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The (dis)ableisation of environmental governance:

A qualitative exploration of the ‘disabling effects’ of Oslo’s climate strategy

Yngve Bråten

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Faculty of Social Sciences

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Abstract

This thesis is a theoretical and empirical exploration of how and why Oslo's climate strategy (OCS) produces or reinforces social difference and inequality in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. Combining feminist poststructural theorization with the everyday lived experiences of 10 (dis)abled people, the thesis demonstrates the ways in which 'disabled subjects' are discursively established, regulated and maintained by OCS. By analysing how OCS intersects in the daily lives of (dis)abled people, the thesis identifies 'disabling barriers' that are produced/reinforced by two interventions in the OCS, namely Car-Free City Life and the use of public transportation. Through the production/reinforcement of disabling barriers, the thesis finds that these interventions are mediating processes of *becoming* 'disabled'. Indeed, the thesis illustrates that the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS stage 'disabled performances' which effectively turn *difference* into *disability* and *disadvantage*. The thesis therefore adds to critical discussions on why and how (dis)ability is at stake in environmental governance.

The thesis coins the term the '(dis)ableisation of environmental governance' to bring into view these subjectification processes and their embodied consequences. In the context of this thesis, the (dis)ableisation of OCS is found to exclude (dis)abled people from Oslo city centre, drain (dis)abled people of time and energy, and force (dis)abled people into polluting modes of travelling. Consequently, the thesis argues that OCS is a conduit of social difference by (unintentionally) producing and cementing social inequalities in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. The thesis therefore proves the importance of interrogating and rendering visible how OCS bounds the possibilities for (dis)abled people's inclusion in, and enjoyment of, Oslo's 'green transformation'. Finally, the thesis proposes an agenda for 'troubling' the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance. The agenda defines six entry points for the dismantling of the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS. As such, the agenda provides a platform for identifying and challenging the ways in which environmental governance both mediates disabled performances and produces/reinforces social inequalities in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. The agenda illustrates that any climate change mitigation and adaptation policies that ignore and exclude the everyday lived experiences of (dis)abled people will be insufficient, unsustainable and unjust.

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Abbreviations

CCMAPs: Climate change mitigation and adaptation policies

CFCL: Car-Free City Life

DPP: Disabled parking permit

DPS: Disabled parking spot

FPE: Feminist political ecology

OCS: Oslo's climate strategy

OFGD: Online focus group discussion

OPS: Ordinary parking spot

OSSI: Online semi-structured interview

PAV: People with ability variation

PNFB: People with norm-functioning bodies

PFPE: Poststructural feminist political ecology

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1. Introduction

“The City Government wants to create a greener and warmer city with room for everyone [by implementing Car-Free City Life]. A city center with less cars make more room for life in the streets and pleasant meeting areas” (Oslo kommune, 2018, para. 1).

We feel discriminated against by Oslo kommune and by Car-Free City Life. In 2019 we filed a complaint against Oslo kommune to Diskrimineringsnemda because we feel that Car-Free City Life discriminates against people that are blind because the initiative prevents us from accessing and using Oslo city centre. (Olaug, informant, my translation¹)

A well-developed and well-functioning public transportation system is an example of a measure that both provides great climate benefits and helps to reduce social disparities. It provides freedom of movement for everyone on equal terms. (Oslo kommune, 2020b, p. 58).

If I take the bus in Oslo, it is absolutely extraordinary because it is so challenging. I have often experienced that I do not get the help I need to get on the bus, that the bus driver does not take out the ramp, that the bus just drives away from me, that there are many prams preventing me from getting onboard, that there are people with large suitcases who occupy wheelchair spaces, that the ramp is stuck, that I get asked if I can take another bus or that I am being told that it is better for me if I take a taxi. So, I stopped taking the bus. (Susan, informant)

¹ All subsequent quotes from Norwegian sources (including informants) are translated by me, if not otherwise noted.

The quotes above indicate that what constitutes a ‘green’ and inclusive city is highly contested. A city that replaces private cars with buses, street art, bicycle lanes and flowers might be a joyful, inspiring and liberating place for some. Yet, the same city might be experienced as unreachable by others, a city that induces anxiety and uncertainty and that prevents people from accessing basic services and democratic institutions.

