bit and comments on the private developer's commercial plates. She seems to find them a bit odd, taking everything good in life and making it theirs.

After talking to Clair and Margret, I started noticing different plants. I will argue that the different plants reflect views of the future and future making. First, there are the developers' plants, looking pretty, outside of the apartment buildings. The backyard in my apartment complex is filled with green plants, mainly palm trees and two-three other types of plants. The plants surround the pool, the barbecue area and the little pathways made to get across the area. Even though this is a different developer, this all fits well with the perfection of Mirvac's commercial posters. It is creating a good life in the area that is also green. Secondly, there are Council plants that consist of a great variety of plants, the green grass spot outside the library that ticked off the box, the park that looks like it could be in Dubai and the

native plants. This can reflect the broad work that the City of Sydney does. Furthermore, even though some of these plants are made for the convenience of maintenance, they return to ensure everything is in prime condition constantly. Green areas are made to support biodiversity and a resilient urban climate (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020). This could be seen as one of the ways the future is being silenced. The City of Sydney does a lot of work and has a major plan to make Green Square sustainable, and making the city resilient against flooding is one of them. While the City of Sydney works hard to prevent flooding, with installing the storm water drain, other sources focus more strongly on the potential issues. An independent organisation called the Climate Council reveal how the future in Green Square as fragile. The Climate Council's (2022) *Climate Risk Map of Australia* shows that over 9% of Zetland, one of the suburbs in Green Square, is at risk of surface water flooding in 2030. 749 out of 9064 properties are at high risk. Planting for resilience creates a view of the future where no problem in Green Square is too big to overcome. Again, small steps of resilience can be taken to work towards a sustainable future. Thereby the problem lays in the future and the solution is also in the future. Developing the area is good because it can be made resilient.

The council and developers portray a positive view of the future, where we can resist future issues. On the other hand, the climate council map also shows the possibility of the issues being too big to handle. With a high risk of surface water flooding in 2030, living the perfect life in Green Square would be difficult. Planting for resilience can be seen as silencing the fact that parts of Green Square are at high risk of surface flooding.

Gentrified Future

Waterloo is one of the suburbs under the broader classification of Green Square. Like the rest of Green Square, this suburb is a predominant combination of an industrial and residential area. The suburb has already undergone some gentrification but also holds a large housing commission. The newest plan for development in Waterloo is a new Metro station, provoking different feelings among residents and activists.

Again, I find myself seated in front of my computer at home. I am ready for a Zoom interview with Max. He has a PhD focusing on housing, gentrification and urban development and is also an activist for bettering public housing. I ask him to inform me a bit more about what is happening with public housing. He can tell me that the public housing is being developed by relocating the people living in Waterloo for the development period and then allowing them to move back when it is finished. Though this sounds good, not everyone

wants to move back, and some older people might not even get a chance. If they do move back, it is to a whole new place. It can be seen as a part of a broader trend of gentrification in Sydney. The "new" Waterloo will have 70% of housing built for the middle class, shops, restaurants, and other places adhering to this new demographic. The community will be different from before. Max explains some of the problems to me by starting with the economic aspect. The area of Waterloo is expensive land, and a lot of money can be made by developing housing. The amount of money that will be made is proportionately more than what will go into the new public housing. The government will also earn money from taxes from people living there far into the future. The plan is to increase public housing with 90 more homes than before. Public housing is a tiny fraction of the overall money that is put into and will come out of the development in Waterloo.

Max is working with an activist group for public housing by sending petitions and raising people's voices to the government. They might also talk to private developers to prevent them from buying the land. However, when I ask if he is optimistic or sees a solution to all these problems, he is pretty quiet - stating that he is beyond pessimism but still has to try.

I also ask him about his thoughts on environmental sustainability in cities. He is clear that this is not really his field, but he still seems to have some strong opinions. He does not think denser living in itself can fix the problems. The people living in Waterloo today have way lower emissions than the future Waterloo would. Rich people use a lot more resources. There lies the problem.

This view of sustainability contrasts the City of Sydney and the developer's view, where sustainability needs development. Developers state the need to look at the long-term benefits and find solutions that will function over time, and David highlights the lack of technology to take the big steps, thus only taking smaller steps for now. Max opens the thought that it is more sustainable to live the way people do in Waterloo now than the way the future residents of Waterloo will. The luxurious lifestyle demands many recourses. In the same way as the City of Sydney, the developer's view of the future as developed and sustainable also fit well with modernisation theory. Technology will develop everyone onto a better future. This is functioning as what Ferguson (1994) calls an anti-politics machine. A machine that continues a system while at the same time depoliticises the surroundings. The City of Sydney and the developers create a future view where sustainability and development are not only co-existing but dependent on the other. Taking for granted this need for development for sustainability to be possible withholds a system of modernisation and

capitalism simultaneously as it depoliticises other alternatives. Views like Max's do not get the space to grow and are, in a way, made impossible, as development is the solution, not the problem. This anti-politics machine works as a part of silencing different future views, as these views do not fit in the system being upheld.

Max's future raises issues that the developers and the City of Sydney portray as possible to overcome. Understanding this can help us understand the power inherent in future making. Foucault (1982) aims not to study power in itself but the subject. He writes that the subject has two meanings: it is subject to someone else and is tied to its own identity, rational beings that can make choices for themselves. It is inherent that the subject must be free for there to be power. Physical restraints are not power in this sense. In addition, Foucault suggests using resistance as a starting point to study power. This can be seen in Green Square and the future making. In a way, we can see Max's idea of the future as resistance to the City of Sydney and Mirvac. The aim here is not to fully set them up against each other but to highlight how some ideas, especially Max's future, can reveal the power of Mirvac's future. Max is critical to the development in Waterloo, first of all, because of social reasons and the lives of people living in public housing. Second, he is also concerned about the impacts the lifestyle in the developed area will have on the environment. It is clear to him that the people living there now have a lower carbon footprint than the future consumers that will move there. This can be seen as resistance to the council and developer's view of the future, where development and sustainability go hand in hand.

Max's view of the future can be seen as a contrast to the City of Sydney and Mirvac's future views. I will argue that Max's view is being silenced in the development of Green Square. I randomly discovered Max and the activist group he is part of because one of my partner's friends posted about it on Instagram. They are raising their cause and trying to spread the word, but it is not as visible compared to Mirvac's commercial plates. Imagine if Max, had the commercial plates filled with images of people experiencing homelessness or if it was covered in images of flooding. This could lead to fewer sold apartments. Following this, residents might not worry so much about being financially able to stay in the area but rather wonder if they want to live here. Mirvac is in a position where they can easily share their view of the future in Green Square, and that can affect how many apartments they sell. At the same time, it is easy for Mirvac and the City of Sydney to connect action to their narratives. Narratives about a resilient city, a city taking small steps towards sustainability over time, are followed by the actions of planting and maintaining green areas, reducing waste and implementing social spaces like small lane and the school. Developing a resilient city will

stand against problems in the future. In contrast, for Max, the actions are not as clear-cut. He is part of an activist group for public housing, but the actions for solutions are not as clear in his narrative of the future. This makes it clear that views of the future affect recourses, and there is power in choosing which future will be.

Residents' Future

Not only can the future be portrayed through researchers, council, developers and activists, but the residents of Green Square also have their personal views. Through talking to several residents, I am left with the perspective that the economy is the most extensive controller of their view of the future. Several people mention a future dream but then add to it with their realistic thoughts. This could vary from wanting to have a garden but thinking that will be too expensive, thus staying in Green Square seems more realistic, to wanting to keep renting in Green Square but being afraid the rent will increase further.

Mathew is renting a place in the same building I live in with his partner. Their lease lasts another year, and he sees them staying in the area. He owns a place on the East Coast but mentions that he is considering selling it soon. Morten has an over-average interest in city planning and development and shares his thoughts with me. He explains a push-out from the CBD (City Business District). Talking about how Green Square is an affordable place for now, but it is under development and being pushed. There is a lot of social housing in Waterloo, but as the area develops, the government is talking about community housing instead, a possibility to invest. There is an undertone of the area being gentrified.

Lisa also lives in the same apartment block, and we arrange to meet in the backyard by the pool at lunchtime. When I ask about her future plans, she says she likes it here and will probably stay in Green Square till they move out of Sydney. She says they are having kids in a year or two and want to move out of the city. This is because she grew up by the beach, and rent is crazy. She brings up an example of friends with kids who just had to move apartments because rent increased. They will need three bedrooms, with kids and working from home. She also mentions a conversation she had the other day with a friend saying they were looking to buy a place for 900 000 Australian dollars. Her boyfriend said this was a good price, and she was shocked.

Jenny lives in the apartment building right above Green Square Station. I meet her by the library before we get a coffee at McDonald's and head up to the common area balcony in her building. We walk out on the terrace on the 9th floor, and I am faced with the prettiest view I have seen over Sydney this far. It is dark, so the city's lights are shining all around us.

The terrasse is filled with green plants and benches to sit on. The way the benches are standing, make several different sitting groups with plants standing around them. You can also look down on the pool on the other side of the building. She tells me she does not go out here a lot. We drink our coffee and chat about the city and life. She shares some interesting thoughts with me. Among these, she mentions George Street and how it used to be packed with cars. Now, there is a light rail. This is a street in the CBD where the council stopped traffic and put in a light rail. Jenny tells me it is pretty funny because George Street was a train line before cars became popular. She frames this light rail development as modern, further than cars, reflecting her idealist and optimistic view. She seems to view things positively and believes that something can be done for the better. As the conversation continues, we stumble over the topic of climbing because her partner climbs at the same gym as me. Jenny states that people have different interests and that people with more capitalistic interests might rather live in the city. In contrast, as she gets older, she imagines moving out of the city and having a plot of land. She would appreciate these types of things more.

Residents of Green Square are obviously different individuals with different opinions, but there are some general trends in their views of the future. I will argue that they are subjects, as Foucault (1982) divides subjects in two ways, both as subjects to the development in the area and also as rational beings that can act to resist. Several residents talk about the economic changes as out of their hands. The area is being developed, the prices increase, and they are subject to this change. At the same time, they are essential for the developers, as they are the ones that need to choose to live in Green Square for the developers to earn money. They are conscious actors deciding whether to live by the beach, have a garden or stay in the middle of the city. In this agency, there is, at times, resistance. One type of resistance can be seen in Max's activism, but another type of resistance can be to move out of the area and not take part in this development and lifestyle anymore. The developers depend on people wanting to live in the area, and to this date, it is a popular place with increasing prices. Following Foucault (1982), where there is resistance, there is power. These different types of resistance can reveal the power inherent in the development, whether that is Max fighting against gentrification, residents planning to move to houses with gardens or the climate council mapping the risk of flooding in the future. All these can be seen as resistance against the future the City of Sydney and Mirvac portray in Green Square. This reveals that there is power behind this idea of the perfect city life where sustainability and development go hand in hand.

Through the examples from the City of Sydney and the developers, the connection between actions today and narratives of the future can be seen as closely knit. The actions affect the future, and the narratives of the future affect the actions of today, and this all constitutes a present under development and a good future. In the same way as Throuillot (2015) writes about constructivism in history, highlighting the overlap between process and narrative, the developer's and the City of Sydney's actions and narratives about the future seem overlapping. On the other hand, the resistance against this view can uncover some issues in this overlap. The future might not be as perfect as portrayed in these narratives. For example, Max's narrative about the future can disrupt the idea that the developers' actions today lead to the same narrative they portray. If Green Square is developed into this complete lifestyle, it might not include poorer people. This shows a disruption between action and narrative, similar to how Throuillot (2015) describes the positivists distinguishing between process and narratives. The developer's and the City of Sydney's narrative of the future are not only broad and coherent but also make the narrative and process resonate easily. Max is not in a position where his narrative of the future is as broad and coherent. Rather it is a contrast to parts of the developers' narrative. His actions disrupt the developers' narrative through his role as an activist, but it is also not as easy to make his actions and narrative resonate. Development creates an opportunity for sustainability to be implemented, and it is more difficult to change for the better if development is not a part of the equation. In line with Throuillot, I argue that studying action and narratives about the future as either connected or disconnected does not show the whole picture. We do not know what the future holds and what narrative today's actions will lead to, but looking at both the connections and disconnections helps us reveal inherent power and silencing in future making.

With the power behind the future view of Green Square as a developed and sustainable area, silencing takes place. Ideas of development and sustainability as a positive synergy and the future of Green Square being not only resilient against climate threats but also a place to create a luxurious lifestyle are powerful. While also other views are being silenced, in the same way as Throuillot (2015) writes about silencing the past. People living in public housing in Waterloo will be kicked out for the time of the development, and if they move back, it will be to a different place. The fact that the number of public houses will increase hides the fact that this is a very small proportion of the overall development. This side of the future is being silenced. Zetland is at high risk of surface water flooding, but the city is developed in a resilient way, hiding the fact that the threat is still present. This side of the future is being silenced. Residents fear they might not be able to afford rent as it increases. At

the same time, the developers are hiding behind the fact that these apartments are more affordable than houses by the beach. This side of the future is being silenced. What we are left with is a Green Square that developed through small steps to be resilient, more affordable than a house with a garden, an increase in public houses and, in general, a luxurious lifestyle. Doesn't it sound great?

Studying resistance can help unravel power structures, but this does not mean all people resist. Jackson Lears (1985) writes about problems and possibilities within Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony. Rather than going into depth on the critique of cultural hegemony, I draw on his concept to highlight the developers' power over the views of the future. Jackson Lears (1985) suggests studying cultural hegemony by going in-depth on the banal question "who has power". The "who" are experts of all sorts and advertisers that shape the values and attitudes of a society. The "power" is to have power to help define what common sense reality is (Lears, 1985). In Green Square, we can set the developers as the "who"; they build and shape the area and advertise their view of the future. Their power is to define the normalised view of Green Square's future as developed and sustainable. Jackson Lears (1985) highlights the possibility of resistance and hegemony existing simultaneously. A hegemonic society is on a scale from closed to open. On the outer end is a complete lack of ability to resist; on the other end is the possibility that resistance might lead to new counterhegemonic alternatives. Even though there is resistance in Green Square, there is also cultural hegemony around the view of a sustainable, developed future. The aim of rounding off the chapter this way is to avoid falling into the pitfall that Jackson Lears (1985) mentions several historians have by only studying resistance and not the people following the leading social views. Several residents in Green Square not only share the same view of the future as the developers but also live and participate in the shared reality of life in Green Square. This will be followed further in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown several views of the future in Green Square, where some are more dominant than others. Focusing on the similarities between the City of Sydney's and the developer's view of the future aims to reveal the power inherent in this view. An important note here is that silencing is not necessarily done with an intention but something that happens outside of an individual's consciousness. It is an effect alongside their good intentions. The City of Sydney is a huge organisation, and this chapter focuses on a small part of their work. All the people I have met are genuinely working towards a better future. The future of Green

Square for the City of Sydney and Mirvac is developed and sustainable, and one cannot exist without the other. Green Square will develop linearly, as in modernist theories. Studying how actions in the present affect the future, while future views also affect the present and how actions and narratives in some views go together while others are in tension with each other gives a broad view of the role of futures. Seeing all these connections and disruptions in future-making has helped reveal power structures. This dominant view of the future is silencing other views. Flooding can be resisted, people living in public housing are overlooked, and residents stressing about being able to follow the rent increase are not a focus. The power in the future making can be seen as an anti-politics machine, where views other than the existing system are silenced. Resistance is present and helps reveal the power, but there is also hegemony. The views of the City of Sydney and the developers actively affect the present and can help us understand the lifestyle in Green Square today.

Lifestyle in Green Square – "It is the right thing to do."

Introduction

I was desperate to get in touch with people living in the area, therefore I decided to walk to a dog park that I had noticed was popular. This was located next to the shopping mall. The park consists of a huge open grass field, that is usually packed with dogs and their owners. Surrounding the field are trees and two water fountains, separating the park from the roads around it. The council has set up new light poles on the edge of the grass. This was on residents' initiative to have more light and make the park feel safer at night. The poles are standing on square cement blocks that are supposed to be put in the ground, but for now, they are standing on top of the grass, causing some annoyance to the residents. Next to the big open grass spot, is an area with tables and a little shed with a café. This is a popular place, and someone always buys coffee there. In front of the café are sets of tables and benches, half of which are covered by a roof, with no walls. On the backside, there is a newly made forest. Many different trees and bushes are planted closely together, with a small walking path through it. This makes you feel like you can escape the city, even if just for 20 meters.

I sit down next to the fountain on the verge of the open grass. The fountain is shaped like stone stairs with water running down the steps. I brought a book, but my main intention is to talk to someone in the park. I try talking to a young couple. They seem nice, but after a couple minutes, I feel they want to leave. Discouraged, I sit down again and read my book. That is when a Golden Retriever stumbles up to me. I give the dog a pat and look up at the owner, a girl about my age. I think to myself, this is my chance. Small talk is not my strongest side, so I ask her straight up. I tell her I am here doing a research project about Sustainable Sydney and hoping to talk to some residents. May is lovely and gives me her number to contact her for an interview. As soon as I get home, I send her a message.

It takes a week for her to get back to me, and I almost gave up hope, but she does, and we arrange to get a coffee at the shopping mall. We sit at a small table outside in the sun. The café is right next to the mall's entrance. Locals are walking past, and people at the tables around us are frequently shifting. I asked her some questions about her thoughts on the area we live. May moved to the area about a year ago and lives in an apartment with her sister and their dog and seems to really enjoy living here.

As the conversation evolves, it turns more into a friendly conversation than an interview. I tell her about my life and that I am from Oslo in Norway. That is when the person

at the table next to us turns around. She asks if I am from Norway, and when I answer yes, she excitedly states that she is too. May invites her to join our table, and we introduce ourselves. Maria is from Norway but has lived in Sydney for the past five years. She studied for her bachelor's here and is now working. The three of us continue our conversation for a while before Maria has to leave. We all decide to meet up for dinner next week. This led to continuous friendships throughout my fieldwork and further on.

Introducing May and Maria is the perfect entry to this chapter about the lifestyle in Green Square. They have shared their time and thoughts with me as we have lived our lives in the area, illuminating their lifestyle. Just from the example above we can see both how structures set ground for meeting, while at the same time individual agency plays a role. The dog park where I met May is a council initiative and functions as a meeting place for residents in the area. While this structure is present, individual action is also required. It took my individual courage to invite May to do an interview. In the same way as it took courage from Maria to join into our conversation. This chapter aims to understand the agents of creating and sustaining the lifestyle in Green Square, while looking into the ideas about a sustainable lifestyle. The aim is not to state whether the lifestyle in Green Square is sustainable or not, but to comprehend different understandings of sustainability and how these are connected to the lifestyle in Green Square. Sustainability moves across scales, as the next chapter will focus on, this chapter reveals how sustainability is created and maintained in the lifestyle of local people. Through examples from everyday life, the formation of lifestyle in Green Square can be revealed. The chapter starts with analysing structures and individuals which affect each other. Structures and individual agency are commonly studied dynamics in research on life in cities, as will be shown through the examples of Certeau (1988) and Scott (2020). However, the aim here is not to conclude with individuals or structures as the sole cause, but rather to set the grounds to analyse further different actors and power in the area's lifestyle. This opens for questioning how lifestyle can be changed and what difficulties this might inhere, through the example of the use of cars. I will argue that dividing lifestyle in actions and ideas functions as a helpful tool to study the sustainable lifestyle in Green Square, as this reveals inherent problems with the concepts of sustainability. Making action and ideas resonate is vital to making the sustainable lifestyle.

Lifestyle – Actions and Ideas

Lifestyle is defined by Nylenna in Store Norske Leksikon,

Lifestyle is the sum of individuals habits and actions. The word is used about a person's way of living, first and foremost the activities the individual has agency over and that reflects the individuals' choices. Lifestyle is connected to mostly conscious personal preferences but is to a high degree affected by the surroundings (Nylenna, 2020, my translation).

This definition of lifestyle is a good starting point for understanding lifestyle in this chapter, because it reflects a common idea about what lifestyle is, thereby making it a good point for understanding people's everyday lives. Lifestyle is understood as actions mainly affected by individual choices, partly affected by structures. This chapter will follow this definition of lifestyle as actions and habits of individuals or a group and investigate how the combination of individual agency and structures affects lifestyle. Thereafter, building a deeper understanding of lifestyle as a combination of ideas and action will shed light on understanding of sustainability.

One night heading back after dinner with May and Maria, I asked them whether they thought living in this area made them work out more. At this point, we have been hanging out consistently, and exercise fills a significant portion of our activities. May answered yes to my question, while Maria said no, stating it just makes it more convenient. These answers reflect the debate of whether structures affect individuals or whether individuals' actions create structures.

On one side, scholars like Durkheim (1982) argue that the structures affect the individual. He writes about Social Facts, trends outside people's actions and consciousness. These trends are general for all of society, not dependent on the individuals and might only be noticed until after one goes against them (Durkheim, 1982). This phenomenon can be seen in the example of when May, Maria and I decided to try out a Pilates gym in the area. The gym has a special offer for a two-week trial. One evening on the way back from the gym, after Maria had walked off, I asked May why she works out. She told me it feels good and gives her more energy. Nevertheless, as a physiotherapist in her line of work, she feels like she has to work out, like it is the right thing to do. This shows how structures affect individuals in the area. First, we fell for the marketing, the gym had an offer, and we went to try it. Second, the gym was close by and easily accessible. Third, as May highlights, it feels like the right thing to do. It is healthy.