This thesis is a poststructural exploration of the inherently political, power-laden, embodied and emotional aspects of climate change mitigation and adaptation policies (CCMAPs). I claim that CCMAPs are not neutral and apolitical responses to the threats of climate change. Rather, CCMAPs are grounded in discourses that are made up of specific norms, values and practices that influence and legitimize certain perspectives, voices, bodies and actions over others (MacGregor, 2014). Hence, I understand environmental governance as a contested socio-political process, often with obscure and diverging outcomes in people’s everyday lives (Eriksen et al., 2015; Tschakert, 2012). The overall objective of this thesis is to add theoretical and empirical depth to critical scholarship analysing how, and with what consequences, CCMAPs intersect and entwine in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people². I am doing so by exploring the ‘on the ground’ and embodied consequences of Oslo’s climate strategy in the everyday lives of 10 people that are blind or using wheelchairs.

My thesis is inspired by feminist scholars arguing that there is a need to critically examine what constitutes ‘appropriate’ mitigation and adaptation responses to the urgency of climate change (Eriksen et al., 2015; Israel & Sachs, 2012). Recent feminist literature moves away from situating research on climate change risks and vulnerabilities within analyses of climate. This literature asserts that both climate risks, and people’s vulnerabilities to these risks, are rooted in, and mediated by, the messiness of political, institutional, economic and social structures and changes (Nightingale, 2017; O’Brien et al., 2007). Thus, feminist scholars assert that CCMAPs should be conceptualized explicitly as a contested social-political process, and that research on what constitutes ‘appropriate’ CCMAPs should be situated within analyses of societies and political

² I deliberately use the terms (dis)ability and (dis)abled people in this thesis to designate the socially constructed hierarchies, practices and performances which categorize and value bodies based on dominant discourses of ability and disability (Schalk, 2017). I further unpack the term (dis)ability on pages 23-25.

economies (Eriksen et al., 2015). In other words, CCMAPs “must be seen as part *of* the dynamics of societies rather than simply being a technical adjustment to biophysical change *by* society” (Eriksen et al., 2015, p. 524).

Indeed, current feminist scholarship is critiquing dominant approaches to environmental governance that are rendering the issue of climate change as both universal, technical and distant, instead of differentiated, social and embodied (Dyck, 2005; Elmhirst, 2015). For example, feminist political ecology (FPE) has taken a critical stance against the ways in which CCMAPs are framed by postpositivist and modernist notions of objective knowledge, control and efficiency (Nagoda & Nightingale, 2017). FPE scholars stress that such a framing of climate change mitigation and adaptation often results in policies that effectively ignore issues of social inequality and everyday ‘on the ground’ complexities and livelihood struggles (Tschakert, 2012; Tschakert et al., 2013). This is alarming considering that an increasing body of literature concludes that ‘socially blind’ CCMAPs run the risk of producing or reinforcing social inequalities, problematic subject positions and social hierarchies (Gonda, 2016). Consequently, feminist scholars argue that what is seen as positive climate action by some may be experienced as ‘maladaptation’ by others (Gonda, 2019; Magnan et al., 2016; Taylor, 2013). What counts as ‘appropriate’ climate change mitigation and adaptation is thus always political and contested (Eriksen et al., 2015). FPE therefore asserts that responses to the threat of climate change should not only be understood as a biophysical issue but also as an urgent social justice issue. As argued by Klinsky et al., “In a world characterized by vast disparities of wellbeing, it is naive and dangerous to analyse climate policies (or the lack of them) without considering how humans in starkly different structural positions are affected by them differently” (2017, p. 171).