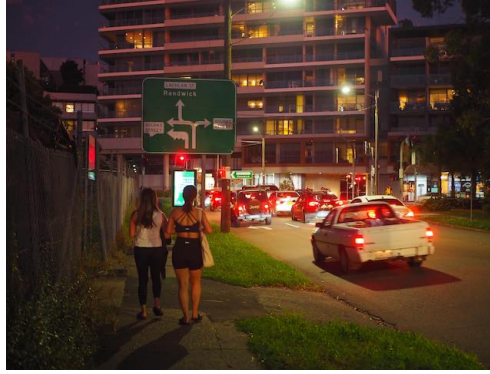


Figure 6: Walking home from pilates. Source: Private photo

On the other side, the sole focus on how society affects individuals has been criticised by scholars who highlight change and individual agency. Leach (1970) criticises earlier anthropologists for lifting society out of time and space. He highlights the importance of understanding the surroundings and recognising that fieldwork is done at a specific time. Society can change over time and will not always stay the same. Leach emphasises how every individual will exploit a situation as they perceive it, and the collective of these individuals constitutes the structures of society. Through his fieldwork in North-East Burma, he shows how individuals can belong to several social systems, which are often different and contradictory. Individuals then choose according to the situation which system to follow when they make decisions (Leach, 1970).

When hanging out, Maria, May and I had several ideas for activities, one of which was bouldering. The three of us decide to meet up at the local bouldering gym and give it a try. We walk up to the front desk and get our day passes when we arrive. I have to watch a short safety video as I have not been to this bouldering gym before. The gym is inside an old storage building, a huge open space, and all the walls are filled with climbing routes in different colours, referring to the different difficulties of the routes. We have fun trying out the easiest routes, as we are all beginners at the same level. May and I decided we like this, and going forwards, we meet to go bouldering at least once a week. Some weeks even three to four times. Maria does not join, but we still meet up with her to do other things. Maria is the fittest out of the three of us. She works out several times a week and is very strong. She told me she did not continue bouldering with us because she does not have the time or money, as she is already committed to another gym, and her body cannot take any more exercise. The point is not necessarily why but that she made an individual choice to say no. Even though her friends meet up frequently and the bouldering gym is just around the corner from where she lives, in other words, the structures are there for it to be easy to do, she chooses not to.

Both Durkheim's (1982) and Leach's (1970) theories can be seen in Green Square. Clearly the structures affect the individual's lifestyle, yet simultaneously, the individuals' actions have a parallel affect. The aim here is not to land on one and exclude the other. Bourdieu's (2017) concept of habitus functions as a combination. He describes habitus as "a system of dispositions, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of long-term (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action." (Bourdieu, 2017, p.43). Habitus is a product of social conditions and a product of history. Being a product of history, habitus can also be changed by history. It is difficult to change, but it can be done through awareness and pedagogic effort. Bourdieu explains that habitus cannot be seen in isolation. Every field is inhabited by tension and contradiction, every actor acts according to his position, and his habitus relates to his personal history (Bourdieu, 2017). In this way, Bourdieu tackles the critiques of anthropologists studying fields lifted from space and time. Habitus can change, and people can react differently in situations, but they are still affected by the world around them. Green Square is currently under development; thus, it must be studied not as locked in time and place but as a process. Different actors are continuously affecting the area, and these actors are also affected by the structures in the area.

Habitus is then a perfect framework to show that individual agency and structures is an important aspect of lifestyle. In Sørhaug's (2022) article about lifestyle migrants, he uses the concept of habitus as a binder between life and style. I will expand on this theory and use this as only one side of lifestyle. In the context of Green Square this needs to be elaborated further, by simultaneously seeing lifestyle as an idea.

Using habitus to understand lifestyle can shed light on actions that lead to lifestyle. Sørhaug's (2022) writes that the style of our lives is a product of our habits, and he highlights the debate in social science of whether a person's actions are conscious or determined. Habitus and lifestyle are closely related, but not the same. Maria and May served as examples of how people can choose different actions in similar situations at the same time as structures do affect these choices. This is habitus. That again leads to their lifestyle, May goes bouldering while Maria works out at different gym, and exercises as much as her body can take. Habitus is the resources available to choose how to live life, lifestyle is the end goal. Lifestyle is the results of the chosen actions. I will use lifestyle partly in this way, habitus can be seen as a part of lifestyle, but does not constitute the whole. Simultaneously, lifestyle is something more than the results of choices, it is one coherent entity.

Lifestyle can be divided as both the actions of people and as an idea, in a similar manner to how Abrams (1988) makes a division between the state-system, that is the palpable practises of government, its institutions and processes and the state-idea, the ideological project, an exercise in legitimisation. The actions and the ideas are not necessarily separated, but the aim is to show that lifestyle is something, an idea, beyond the results of people's choices and their actions. The idea can be seen as closely knit to the structures, the plan for the everyday life. The idea is not the same as the structures, but an overarching ideal about how life should look. This in combination with people's actual choices and actions constitutes the lifestyle. The idea of a sustainable lifestyle will serve to explain this further.

A sustainable lifestyle can look different according to who explains it. Barr and Gilg (2006) write about a sustainable lifestyle through environmental action in and around the house. Following the emphasis placed on individual action for sustainability they examine the everyday practices of people at home and see these in combination with people's worldviews. Their research shows that people with biospheric and ecocentric values were more likely to adapt a sustainable lifestyle (Barr & Gilg, 2006). In this way, a sustainable lifestyle is seen in chores, divided in three categories, purchase decisions, habits and recycling. Their sustainable lifestyle is individuals' actions on environmental sustainability. Jacksons (2012) article about the challenge of sustainable lifestyles can serve as another example for a sustainable lifestyle. He criticizes the view of a linear development from poor to consumer, to get a better life, by highlighting the fact that more money does not equal happier after you reach a certain level of comfort. He argues for creating a simpler lifestyle, with less consuming, and to get there, there is a need for structural change (Jackson, 2012). This idea of a sustainable lifestyle is built on less consumption. These two examples show varied views of what an environmentally sustainable lifestyle looks like. One focuses on several individual chores the other on structural change for one big goal, less consumption. In difference to these two examples, the idea of sustainability in Sydney is built on not only environmental but also social and economic sustainability. The environmental, social and economic goals are equally important, and the aim is to fulfill the needs of all three. The idea about a sustainable lifestyle in Sydney can be seen in coherence with both Mirvac's commercials and the plan for Sustainable Sydney. As shown in the chapter about silencing, Mirvac is portraying the life in Green Square through commercial posters. They have taken everything that is good in life and use this to advertise for how life in Green Square will be. The City of Sydney has a plan to make Sydney sustainable through making it green, global and connected. In both these views and plans for Green Square, an idea about how the lifestyle should look is essential. Ideas

about lifestyle can look different and influence the everyday life in an area. The actions towards sustainability are affected by ideas of sustainability. When the ideas can be followed by actions that resonate with the idea, sustainability is realised in lifestyle. Lifestyle is where sustainability takes concrete shape.

Lifestyle is the combination of actions and habits of individuals, and ideas, that is connected to views of and plans for everyday life. To comprehend the sustainable lifestyle in Green Square there is a need to study individual agency and structures to understand the actions that lead to the lifestyle, while simultaneously investigate ideas about the sustainable lifestyle. Through examples from everyday life, the actions and ideas come together and create the sustainable lifestyle. The aim of this chapter is not to decide whether structures or individuals affect the other, but studying this tension opens some challenges in the development of an area. What or who constitutes the lifestyle in Green Square as it is today? Green Square is under constant development and change, but there is still a lifestyle in the area or tendencies that are typical.

Structures of Sustainability

The city has structures and plans that affect the life of residents. The relation between these structures and the residents can be understood in different ways. De Certeau (1988) writes about walkers in the city. He sets the city, mapping, planners and structures up against the walkers and residents. The walkers counter the structures of the city. He compares walking to writing a text, the walkers are “writing” in the city in a way that disrupts the structure. Through the example of a lady that walks on unnamed streets, he argues that she unconsciously walks against the planners (De Certeau, 1988). In this way, he sets the city and its inhabitants up against each other. He focuses on how people in the city, are not seen as part of it but a disruption of the plan. But what about when people follow the plan? In the case of Green Square, people might also go against the structures. For example, around the corner from where I live there is a spot where a path goes through some bushes on the side of a street corner. The pavement is shaped as a 90-degree corner, but the path cuts it off. There are definitely ways people go against the plans, but what might be just as interesting is when they go with the plans.

A part of the plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030 is to be connected, both in the form of public transport, cycling and walking, but also connected to a community (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020). This work is done in several ways, varying from services provided by the library, community gardens, events and grants given to communities, among

others. One of the events arranged during my fieldwork was a neighbourhood fest. I will come back to this and other events in the next chapter, but for now, this chapter will focus on how the structures of the event planned by the City of Sydney affected May and me. I invited May and her dog to do the amazing race with dogs that was organized as a part of this event. We showed up a bit late in Joynton park for the first race. There were several people with dogs in the park, as usual, but no one seemed to be a part of an activity. We found one of the organisers and realized no one had showed up to take part in the race. There was another race planned two hours later, so we went to a café and had lunch in the meanwhile. For the second race we made sure to show up on time. We got instructions for activities we had to do to get points, these activities included translating a sentence in Cantonese, to try and force people to ask strangers. After we finished the race, we realized we were the only ones who had finished the raise and got the price all to ourselves. The price was several tickets with free entrance to the aquatic centre and recreational park. Over the next month's May and I went to the centre and joined the yoga and Pilates classes. We also invited Maria with us one time. We all seemed to really enjoy the classes. The gym is very modern and looks good and the instructors were nice people. Through all these activities we became a part of the plans. Some people were disrupting them by not showing up for the amazing race, but we slid into the structures. By following one plan we were also let into another and ended up going to the gym. Here, May's and my ideas and actions not only cohere as our lifestyle, but it also lines up with the council's ideas and actions.

Through studying everyday situations, both actions and ideas about lifestyle is revealed. After we had gone several times to the centre, I had an interview with Andrew, who works on community building through the centre. He works for a company hired by the City of Sydney to manage the aquatic and recreational centre that is built by the city. I meet Andrew at the aquatic park, and he gives me a tour. While we walk through the building, he mentions different sustainability measures, as he knows this is an interest for my research. We walk into a room with a heated pool. I can barely hear what he says over the sound of children playing. He is saying that they try to save energy by heating the room with the warmest pool to reduce the energy used on heating the water. When we walk upstairs, the walls surrounding the stairs are covered in beautiful wooden panels. He tells me that these are recycled wood. He shows me the gym upstairs. It is a big modern gym, and all the equipment looks brand new. We finish the tour and sit down in the café downstairs. Andrew orders coffee, and we sit at a small table outside.

Until now he has shown me environmental measures towards a sustainable centre, but a big portion of his job is to connect with community, a social sustainability measure. He does this through connecting with different community groups, this can vary from organising for groups of disabled to come and use the centre, to hiring people from TAFE (Technical and further education), providing jobs. He also tells me that he runs a monthly feedback forum. I asked if there is any feedback that come up often. Earlier in the conversation, he mentioned people complaining about a lack of parking. Now, he mentions the issue of water temperature. It is impossible to meet everyone's needs, as someone wants it warmer and others colder. Through the conversation, he gave me the impression that the council does a good job of setting policies to make a sustainable gym. He tells me that it helps, compared to other councils that do not care, at the same time, it is a bigger job to meet the requirements.

This centre is built by the City of Sydney, and the plan for the centre is affected by what lifestyle they are imagining as sustainable. First, they have decided to build an aquatic and recreational centre, giving people a place to exercise and be a part of a community. This also functions as an inclusive ground, where different people can participate. Second, this centre has environmental measures they have decided to include. Studying these everyday situations reveals that the City of Sydney has an idea about the sustainable lifestyle as active, connected and environmentally conscious. Simultaneously, people's actions lead to the lifestyle. There were structures present, making it convenient for May and me to first join a community event, that again lead to us going to the centre. The centre had several sustainability measures, consequently leading us to take part in them. At the same time this is affected by May and me making individual choices to take part in these events. The individual agency and structures are affecting our choices, leading to our lifestyle. This example shows the combination of action and ideas to create the sustainable lifestyle in Green Square.

In the end of the interview with Andrew, I ask him if he could imagine a sustainable city, its lifestyle, and how that would look. He said that as he cares about the social aspect, he thinks of it as a place where you get to know your neighbours more than just that awkward hi in the hallway, like back in the day when you welcomed your new neighbours. He mentioned the centre as an excellent way to interact with your neighbours and told me that people say hi to each other and hang out here, especially the classes in the gym and other arranged groups. There is a group with adults over 50 playing a niche sport and Andrew shares his theory that niche sports make it easier to connect. In the same way as the council has ideas about a sustainable life, individuals have their ideas. Andrew's idea of a sustainable lifestyle is in several ways aligned with the City of Sydney idea, but the social aspect is highlighted.

These examples from May's and my everyday life shed light on the creation of a sustainable lifestyle in Green Square. There is an idea about how a sustainable lifestyle should look. This idea affects the plans, structures and individuals. The overarching ideas of a sustainable lifestyle prevalent here is a life where people go outside and use the park, they are healthy and use the gym, they are inclusive and take part in a local community and they live in structures affected by environmental measures. Ideas about a sustainable lifestyle are existing, simultaneously, the lifestyle is lived by individuals. While this example has focused on the structures affecting individuals, individual agency cannot be overlooked. Several people were out with their dogs in the park, May and I took part in events by the council and went to the gym. The actions of our lifestyle fitted with this idea of a sustainable lifestyle through taking part in a community event, going to the gym, thus being healthy and through the gym's environmental measures. This way of looking into sustainability reveals that the City of Sydney has ideas about sustainability as something that occurs locally. This is not to say that sustainability according to the City of Sydney does not occur on a global scale as well. But by framing sustainability through lifestyle, sustainability becomes explicit in local everyday situations. This does not mean that sustainability is only local, but local actions, becomes part of something bigger, which the next chapter about scales will look further into. For now, this chapter will focus on how the combination of the everyday life of individuals, to a large degree affected by structures, and the ideas about a sustainable lifestyle together constitute the lifestyle in Green Square. Studying the lifestyle in Green Square, can again help shed light on bigger issues in sustainability.

Individuals of Sustainability

There are plans and structures that affect the sustainability of life in Green Square, but what about the individuals? In Scott's (2020) analysis of the high-modernist city, he starts off by describing Le Corbusier's ideal city planning. Modern cities made to be efficient, with different districts for different activities. Thus, there is only one sole focus in the planning, not several objectives to get messed up. There are no streets or corners where people can run into each other. The city is built from nothing with streets in straight lines. Scott follows this description with a critique from Jacobs. She stresses that tidy structures do not necessarily equal systems that efficiently meets daily needs. She studies the city from the street level, in opposition to other planners like Corbusier with his god-view from above. According to Jacobs, social order does not come from tidy looking cities or police control, it comes from people being out in the street. Unconsciously making order by watching each other. Seeing

people in the street is not only positive, but also a part of creating a messy order (Scott, 2020). In a similar way, people consciously or unconsciously create order for acting in ways coded as sustainable.

At the same time as structures can help to affect a person's partaking in sustainability measures, individuals can themselves take a part. Several times when we were hanging out Maria asked me how my research was going and followed it with a sustainability measure, she is doing. Maria, May and I went out for dinner on a Friday night. After dinner we went to a small shop and got ice-cream and a cup of tea. As we were walking down the busy street in the dark, past several cafes and restaurants, Maria shared her frustration with cups. She says she tries to bring a keep cup to work, but it is easy to forget, and in situations like this she does not bring it. At another time when we were sitting on a bus, she asked me if I knew how to recycle here. She told me that the other day she had to inform a friend that it says on the food packaging where it should be disposed of. This serves as examples of how individuals take part in sustainability. The system is there to recycle, but it is up to the individual person whether they follow this. Individuals also affect each other by informing others and talking about it with pride.

The examples of Marias everyday life serve to reveal her sustainable lifestyle. She as an individual chooses to act and bring a keep cup to work and recycle waste. These activities are one side of her lifestyle, the other side is her ideas about lifestyle. She believes that bringing a cup and recycling are the right things to do. The fact that she brought these examples to me, without me asking for it, shows that she has an idea about these activities as sustainable. Marias idea about a sustainable lifestyle is not disconnected from for example the City of Sydney's idea of a sustainable lifestyle, after all, they have created the system for her to recycle. Nevertheless, studying Maria's everyday actions, reveals her personal idea of what a sustainable lifestyle looks like. For her, recycling and reducing waste is important. Maria's ideas and activities together constitute her sustainable lifestyle.

Bouldering as a Sustainable Lifestyle

At the same time as the City of Sydney puts in work to create a sustainable life in Green Square, other actors also play a role. 9 Degrees bouldering gym will serve as an example, a private business that takes part in creating the lifestyle in Green Square. As mentioned in the introduction, May and I went bouldering continuously throughout my fieldwork. This was a good way to feel like a part of a community. May and I arrive at the bouldering gym, check-in and do some stretching. Then we look at the walls and decide a

route to go for. Today there is a new set-up and a teal route that requires a good balance. In addition to the routes being set in different colours according to the difficulty level, they also require different skill types. Some routes are very heavy, and the need for muscle power is high, while others require you to balance and control where you put your weight or be flexible. There are two bouldering gyms close to where we live, where one sets more routes that require balance. This is where May and I usually go and where we are today. It takes us several tries at this route to get somewhere up the wall. We discuss how to do it in between each try and learn from each other. While we are working on this route, other people join in. Another girl tries it and gets quite far, almost to the end. A group of guys decides to give it a go as well. They struggle to find the right way to go at it. I show one of the guys a different way to do it, as I am less flexible than May and the other girl, and he nails it this time. We all cheer him on. Working through a route like this with others and encouraging each other is very common. We have not met or talked to any of these people again, but it was a good time. Even though it is just one-time conversations, the openness of the gym makes me feel like I am part of a community.

The bouldering gym is a place that builds community in Green Square. Lowe (2001) writes about community art and how it is a source of *Gemeinschaft* in an otherwise predominantly *Gesellschaft* setting. Bouldering can function in the same way. Lowe uses Tönnies's concepts of *Gemeinschaft*, private, organic relationships that share common interests and *Gesellschaft*, public, independent relationships operating out of rational self-interest (Tönnies in Lowe, 2001). In bigger, denser and more heterogenous areas, *Gemeinschaft* often lessens, but that does not mean both cannot function together. Lowe shows how community art brings people of different ages and backgrounds together, working on a joint project and helping each other out while encouraging and cheering everyone on. This creates solidarity in working together while also building an individual and collective identity. Increasing confidence and growing together in a good environment (Lowe, 2001). This can be compared to the role of the bouldering gym. While the people Lowe writes about are doing an art project together, people at the bouldering gym are getting through routes together. Similar tendencies of coming together from different ethnicity and gender and cheering each other on are apparent. In the same ways as people build identity and confidence through working on art, identity and confidence are built in the bouldering gym. Thus, the gym is also a space for *Gemeinschaft* in an otherwise predominant *Gesellschaft* setting.

The bouldering gym has become a place for May and me to work out, meet each other and take part in a community. It became a big part of our lifestyle in Green Square. We went

bouldering several times a week, and this became something we identified ourselves with, the idea of being a climber made it into our lifestyle. A connected community is according to the City of Sydney sustainable. Can then bouldering be a sustainable lifestyle, within this framing of sustainability?



Figure 7: The bouldering gym inside of an old industrial building. Source: Private photo

After bouldering for about a month, I got in touch with the owner, and we set up an interview. I walk over to the bouldering gym, it is closed, but I find an open door and walk in. August says hi and asks if I want a cup of coffee. I say yes and sit down at one of the chairs by the counter. August is the owner of all the 9 degree bouldering gyms, he used to work as a manager in the one we are at now, but at this stage, he has hired managers for all the gyms. He tells me he primarily works in the office upstairs, but one day a week, he joins the route setting, which seems to light him up. When I ask about inclusion and what a social place this is, he can tell me they work to be diverse. On Instagram, for example, they try to avoid too many videos of white men but instead have more videos of girls. The idea is that anyone can boulder. It is not dependent on gender or size. He told me about one event they did: they got five female route setters and a camera lady and opened the gym for free for girls that day. The structures of the bouldering gym are heavily influenced by August as an individual and other people working there. They work to make it an inclusive place.

Continuing the interview with August, I asked about their initiative to donate 1% of profit to the rainforest and that they are carbon neutral. He told me it was easy to make the place carbon neutral, as power is the most considerable emission. Thus, they could change to green energy. He also mentioned things like making up for employers driving to work; as they

cannot control this, they count it and "pay" for it. When I asked about what the motivation to do this was, he seemed confused and ended up answering that it was just because he wanted to. He realised he could do this and wanted to do good. The system was there, so it was easy to jump on it. With the 1%, they just had to choose a cause. It ended up being rainforest in Australia. He told me that different people have their causes they care more about, like, for example, plastic in the ocean, but it felt right to choose this as climbing is on land. This shows how intertwined individual agency and structures are. The fact that there is a system for making a business carbon-neutral made it easy for August to choose this. He, as an individual, had the agency to make this choice for his business, which again affects structures as they can advertise that they are carbon neutral.

The ideas of bouldering as sustainable are highly present. First, ideas of social sustainability play in, work is put in to make the gym open for a diverse group of people. Second, environmental measures are taken to make the gym sustainable. People go to the gym, and through climbing they become active members of both a community and a place with environmental measures. Thus, one could argue that the bouldering gym is a sustainable lifestyle, according to the dominant ideas of sustainability in Green Square. It becomes sustainable through making normal activities into sustainable activities, with small changes.

Being active and working out is common in the area of Green Square and can be seen in connection with sustainability. The term sustainability is a broad concept, for the City of Sydney it includes environmental and social needs. Being active is first of all healthy, while it also is a way into a community feeling, thus it is sustainable. Seeing someone on the street in the area of Green Square in workout clothes is completely normal. This shows that this choice is made by several individuals, while also setting grounds to affect others. Living in an area packed with different gyms and walking past people going to them every day, can easily affect a person to feel like they should do the same. This becomes a part of the perfect lifestyle in a sustainable city. As May said, it feels like the right thing to do.