For the past three decades, social scientists, often spearheaded by feminist scholars, have consistently dealt with questions of equity, informality, vulnerability and marginalisation to address the pervasive social blind spots of CCMAPs. “This budding scholarship explicitly queries adaptation for whom, by whom and at what cost” (Henrique & Tschakert, 2020, p. 2). Yet, while knowledge on barriers and limits to socially inclusive climate action is substantial, researchers have failed to adequately examine how, why and where these barriers and limits materialize in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people (Bell et al., 2020). As argued by Gaskin et al., “Despite

composing about 15% of the world's population (WHO 2011), representations of the interests of people with disabilities are comparatively absent from climate change discourses" (2017, p. 802). Or, as stated by Eriksen et al., (forthcoming): "Remarkably little has been written about climate change and disability in academic literature". This knowledge gap is critical as governments and other authorities are increasingly designing and implementing CCMAPs that have a direct impact on (dis)abled people's everyday lives, often with contradictory and unpredictable outcomes. Hence, Bell et al. argue that it is urgent that scholars and policymakers alike make "greater efforts to understand and raise the profile of impairment and disability within climate change adaptation discourses, policies and practices" (2020, p. 683).

In this thesis I bring the above discussion to Oslo and the city's ongoing 'green transformation'. Driving this transformation is the *Climate Strategy for Oslo towards 2030*, adopted by Oslo kommune in May 2020. Arguably the most ambitious target in the Oslo's climate strategy (OCS) is the objective of a 95% reduction in Oslo's greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2030³ (Oslo kommune, 2020a). Simultaneously, OCS emphasizes that Oslo's 'green transformation' will not only benefit the climate, it will also benefit all people living in the city. Especially, the strategy claims that Oslo's green transformation will help to reduce social inequalities and increase the wellbeing of Oslo's residents (Oslo kommune, 2020a). For example, the strategy emphasizes that 'social sustainability' is part and parcel of the climate strategy and that social justice has been a key consideration when specific mitigation/adaptation interventions have been designed and implemented. Guided by both the environmental and social objectives of the climate strategy, Oslo is set to undergo dramatic changes for the coming ten years. Indeed, from the climate strategy it is evident that Oslo's green transformation entails changes in infrastructure, technologies, social institutions and behaviours, as well as people's cognitive frames and value systems.

Yet, as of today, few analyses have been conducted with the intent to explore how and why Oslo's green transformation can (unintentionally) produce or reinforce social inequalities. Moreover, no qualitative analysis has been conducted to address the ways in which Oslo's ambitious climate strategy is experienced by (dis)abled people living in Oslo. It is within this context that my master thesis is situated.

³ Compared with 2009 levels.

1.1 The aim of this study

Through the engagement with feminist poststructural theories, my thesis serves both a critical and a liberatory function. Firstly, the overall aim of this thesis is to critically analyse the extent to which Oslo's climate strategy (OCS), represented by the two interventions 'Car-Free City Life' (CFCL) and the use of public transportation, produces/reinforces social difference and inequality. This analysis is led by the exploration of how and why these two interventions produce/reinforce 'disabling barriers' and what the consequences of these disabling barriers are for people that are blind⁴ and wheelchair users in their everyday lives. This matters, because OCS might, unintentionally, produce/reinforce disabling barriers that further the exclusion, marginalisation and oppression of (dis)abled people (Schalk, 2017). In this thesis I seek to assess the effects of these disabling barriers in the everyday lives of my informants. Specifically, my aim is to address a blind spot in contemporary scholarship and by adding theoretical and empirical insights to analyses of how CCMAPs perpetuate systems of 'disabled othering' through the mediation of disabled performances and the construction of the 'disabled subject'. In other words, my thesis proceeds from feminist concerns centred around the differentiating, discriminatory and potential *disabling effects* of environmental governance.

Secondly, my aim is to pluralize knowledge about what constitutes 'appropriate' CCMAPs in Oslo. I add to discussions of how socially constructed barriers restricting (dis)abled people's life choices can be challenged by drawing on the lived experiences and situated knowledges of my informants. By exposing the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS it becomes possible to articulate and challenge their marginalizing effects. Hence, my aim is to answer the following call from Minich (2016, para. 6): "I must emphasize that this scrutiny of normative ideologies should occur not for its own sake but with the goal of producing knowledge in support of justice for people with stigmatized bodies and minds". This is the liberatory function of my thesis.