Through looking at actions and ideas, issues in sustainable lifestyle can be revealed. A lifestyle is actions lived, while it is also an idea. This idea can be formed in several different ways. For one person a sustainable lifestyle is to join a community event, for another person it is to go to the gym, for a third person it is to recycle. The idea of a sustainable lifestyle in Green Square is so broad, that it captures everything that is good in life. How do we then decide what is sustainable and not? If one person goes to a gym with environmental measures, but does not recycle, but the other person recycles but does not go to the gym, who is living a sustainable life? My aim is not to answer whether something is sustainable or not, but to

reveal that by studying lifestyle through actions of individuals, dependent on agency and structure, while simultaneously studying the idea of lifestyle, it becomes apparent that an answer to whether a lifestyle is sustainable or not is impossible, because it relies upon itself, through the idea.

Beyond Individuals and Planners

Thus far this chapter has looked at how structures and individuals are intertwined and affect the sustainable life in Green Square. The individuals are seen as a part of the structures and the main actors in creating the lifestyle, this part will move further beyond this view, and look deeper into structures. De Certeau (1988) writes about the city as an operational concept. It is a mapped area with no space for waste. The city soon becomes a subject of its own. A hero of modernity. This part of the chapter will suggest a comparison of this city as a subject to how Marianne de Laet and Annemarie Mol (2000) gives agency to a water pump in Zimbabwe. They challenge views today of who has agency, arguing that non-human, non-rational beings can also have agency. At what time and to what degree something has agency is fluid. They write about a water pump that has agency in the sense that it gives clean water that decreases the chance of spreading diseases. The water pumps agency is not limited to this action, it also has agency in bringing the community together by needing maintenance. In this way the water pumps agency is fluid, when it works it provides clean water, when it breaks it brings people together (De Laet & Mol, 2000). In the same way as this water pump has agency a city or parts of it can have agency. Take Joynton Park as an example. A popular park in Green Square, used by residents and especially dog owners. This is the park where I met May for the first time and asked if she would do an interview with me. The park first of all brings people out of their apartment, while also functioning as a common ground to meet and make new relations. In the same way as the water pump the park also needs maintenance. In this instance this is done by the council, not the community itself. This creates a ground where council and residents meet. An example of this is seen when residents requested new light poles in the park. The council provided light, but there is a process of putting them down in the ground. The residents and council keep in contact through this process. The park is also used for events for the community and with its green grass and plants it is helpful against flooding. The park is sustainable in several ways, it helps create a resilient city against flooding, it is a green space for residents to enjoy, it brings community together and connects community to the council. The point here is not to argue over when the park or the individuals or the planners and structures have agency. The aim is to open and extend ideas about agency

and show how all actors, including the park, are connected. The council has planned for a park, events are planned in the park, the park functions as a meeting ground and the residents has to show up. In this way every part has its own agency, together creating a community, that is a part of a sustainable life. This sustainable life is locked of by the boundaries of the city, and thereby made local. In the same way as looking at sustainability as lifestyle makes it local, setting the frames of sustainability in the city makes it local. This creates a view of sustainability as local, as the next chapter will problematise, for now the focus will continue to be on this sustainability in the city.

Several actions and ideas take part in creating lifestyle in Green Square. The council has an idea that a green city is a sustainable city. The residents use the park, showing an idea that this is a good thing. The lifestyle also relies on actions. Residents choose to go for a walk and the council shows up to maintain the park. The park in itself also acts. In the early days of my fieldwork when I arrived in Green Square the grass in the middle of the park was worn and starting to turn brown, this got worse over the next months, because of the heavy rain this year. Creating a less welcoming park. Closer to the end of my stay the council closed of the park to change the grass, and right before I left it was pretty and green again. In this way, the parks action brought the residents and council together, revealing a common idea about a green park for a sustainable lifestyle. In the period when the grass was brow, the park was still as popular as ever. One could argue that it still fulfilled its function as a place to walk and meet other residents, thus it was still sustainable. But there is an idea that the park should be green. Looking at the combination of different actors, including the city itself, help to shed light on ideas and actions that makes the sustainable lifestyle in Green Square. The aim is not to state that the park was or is part of a sustainable lifestyle, but to show how ideas about lifestyle makes the rules, while also affecting action. Thus, a sustainable lifestyle creates itself though ideas.

Changing Habits – Cycling in the City

Thus far, this chapter has studied different agents in improving the sustainable city through building community and incorporating measures to decrease emissions. These processes build on already existing concepts. The examples this far do not go against the existing culture. There might be a lack of community, but this does not mean it is non-existent or that anyone has been working against the community. Ideas of sustainability has built on already existing actions, adding on smaller measures to increase sustainability. For example, going to the bouldering gym, is improved by profit going into saving rainforest and getting a

coffee is improved by bringing a keep cup. The actions stay the same but done in a better way. Going further, this chapter will look into agency in situations where policies are going against existing structures. This will be done through the example of implementation of cycling in the city. Although cycling and driving a car are not complete opposites and always go against each other, there is a conundrum in this situation. Cycling lanes take up space that has earlier been driving lanes and parking spots. Australia, including Sydney, is heavily dependent on cars for transport. As a part of the plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030, the City of Sydney is working towards increasing the number of people who choose to cycle and walk. They are forming the infrastructure by implementing accessible and safe cycling, and walking paths through the city, as this is a more sustainable and healthier form of transport (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020).

One day I felt restless from not leaving the apartment all day, so I decided to take a little stroll in the area. As I walked through Joynton park, some tents were set up, with bikes parked in front. A lady in a City of Sydney t-shirt asked me if I wanted to try an electric bike, and I thought, why not give it a crack? She showed me to another lady who gave me a bike and a helmet and then to a man leading a small bike tour. The leader, me and two other men went off on a short route through the cycle lanes in the area. Through the tour, I conversed with one of the other guys and told him what I was doing my research on. He said he owns one of the e-bike companies and that we should stay in touch. I followed him up on that and set up an interview.

About a week later, I walked down to the e-bike company's new store in Alexandria. This company rents out e-bikes as a subscription. If anything happens, they will pick you up and service the bike. The interview with Mat was very casual, and we talked quite a lot about Sydney, infrastructure and the culture of cars. He was under the impression that there is a culture for cars here, and most people drive out of habit. They will not just change by themselves. When I asked what he thought about the council, he said he was happily surprised. They are open and trying. The only issue is that they like to talk and listen but not so much to do it. There is always a reason, but Mat does not care. He just wanted it improved. He told me he has always been motivated by doing something good for the people that he believes in. Giving people the joy of biking. When I asked about the infrastructure here, he mentioned that many bike lanes just end nowhere. It would help to have someone to show you around for it to be good. Now that he knows the good routes, he loves it, but it can be difficult to get into. His friend showed him the way to Coogee beach, and he seemed to enjoy that way now. Mat gave me the impression that he thought the government could do more. He

highlighted the need to change people's habits. Using the Australian gun policy as an example, they took away everyone's guns. Back then, people were upset, but no one cares now.

Even though the council and people like Mat are working towards a city with fewer cars and increased use of bikes and walking, not everyone agrees. As already mentioned in the interview with Andrew working in the aquatic and recreational centre, he gets several complaints from people about the lack of parking spots. One day I was sitting in Joynton Park, and I encounter an elderly lady. She seems to know many people in the area and to be in close contact with the council about her thoughts. We have a long conversation about Green Square and discuss several topics. One of them is about cars. She strikes me as polite, but even with her very positive view of the council's work in Green Square, the parking issue comes up. She highlights the difficulty for families with children getting around and states that it is more challenging to cycle everywhere. She also tells me about several Facebook groups for the area that I can join, and this is a common complaint in these. Being from Oslo in Norway, the cars were one of the first things I noticed in Sydney. Unlike Oslo, a city where a car is more of a hassle than a convenience, Sydney is packed with cars. Whenever I walk anywhere, I have to stop at several light crosses and wait for all the cars to pass. Living here, I mostly use the car to get out of the city, as most things I need in everyday life are close by. On the other hand, May drives to work every day, she also picks me up, and we drive to the bouldering gym when we go to the one which is slightly further away.

The example of introducing and pushing to increase cycling in Sydney served to show that it can be difficult to change habits and culture. In this instance the new idea about a sustainable lifestyle is further removed from the former lifestyle, both ideas and action. A change in peoples ideas about how their lifestyle should be, and in their actions is needed. The process is slow, even with changing the infrastructure and through individual agency in the form of setting up bike companies. Some individuals are open and positive but do not take the step and actually do it. Others are against it and fight to keep their parking spots. This being said, Mat's company is increasing its customers, and cycling seems to grow. It can be difficult to work towards improvement and change, especially when it collides with other interests. It is thus not only about changing structures and having individuals use their agency to implement the idea, but the opposers must also be considered. Both the active opposers and the unconscious habits of most people. When individuals and structures work intertwined to constitute the lifestyle in Green Square, this can affect other people's lives. One person's choice to live sustainably might be good for the future of the planet, but annoying for others

around. The incorporation of more bike lanes in Green Square has happened on expense of parking spots for people who drive.

Looking at lifestyle through action and ideas can again shed light on this situation. The lifestyle in Green Square is in one way created by action, the council's action to incorporate more bike lanes and individual's actions to cycle or drive. This is still connected to ideas about lifestyle and can all be seen under the term sustainability. Sustainability in Green Square is not just environmental, but also social and economic. For Mat and the council, the idea is that driving less and increasing cycling leads to a more sustainable lifestyle. In opposition, for a family, easy access to the aquatic centre is their idea of a sustainable lifestyle. When sustainability is such a broad concept and lifestyle is built on action and idea it becomes impossible to argue that one is better than the other.

Conclusion

Seeing lifestyle as a combination of actions and ideas help reveal issues in a sustainable lifestyle. To understand lifestyle there is a need to study a combination of actions, that are individual's actions based on intertwined structures and individual agency, alongside with ideas about lifestyle. Studying everyday life reveals both actions and ideas in lifestyle. Through examples of everyday experience and thoughts about community, working out, recycling and transport, this chapter has revealed several different ideas about a sustainable lifestyle. The issue with a sustainable lifestyle is that it is built upon both actions and these ideas. Any sustainable lifestyle is built on its own concept of sustainability. When sustainability is such a broad concept, it is impossible to fulfill all requirements, thus some has to be focused on. In this way it becomes impossible to say whether a lifestyle is sustainable. This also becomes a problem when trying to change over to a more sustainable lifestyle, as it might contrast other people's idea of a sustainable lifestyle. On one hand cycling has less emissions than cars, but on the other hand accessibility for families and going to places like the aquatic centre is highlighted by others. Being built on different ideas, it becomes impossible to answer whether a lifestyle is sustainable, but that is not the aim here. The aim has been to understand the sustainable lifestyle found in Green Square, and this is found in the resonance between actions and ideas. The lifestyle in Green Square is highly affected by the City of Sydney's ideas about a sustainable lifestyle, while also being connected to other ideas. To sum up the lifestyle in Green Square, it is constituted by a combination of cycling and driving, several gyms and a lot of active people, green parks and people walking their dogs, some community events and connecting with other residents. All

these parts of the lifestyle adhere to ideas about a sustainable lifestyle. Beside studying the dynamic between structures and individuals, as done by several researchers on the city and in general in social sciences, looking at the correlation between actions and ideas has been vital. Ideas about sustainability play an important role in the actions for sustainability. When these ideas resonate with actions, the feeling of a sustainable lifestyle appears. People experience the sustainable lifestyle when ideas and actions resonate, and it is in this resonance that the city's sustainable lifestyle is formed. Sustainability is made local through processes of lifestyle in the city, but sustainability is not only local, as the next chapter will look into.