I should stress that the concerns addressed by Oslo's climate strategy are real and immediate. Certainly, I am not rejecting or seeking to cast doubt upon biophysical scientists' findings about the anthropocentric causes and drivers of climate change. However, and as I argue throughout this

⁴ Blindness is defined as "visual acuity of less than 3/60, or a corresponding visual field loss to less than 10°, in the better eye with the best possible correction" (WHO, 2007, p. 1).

thesis, rethinking (but not dismissing) the rationale that steers the formulation of CCMAPs is urgently needed (Israel & Sachs, 2012). I contend that foregrounding analyses of the social dimensions of CCMAPs in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people allows for a just and productive vantage point for devising socially inclusive and equitable responses to the threats of climate change, both in Oslo and beyond.

1.2 Research questions

Based on the above, I have formulated the following research questions:

1. How do people that are blind and wheelchair users experience Oslo's climate interventions related to 'Car-Free City Life' and the use of public transportation (bus)?
 - To what extent are people that are blind and wheelchair users able to access, use and enjoy 'Car-Free City Life' and public transportation (bus)?
 - Does Oslo's climate strategy ensure that blind people and wheelchair users can be 'green citizens' on an equal basis with other groups of people in the city?
2. Does Oslo's climate strategy entrench existing, or produce new, subjectivities in relation to (dis)abled bodies?
3. What are the consequences of this subjectification in the everyday lives of blind people/wheelchair users in Oslo?
 - To what extent do blind people/wheelchair users accept or resist such subjectivities? What are the implications of such acceptance/resistance?
 - How can problematic subjectivities produced/reinforced by Oslo's climate strategy be subverted and transformed?

1.3 Disposition

In what follows I first introduce Oslo's climate strategy and delimit the specific aspects and interventions of the strategy that are the focus of my thesis. In chapter 3 I present my theoretical framework, which is a poststructural exploration and theorization of how and why 'disabled subjects' are constructed through environmental governance. The theoretical framework is enthused by feminist political ecology and critical disability studies and interrogates how CCMAPs produce or reinforce 'discursive fields', 'disabling barriers' and 'disabled performances'. Specific attention is given to different ways that CCMAPs might produce and cement social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people over time and context. In chapter 4 I define my theory of knowledge and elaborate on how and why my epistemology delimits my methodology and choice of research methods. I also contextualise my research journey and reflect on how this journey has been impacted by Covid-19. In chapter 5 I discuss the findings of my analysis. I do so by firstly presenting the ways that 'disabled subjects' become salient, are claimed/resisted, and are made relevant/irrelevant as my informants take the bus and/or access CFCL. I then explore how Oslo's climate strategy produces/reinforces social inequalities in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. I close chapter 5 by proposing an agenda for poststructural politics of change that sets out to trouble a trend that a coin the '(dis)ableisation of environmental governance'. The final chapter concludes.

2 Background: Oslo's climate strategy

In 2030 Oslo will be a city with almost no emissions of greenhouse gases. Oslo's transition to a climate-adapted, zero-emission city will help create a healthy, pleasant and well-run city with a low level of social inequality and cleaner air and water (Oslo kommune, 2020a, p. 3).

The City of Oslo has a stated objective to become a climate robust, zero-emission and socially inclusive society. Driving this 'green transformation' is the *Climate Strategy for Oslo towards 2030 (the climate strategy)*, adopted by the City of Oslo in May 2020. Building on *The Climate and Energy Strategy* and *The Climate Adaptation Strategy* from 2015 and 2016, the new climate strategy comprises five targets (and 16 sub-targets) for Oslo's work on climate change mitigation and adaptation (Box 1) (Oslo kommune, 2020a). Arguably the most ambitious target in the new climate strategy is the objective of a 95% reduction in Oslo's direct greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2030, compared with 2009 (target 1). In other words, in less than 10 years, Oslo aims to become a city with close to zero (direct) GHG emissions.

Box 1: The five targets in Oslo's Climate Strategy

Target 1: 95% reduction in Oslo's greenhouse gas emissions by 2030, compared with 2009

Target 2: Management of Oslo's natural areas to protect carbon storage in vegetation and soil, and to increase sequestration of GHG in forests and other vegetation leading up to 2030

Target 3: 10% reduction in total energy consumption in Oslo by 2030, compared with 2009

Target 4: Oslo's capacity to withstand climate change is strengthened towards 2030, and the city develops so that it can withstand the changes expected leading up to 2100

Target 5: Oslo's impact on GHG emissions outside the City are significantly lower in 2030 than in 2020

Source: Oslo kommune (2020a, p. 2).