Scales of Sustainability

Introduction

Walking down George Street, the street is filled with shops and entrances to the train station. The light rail goes through the street. Thus, in contrast to the rest of Sydney, there is a lack of cars. The amounts of people make up for this void, and it still appears as a busy street. In the middle of the CBD, when you cross the light rail trails from the other side of the street, Town Hall sticks out to you. This is the building where scales meet. The local council occupies this building, creating a bridge between residents and the government. A sand-coloured building from the late 19th century, filled with detailed columns and engravings, is a contrast to all the other buildings around. A vast staircase leads to the main entrance. Walking up these stairs makes me feel special like I will do something important. Walking inside, I see a man sitting next to a security station. I tell him I am here to meet Alice, one of the council members, and he calls the office for them to come down and get me. I also had to send my bag through the security scan, and while this was happening, the council lady's assistant came to get me. I walk further into the building, and endless grand hallways appear with large doors on all sides. I would get lost in a second, and I did the last time I was there. To get to the councillor lady's office, I enter through a large wooden door into a room with big windows with long heavy curtains hanging down the sides. Within the room are two large wooden desks, which would not be out of place in the study or library of an English manner house. There is also a table, again dark wood, the shape of a dining table with matching wooden chairs around it. Behind the door is a little station of things that do not quite fit in with the rest of the style, a printer and a coffee station, the practical stuff. The room is obviously not made to be an office. The building is kept from colonial times and is still used today as the council members' offices and meeting rooms and for hosting events. In this building the government and politics are made local in place.

This majestic building is located in the CBD, not in Green Square. Green Square shares a council with the rest of the inner city. This chapter will go into the topic of place and scale related to sustainability in Green Square. Building on the last chapter, where sustainability is found in local practises of lifestyle, this chapter problematizes this by shedding light on how these local measures are set in combination with a global scale. First, different levels of government are investigated and how moving across the scale of these affect views of sustainability. Then studying when the sustainable city is made global and

local opens for a conundrum in changing scales. Moving across scales can affect whether actions and narrative resonate or not. Following this, the chapter will examine community building and how the often taken-for-granted assumption that a community is based on a local place creates problems. Locking development plans in one area sets boundaries for sustainability. Studying across scales can help reveal views and ideas of sustainability while also uncovering limits.

Moving Scales of Green Square

I am at the town hall to have an interview with one of the council members. I initially met her in Joynton Park when she came to check up on the new light poles requested by local residents. I sit in her office and wait while I have an open conversation with her assistant before Alice shows up. We talk loosely about what she does as a counsellor. She also tells me she is educated as a psychologist and has worked for the University of Sydney during her time as a counsellor. She told me a story about how she found it difficult when people who did not have mental issues were sent to her as a psychologist. A man diagnosed with anxiety came to her, and she realized the problem was that he had only been eating soup for weeks because his teeth were destroyed. However, at that point in time, public help did not cover dental issues, so he was sent for other health tests. This would, in the end, cost more money than fixing his teeth. As a counsellor, she has a bigger chance to fix infrastructural problems. I continue by asking her about things she has been able to change as a councillor. She tells me about how she was helping a group of skaters some years back. They wanted skateparks but needed help to get it through. She helped them organize, they got plenty of signatures, and she took it up in the council. Four hundred skaters showed up for that meeting and got it through. Thus, this led to the skatepark in Waterloo being fixed and others. Even though she answered confidently that she had done a lot through her years in council, she also mentioned that many of her suggestions do not go through. She tells me everything is ruled by politics. There were some topics she seemed to feel more frustrated about. When it comes to housing development, she seemed to feel that higher parts of government did not take into account as many new developments as she deemed necessary. Local councils are given directives on how much housing they need to develop, but it also varies among different local councils how much they choose to develop, and this is affected by what political party is in charge. This shows how decisions are made across different scales of government. The council can change policy and has a lot of influence, but they also work in line with the state and federal government. Alice clearly feels like she can make a difference on a local level, while she is

also ruled by bigger structures, that she might not have as much control over. Even within her own local council she has to fight. The higher levels of government especially become out of reach. Going further, this chapter will examine how moving across these scales can reveal varying views of sustainability and ability to make a difference.

It is essential to look at different scales to understand sustainability. As Igoe (2010) shows in his article about the connection between market and nature in nature conservation in Tanzania, moving across scale can function to create specific images. Through the example of a McDonald's endangered species campaign, he shows how the corporation creates a problem that is global and for everyone to care about, while the predator is local. Thus, the only way "western" people can help is by purchasing commodities. By moving across scale, corporations create a view that the market can save nature (Igoe, 2010). Moving across scale can similarly help unravel ideas of sustainability in Green Square, Sydney, NSW, Australia and the world. Australia's government is divided into three parts, Federal, which is the whole country, state, in this case, New South Wales and local councils, that is, the inner city. Several residents and workers in Green Square have shared their feelings about the council and higher parts of government with me.

I met Nina in Joynton Park around lunchtime. We sit at one of the tables close to the little café in a shed. There are several other people around having their lunch or walking their dogs. Nina tells me she has been living in Green Square since 2015 and seems to like it a lot. She tells me she has made friends in the area and walking her dog has helped. I ask her whether she thinks the council's work contributes to creating community in Green Square. She answers that she has seen their events, which is positive, but the best job they do, according to her, is creating grounds for more organic meeting places. They do this, for example, by maintaining the dog park and showing people that it is ok to have a dog in the city. Nina is generally very positive towards the council and mentions that she bought an apartment in the area because she knew the council did a good job. When I ask her how she feels about climate change, she says that she realizes the reality of the problem but tries to stay positive. She talks about two main approaches, one where it is all a disaster, and we are too late to do anything about it, and the other where we look for solutions. Why would anyone do anything about it if it is too late? She must have hope. She also highlights that the latest election makes it easier to stay positive, where labour won the federal election. When talking about sustainability, she has a very positive view of the council but brings up the problem that this is only one of many councils, and there is a need for more change on a state and federal level. Nina is trying to stay positive and hold on to a hope that she and others can make a difference. For her the local

council is praised and easier to affect, while higher levels of government are again more out of reach. This view has been repeated in several other conversations during my fieldwork. Andrew from the aquatic and recreational centre talked about this council's good policies. However, he highlighted that the higher levels of government has the ability to do a necessary and good job.

In general, residents and workers in Green Square view the council in a very positive light, highlighting that they do an excellent job of bringing in new policies and setting the ground for a good life by maintaining the area. In addition to this, people have the opportunity to affect the council when they wish. An example of this can be seen in the new light poles set up in Joynton Park after residents put forwards the request for a safer park at night. However, how people talk about the state and federal government has a different tone. They wish for them to do more and think they have the power to make a change. Unfortunately, as individuals, all you can do is vote. Thus, when looking at Green Square as a local place or as part of the inner-city council, it is often seen in a positive light and can be seen as sustainable. Nevertheless, when seeing it as part of Australia as a whole or even just Sydney as a whole, the views are no longer as positive, and it might not even be seen as sustainable.

Right before I met Nina in the park, I had a phone interview with another council member, Sara. In a similar manner to Alice, she also believed strongly that she had the power to make a difference. Council can absolutely change policy. The local council is small and close to the community, making it easier to get things through. If the community wants something, the council wants it. When I asked whether the economy affected or set boundaries for what goes through in the council, she said they have a reasonable budget. She used to be in the Maricville council, and a running joke was that their whole budget for a year was the same as the inner city's surplus. She concluded that the cases are connected to the economy, of course, but it does not limit her or set strict boundaries. This shows that councils not only have different desires but also a varying capacity to get these through. In this view, the inner-city council has the ability to be more sustainable based on the fact that they have more money than other councils.

The world and Australia are divided in several different geographical and political places. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2018) has used concepts of scale to study Gladstone, a town in Queensland, that is built on industry and coal. He writes that there is a double bind, a dilemma where any decision is unsatisfactory, of growth and sustainability. Australia is on one hand dependent on coal, on the other, it has a great environmental movement, and the country is clearly affected by climate change. By studying the local scale in Gladstone, he

reveals that people's lifeworlds affect their thoughts and actions on sustainability. Living in a town where almost everyone's life is dependent on the income from the industry of coal, it becomes impossible to go against the industry, and people rather act on climate through other issues, like controlling the amounts of toads, for ecological diversity. If they do go against the industry, it is because they are starting to see effects of it in "their backyard". Eriksen concludes that by studying local scale lifeworlds, anthropologists can contribute to an environmental movement that often studies from "the planet" as a starting point (Eriksen, 2018). Gladstone and Green Square are two different local places to study sustainability in Australia from. Whereas acting for climate in Gladstone is limited by not going against the industry of coal, Green Square stands out as a more openly sustainable place on the first glance. There is a big plan to make Sydney sustainable, but this does again not go against the development of the city. Thus, similarly, in both local places sustainability is tweaked to go with the respective industry or development. Green Square might be seen as more sustainable, because the development is more easily combined with sustainability measures. Green Square is also dependent on the coal produced in other places of Australia, but as it is not produced locally in Sydney it becomes a part of the larger scale, and thus seems more difficult to change. Eriksen (2018) shows that people in Gladstone were disappointed when Greenpeace's ship did not stop in their harbour. Residents stated that Greenpeace did not work on their scale, they focus on saving the planet, but do not care about people living in Gladstone. This shows a contrast to views in Green Square, where sustainability happens on their local level, but the bigger scales are felt like more out of hand.

Sustainability is commonly viewed as something to work towards, whether that is a green, global and connected city or a socially, environmental and economically sustainable world. It is about moving towards something better, thus the feeling of being able to make a difference becomes important. Looking across different scales shows different ideas and feelings about the ability to contribute. As shown in the chapter about lifestyle, a view of sustainability as long term, and the need to take small steps to get there makes actions and ideas resonate and creates a feeling of being able to make a difference on the local scale of lifestyle in the city. In Green Square several people feel like the possibility to change at the scale of local government is at hand, while higher levels of government are out of reach. In contrast people in Gladstone feel like their local place is not important, the focus is on the global issues. While studying sustainability across scale can reveal different feelings of ability to make a difference, it can also expose that what scale a local place is seen as part of can affect views of its sustainability.

Local places can generate different views on sustainability and the chance of making a difference. Setting boundaries of a place also affects the views of sustainability. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) criticize the naturalized connection between culture, a people, and a place. They highlight that the territories of space that cultures are believed to be connected to do not have to be nations (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). They also put forward that different grids than space can map culture, for example, by gender or class, as will be discussed later in this chapter. For now, the focus is on different scales of space. As mentioned, viewing Green Square as part of different scales can change the image of whether it is sustainable. Seeing sustainability as structurally relative, can be compared to the dynamic Evans-Pritchard (1940) explain about the segmentation of the Nuer's political system. The Nuer tribe is broken down in segments, that are again broken down in smaller segments. When going to war the small segment can go against another small segment when they are a part of the same bigger segment. But when a small segment goes against a small segment that is part of another big segment, they unite with their big segments and the war is between the big segments. In the same way if a segment is at war against another tribe, the whole Nuer tribe unite against them. In this way, smaller segments that go against each other at some points, can at another time unite against a bigger segment, and then fight together (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In the same way as the Nuer's identity is structurally relative; sustainability is structurally relative. Seeing Green Square as part of the different scales of government in Australia in a similar pattern can obscure views of sustainability. First Green Square can be seen as a part of the inner-city council. When comparing the inner-city council to other councils in Sydney, they can often be viewed as sustainable. As Sara highlighted, the inner city's budget is grand compared to Marrickville's, thus they have more room to improve. But if we move up to the scale of Australia as a country and see Green Square as part of this, things might look different. Green Square is then united with places like Gladstone, and a part of a country dependent on coal, thus making it look less sustainable. Moving the boundaries of what Green Square is a part of can change whether it is seen as a sustainable place or not.

The Sustainable City as Simultaneously Global and Local

Not only can looking across scales help to understand different views of Green Square as sustainable or not, but it can also reveal the boundaries of Green Square's sustainability. The decision of when Green Square is local and when it is global can be used as part of making it sustainable, while also setting boundaries for how far the sustainability reaches. As shown in the last chapter about lifestyle in Green Square, several local measures are taken to

improve the sustainable lifestyle. These varies from bringing a keep cup, to donation 1% of profit to the rainforest or using recycled wood in the gym. All these measures constitute the possibility of continuing life as normal, with small changes towards sustainability. Even when it is a bigger change, like implementing biking instead of cars, all these sustainability measures are local and adhere to an idea that local measures affect the global environment. Narratives and actions are easy to make resonate in these situations, when sustainability is local, the way from idea about what to do, to accomplish it with actions feel short. The exception is the transition over to biking, where the narrative of a city with easy access though biking, does not cohere as well with people's actions. This is one of the environmental measures that have been more difficult to implement. Except from biking, the other sustainability measures cohere well with people's actions. When it comes to global changes on the other hand, as shown in this chapter, a feeling of not being able to make a difference is commonly present. The narrative of change on a global scale is far removed from the actions for these changes. This contributes to a view where smaller local changes can be accomplished in Green Square, but the bigger issues are outside or out of reach. In this way a limit in Green Squares environmental sustainability is set, in a similar way to Igoe's (2010) endangered species campaign. The way to contribute to a sustainable future is to continue with life as usual, with small sustainable changes. By doing everyday activities like bouldering, one is also contributing to global change, because profit goes to the rain forest or waste is reduced by reusing cups and wood. Thus, what you can do to be sustainable is pretty much continue life as normal, worst case pick up a bike. When action and narrative resonate, a feeling of being able to make a difference occurs and moving across scale can help to reach this resonance. Thereby, peoples feeling of being able to make a difference is reliant on which scale it is possible to make action and narrative resonate.

At the same time as environmental sustainability can be tweaked across different scales, there are problems inherent in social sustainably as simultaneously global and local. Hecht's(2018) concept of interscalar vehicles can help to shed light on scales in sustainable Sydney. She describes interscalar vehicles as "...objects and modes of analysis that permit scholars and their subjects to move simultaneously though deep time and human time, through geological space and political space" (Hecht, 2018, p.135). Hecht argues for studying trough both the Anthropocene and the African Anthropocene, as the former expands vision of time and space, while the latter holds planetary temporality and specific human lives in a single frame, reminding us of who pays the prise for humanities planetary footprint (Hecht, 2018). In the case of Green Square, relations will function as an interscalar vehicle. Relations

is recurring in both the global and connected part of the plan for the sustainable city of Sydney. That is both relationships between individuals, in for example a local community, and relationships between countries.

One day at a café with May and Maria we were talking about the future and living in Australia. Maria told us that she is currently on a five-year visa through her partner. Maria is from Norway and studied in Australia, she told me this can give her a three-year visa to work in Australia after finishing her studies. Her partner is from Hong Kong, and as they have a different deal with Australia, he gets a five-year visa after finishing his studies. This is enough years to get a permanent residency after. Therefore, Maria applied for a partner visa, that she got, and now she can also work for five years, and then get a permanent visa. Maria and her partner currently live in Green Square and have the opportunity to stay in Australia for the future. Looking into not only the relation between Maria and her partner, but also Australia and Hong Kong, helps us move through geographical and political space. Marias partner has moved from far away to Australia but is still connected to Australia and can stay. Other people, coming from countries that might be geographically closer to Australia than Hong Kong, can still be further away from a permanent residency. The relation between Australia and Hong Kong makes the political space closer.

In the plan for “Sustainable Sydney 2030” (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020), three concepts are highlighted in the introduction: Green, Global and Connected. The global part focuses on economic orientation, partnerships, global links and knowledge exchange. The outlook and attitude are global and open-minded. Celebrating a multicultural community is also brought up in the description of the global city (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020). According to a pamphlet handed out at Mirvac’s shop front in Green Square, 56% of the residents in Green Square are born overseas, compared to the 39% in greater Sydney. The average age is 34, compared to 37 in Sydney (Mirvac, 2020). 56% born overseas is a high number, this can be seen in relation to both Australia’s history and policies and plans about the global city. The aim here is not to study why this number is so high, but how these numbers can be considered when planning a community in Green Square.

Creating a community in Green Square is a part of making the city connected. In the plan's introduction, connected is described as easy access by walking, cycling and public transport, but also connected communities through culture and a sense of belonging. This is described in more depth further into the document for the plan for Sustainable Sydney 2030. It becomes clear that the plan focuses on the different villages in Sydney as focal points for community life. Green Square is one of these villages. The villages are developed with a

centre for services and convenience. That includes sports centres, parks, green spaces, libraries, and cycle paths. Words like diverse, welcoming and inclusive are emphasized. In Green Square, an aquatic park and recreational centre and a new library is opened, several parks and green areas are developed, and cycle paths are built (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020).

In this way the plan for Sustainable Sydney changes between Sydney being global and local in a similar way to McDonalds described by Igor (2010). Sydney is global through connections and knowledge exchange, while focusing on creating local communities. The plan chooses when to praise the global or the local. I will argue that there is a conundrum here, and sustainability cannot that easily be switched between local and global without any issues arising. The narrative of Green Square as local and global does not play out as easily in everyday life.

Limits of Sustainability in Place

There is a gap between the plan for Sustainable Sydney and a survey by the University of New South Wales on residents in Green Square. This survey showed that people living in the area felt less like a part of a community compared to other places in Sydney. The majority of residents were not satisfied with the level of social interaction they had with other people living or working in Green Square (Easthope et al., 2020). There is a plan to develop Green Square as a part of a sustainable city. This includes a connected community. The infrastructure is built to constitute this connected community. However, the survey done by UNSW shows that people do not feel like a part of a community in Green Square. Therefore, the City of Sydney is continuing to work on building community in Green Square.

This work is done partly by arranging several events to build community in the area. One of these was a neighbourhood fest. On the day of the event, a lot was happening, varying from music and entertainment in one park to an amazing race through the area and different happenings for families, including drumming in one park and kitemaking in another. The day's highlights were drumming and kitemaking, where several families with children showed up. In contrast, not so many people showed up for the amazing race. The events are organized by the City of Sydney and several policies and rules are followed. The City of Sydney also worked to include people with different backgrounds in the community in Green Square. Another event that was arranged was an umbrella painting to include more people of Chinese origin. Again, several families showed up, and this event was a great success. There is a general trend that families with children attend these events, and they are successful when

catered to this group. However, when the event was for young adults, like the amazing race, few people showed up. There can be several reasons for the participation or lack thereof, but this shows that the event's content matters. The events connect people with similar interests or life situations, not solely people living in the same area.

Even though a lot of the council's work is praised and several of the events are successful, the City of Sydney and other planners in Green Square has been criticized for too much focus on place. This critique is in line Gupta and Ferguson's (1992) critique of culture and space as naturally connected. They write that different grids can map culture, for example, gender, class, race and sexuality. The City of Sydney's work on community building does not reflect this, as it is very much based on location. This is done through, for example, the creation of local villages. Ziller (2004) uses the example of Green Square to show the issues with the idea that community is place-based and how planners tend to see a community in terms of place. She uses a definition of community that highlights the idea of community as people who have things in common, which can be territory, but also interests or other attachments. Ziller argues that the focus on place in planning creates the grounds for planners to focus solely on what they can achieve in one place rather than seeing how they can manage the relationship between places. She highlights that relative inequality affects the health of people in all social classes. Green Square is an example, showing that the difference between rich and poor becomes evident and harmful (Ziller, 2004). The City of Sydney has a plan for Green Square to be connected. This includes travelling by walking, cycling and public transport, connecting and belonging to a local community (Community Strategic Plan 2017-2021, 2020). The connectedness of travel and transport reaches outside of Green Square and connects it with the rest of Sydney, but when it comes to the community, most of the planning is locked to the location of local villages. There is a strong focus on creating a local village centre and creating grounds for the people in the area to connect.

This goes against what several residents mentioned when I asked about their social life. Before Maria, May and I became friends, I asked May in an interview if she knew anyone in the area. She answered that she did not really, she lives with her sister and says hi to some people when she walks her dog, but that is it. Further into the conversation, she could tell me that she has made friends through her work, and they sometimes go to pilates together after work. She also goes to church and has a good network there. None of these takes place in Green Square, but arguably this does not mean that May is not part of any community. On the contrary, she has a community bound by religion and another by work and interest.

Lisa, the lady I met for lunch by the pool in the apartment building we both live in, seemed to have a similar life. When I ask her if she knows anyone in the area, she mentions going to a Christmas party on her floor in the building, but other than that, she just says hi to people she walks by. Through our conversation, she tells me about her busy life, several other friends moving to suburbs close by at the time she moved here, and she grew up not too far away. She does not seem interested in getting to know people in the area. She mentions some obvious practical reasons, but she does not seem to want to invest the time.

In contrast to May and Lisa, Mathew knows quite a few people living in the area. We live in the same building but at opposite ends, and he states that their elevator is more social than ours. He tells me a funny story from the other day when the neighbour next door to him forgot his key. The neighbour knew he had left the door to the balcony open, so he called Mathew so that he could go through his apartment, out to the balcony and climb over to his place. They live on the fourth floor, so Mathew still seemed shaky when telling the story. He also mentions going to the gym at the aquatic park and recreational centre and that he has made some friends there. Mathew is an outgoing and open person, and he seems to know this. He told me that he has some friends that just moved from Waterloo to the Gold Coast, and they had told him that they made friends in their new home within a couple of weeks but never really got to know people in Waterloo. Mathew blamed this on them not taking as much initiative as he does. Through our conversation, Mathew also mentions the events at the library. He has gone there a couple of times but comments that they feel overly constructed.

These examples of residents show that interests and other attachments also play a significant role in people's communities. Some people do not know a lot of other people in Green Square, and even though the survey done by UNSW shows that this is something people are missing, and this should be taken seriously, the answer might not always lay in place. Not everyone has the need to know their neighbours, and they might have a more extensive social network outside of the area. Some people get to know their neighbours, even in a place where this seems difficult, and it can depend on how outgoing the person is. Having common interests that are facilitated in the area, whether that is owning a dog or going to the gym, can help. Sometimes it can be up to chance, May did not use to know anyone in the area, but now she is friends with Maria, and we have been spending much time together. The point is not whether people do or do not know people in the area, but that relations does not have to be built on living in the same local area.

The plan for Sustainable Sydney visualises that people should know others based on living in the same area. Several people mention the idea of knowing your neighbours, like you

do in a neighbourhood, when people live on the same street. Sydney is though not a place like this, it is a place with huge apartment buildings, and knowing all your neighbours would be impossible. You also don't need to know your neighbours in the same way as in a neighbourhood. When you live on a street you might have to plan with the house next to you which colour you are painting the fence. In an apartment building, things like this are handled by the strata and manager in the building. I will argue that putting a plan from a very local place like a neighbourhood onto a global city might not be beneficial. It is important to studying across scales to help see the city for what it is, a combination of global and local, not solely local.

The critique of modernisation theory can help to highlight the issue of seeing Sydney as local and global at the same time. Gardner and Lewis (2015) write that modernisation visualises development as a linear line of progress towards more technologically advanced and “modern” societies. Anthropologists have criticised this view on development, and Gardner and Lewis (2015) highlight that development comes in different shapes and forms. Transitions from one type of society to another cannot be generalised, and local knowledge needs to be considered (Gardner & Lewis, 2015). Learning from these ideas can be helpful in the development of a sustainable city. Even though the case of Sydney is not development of a poorer country forced by frames of the richer country, but rather a rich country developing itself, similar tendencies of forcing frames from one situation over on a different situation are present. Ideas about a neighbourhood in a very local place is forced on a global city. By doing this, actions and narrative do not resonate well, the community is forced across both local and global scale. I argue that one of the reasons community building is an aspect of the sustainable Sydney plan that they struggle to incorporate is because actions and narrative do not resonate.

Locking Green Squares community to a local place sets boundaries for sustainability, both for social and environmental sustainability, but in slightly different ways. By setting Green Square as a local village, the council has laid the ground for several ways to meet people, from more organized events to places that establish other, more organic meetings. These meeting grounds often rely on having more than just a place in common. Family events with activities for children are there for young families. The dog parks are there for dog owners. The aquatic park and recreational centre are there for people with an active lifestyle. The point is not to condemn any of these initiatives, as they are good for people with common interests, but to highlight the need to understand that it is the interest and personal life situation that binds people, not the place. Finding community in the place might be challenging if you do not have any of these interests. The inner-city council focuses on

creating community in smaller places like this and researching it can show one side of the picture. When asking, for example, May or Lisa if they have a community in Green Square, they seemed hesitant, and the answer would be no or not so much. Nevertheless, asking if they have a community in Sydney they are surrounded by networks and friends, the answer would be yes. Alternatively, taking it to a scale of Australia or the world, they would know even more people. May has scheduled phone calls with friends and family in Melbourne every week. A global city, with people moving in from all over the world, needs a different idea about what a community should be, than a neighbourhood with ten houses. Studying sustainability across scale can help shed light on issues like this.

Conclusion

Moving scales of place can reveal different views of sustainability. Seeing Green Square as a small place that is part of the local council can make it look sustainable through several measures taken by the council and residents feeling that they can have a say in the change. It can also portray people's social lives and part-taking in the community as one side of the story. Many people living in Green Square do not know many of their neighbours. When moving the scale up to the level of Australia as a country, the picture is different. The sustainability measures are lacking, and people do not feel they have much say. Simultaneously, it can make the social life of some look better, as a significant portion of people living in Green Square takes part in some community in Australia. People's experience of sustainability is reliant on what scale makes actions and narrative resonate. This can be seen both in the case of environmental and social sustainability. When it comes to environmental sustainability actions and narratives are made to resonate on a local scale, as people feel like a difference can be made. Thereby the plan for a sustainable Sydney is living up to expectations. When it comes to social sustainability, and in this case, the example of community building, the City of Sydney are facing difficulties. Community is forced on a local scale through villages locked to place. This is naturally assumed to go well with Sydney as a global city. It is difficult to follow a narrative of a global city and local communities with actions that resonate with this narrative.

Understanding that people are connected through interests, not just place, and that they have connections on a global scale needs to be considered when planning a sustainable city. Moving across scales can not only reveal a twisting and turning of views of sustainability, but it can also show its limitations. Planning a sustainable area like Green Square can benefit this area a lot. The surroundings, on the other hand, might be affected differently. New developed

apartments are popping up, creating a more considerable distinction to social housing in parts like Waterloo. The inner-city council has good policies on sustainability in the aquatic centre, with biking paths and for people with similar interests to become a part of a community. However, at the border, the bike lanes stop. Issues also arise when environmental sustainability is locked to place. Through lifestyle in the city sustainability becomes local. People feel like they can make a difference on the local scale, but the global is out of reach. Thereby sustainability becomes small steps over time towards a sustainable future, rather than making bigger changes on a global scale. The aim of this chapter has not been to state whether Green Square is sustainable or not but to highlight the importance of moving across scales to understand sustainability. Sustainability is dependent on existing on several scales. Local, state and federal governments are connected, and one specific place cannot be understood unless seen as a part of all these government levels. At the same time, scales must be studied to reveal when they are used to create a view of a good combination of local and global scale, to avoid overlooking issues in this combination. Sustainability is reliant on the scale that make actions and narratives resonate, where people have the feeling of making a difference.

Concluding remarks

Sustainability is twisted and turned. This thesis has looked into different factors that contribute to varying understandings of sustainability and the consequences of these views. Building on six months of ethnographic fieldwork living and partaking in the everyday life of Green Square, while simultaneously speaking with developers of the area, the thesis reveals processes and practices behind sustainability approaches.

Narratives of the past and future are created by different actors. A past where Green Square on one hand consists of empty land ready for development where on the other hand it is important to acknowledge native history and this becomes part of the good development, thus setting the perfect ground for development to continue in the favour of developers. A future where sustainability and development go hand in hand, and the one is needed for the other to thrive. These are of the most common and powerful narratives in the sustainable city. Creating a future where narrative and practise resonates becomes important and there is power in this alignment. For some the narrative and actions does not resonate as easily, while for others it does, and this affects how the city becomes what it is today.

The lifestyle in Green Square is built on a similar combination to narrative and practise, in this instance I write about ideas and actions. The sustainable lifestyle is based on a combination of ideas about sustainability and the actions people perform, these are both formed by individuals and structures. There are several ideas about what a sustainable life is and several ways this is lived out in practice. This complicates the understanding of sustainability to vary in different occasions, thereby it becomes impossible to set a universal standard to state whether something is sustainable or not. Again, it becomes important for ideas and actions to resonate for something to be understood as sustainable.

In the same way as moving across time can twist views of sustainability, moving scales of space can also function to turn conceptions of sustainability. A local place can be seen as sustainable, but when it is incorporated into a bigger scale, views can change, and vice versa. Powerful agents can take advantage of moving across scales to get the best of both worlds. This happens within environmental sustainability, where narratives and actions resonate when sustainability is made local through lifestyle in the city, but global issues are more difficult to follow up with action. When it comes to social sustainability, Green Square is developed as a local village with an idea of a local community, at the same time as it is a part of a global city, with residents from countries far away. It is not necessarily the actual distance that decide how far, in terms of migration, as some countries have better deals than

others. The aim here is to reveal the awkward but naturalized combination of local and global goals. Issues arise when place is taken for granted as a factor to connect people, the idea of a neighbourhood in a local place transported onto a global city can prove to be difficult. I argue that by acknowledging the different scales and thereby building an idea of a sustainable city on the combination, rather than trying to overshadow it, a city that appreciates its local and global aspects can exist.

The most important contribution of this thesis is the notion of not taking for granted truths about sustainability. By understanding ideas of sustainability as constructed narratives with several alternatives, one can recognize inherent issues in the commonly held views. I argue for the need to study narratives and practises alongside ideas and actions and how these are intertwined to create sustainability in Green Square, as this can uncover potential issues in the view of sustainability. The aim is not to state whether something is sustainable or not, but rather to understand what sustainability is in different contexts. In Green Square sustainability is developed, sustainability is a perfect lifestyle and sustainability is local and global.

This thesis seeks to answer the question of which factors are contributing to varying understandings of sustainability, and what are the consequences of these views? By studying narratives and actions of sustainability in the city, the thesis reveals that a sustainable city arises when narrative and action resonate. Studying this resonance or lack thereof has revealed overlooked issues of flooding and lack of public housing, these narratives are not as easily followed with action compared to narratives where development and resilience can handle the problems. Thereby a sustainable city dependent on development arises. Studying the combination of ideas and actions has also revealed sustainability as a term so broad that different actors cannot take responsibility for everything. Narratives of what scale sustainability is on affects people's feelings on whether their actions matter. In Green Square narrative and action resonate well when sustainability is on a local level, as people feel like they are heard by the local council and can affect decisions. In contrast, narrative and action does not resonate as well when sustainability is on a global scale, as the majority of people do not feel like their actions can make a difference. Thus, there is a narrative of the need to tackle sustainability on a high level of government, but no actions to follow this through. In this way responsibility of sustainability action falls on the local scale. Narrative and action resonate when sustainability is moved to a local level, as people feel like they can make a difference, their actions matter, and they live up to the expectations of the narrative. A rift in the sustainability appears when the idea cannot be followed with action. In the case of community in Green Square, issues appear when the idea of a community being local and global

simultaneously does not transfer well into actions of everyday life. Sustainability is made by narratives and ideas in combination with actions and practices. To fully understand what is seen as sustainable and what consequences that has, one needs to understand where narratives come from and the actions they resonate with or are separate from.

The sustainable future is made when narrative and action resonate. These theories are based on research done on the everyday life and planning processes in Green Square but can be compared to wider tendencies of sustainability in the world. Narratives of sustainability necessarily has to be followed by action to become sustainable. Narratives where development and sustainability are co-dependent are easily resonated with action, thus trapping sustainability in a structure of growth. Narratives of issues too big to handle are not as easily followed by action, and often silenced by powerful agents, possibly unconsciously. A problem arises in places like Green Square, where narrative and action resonate on a local level, but not on a global scale. Sustainability is made local though lifestyle in the city, and it becomes local people and council's responsibility to make a difference, as the bigger scales are out of reach. I will go out on a limb and argue that if we cannot make global narratives resonate with actions, sustainability is not big enough to tackle the problems the world is facing today. Powerful agents make narrative and action resonate through unification of development and sustainability on a local level. We need to understand when resonance of narrative and action continues systems of development and growth, as the sustainable future is reliant on other alternatives.

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