Oslo's climate strategy (OCS) spells out a range of interventions for the city to implement over the coming decade to reach its climate objectives. These interventions are further defined and outlined in a series of governance documents titled *Oslo's climate budget*⁵. Oslo's climate budget for 2021 comprises of a total of 45 interventions, including 21 activities that lay the foundations for further emissions reductions, such as '*Climate communication targeting children and adolescents*' (Oslo kommune, 2021).

2.1 The social dimension of the climate strategy

Oslo is set to undergo dramatic changes for the coming ten years as the city implements its ambitious climate strategy. Indeed, from the climate strategy it is evident that Oslo's green transformation entails changes in infrastructure, technologies, social institutions, behaviours and consumption patterns, as well as people's cognitive frames and value systems. Thus, and as stated by the climate strategy, "Transforming Oslo into a zero-emission city in just one decade is a major challenge" (Oslo kommune, 2020a, p. 3).

Reading through Oslo's climate strategy, and other relevant documents, it is arguable that Oslo's green transformation is by and large driven by technical and managerial efforts to mitigate GHG emissions and adapt the city to future changes in biophysical conditions. That said, the strategy does emphasize that Oslo's green transformation will not only benefit the climate, it will also benefit all people living in the city. For example, the strategy claims that Oslo's green transformation will help to reduce social inequalities. The climate strategy also mentions that 'social sustainability' and social justice have been key considerations guiding the design and implementation of specific mitigation/adaptation interventions (Oslo kommune, 2020b). Yet, exactly how the climate strategy will reduce social inequalities is not accounted for. Nor is it clear how social justice considerations have been built into the proposed interventions. Neither OCS, nor any supporting documentation, include dedicated sections or in-depth discussions on the social dimensions of its green transformation. The marriage between environmental and social considerations in OCS therefore seems rather forced and not grounded in scientific inquiry. For

⁵ The climate budgets are published on an annual basis.

example, OCS states that its green transformation will be guided by ‘The Oslo Model for Just Transformation’ and that Oslo kommune plans to establish a ‘Council for Just Transformation’. However, no information is provided as to what the Oslo Model for Just Transformation entails, nor is there any information available online detailing the scope and objectives of the planned Council for Just Transformation.

In 2018 Klimaetaten was commissioned by Oslo kommune to develop a ‘faggrunnlag’ for the new climate strategy. The result of the faggrunnlag is synthesized in the report *Klimaetatens faggrunnlag til klimastrategi 2030*. Here Klimaetaten emphasizes that Oslo’s transformation to a zero-carbon society can be experienced as very demanding for certain groups of people living in the city. Specifically, Klimaetaten (2019, p. 65) advises Oslo kommune to

put in place measures and instruments so that they do not contribute to increasing social inequality or affect disadvantaged groups. By actively assessing the impact of social justice in the preparation of measures and instruments, adverse effects can be reduced or avoided.

However, and as mentioned above, it seems that potential negative social consequences, and promising remedies, of Oslo’s climate ambitions are rendered invisible in the new climate strategy (and related documents). For instance, Oslo’s climate strategy (2020b) only refers to ‘disabled’ people twice by loosely stating that necessary considerations must be given to the mobility for people with disability when parking spots are removed from Oslo city centre (see ‘Car-Free City Life below). This lack of attention to (dis)ability is worrisome as many of the interventions implemented through Oslo’s climate strategy intersect in the lives of (dis)abled people, often with unknown and obscure consequences.

That said, my thesis is not a discourse analysis of Oslo’s climate strategy. Rather, my goal is to explore how OCS is experienced by a selected group of (dis)abled people in their everyday lives. More specifically, in this thesis I zoom in on two specific climate interventions that Oslo kommune is currently implementing as part of its green transformation, namely ‘Car-Free City Life’ (CFCL) and the use of public transportation. I have chosen to zoom in on these two interventions as they both have clear implications in the everyday lives of my informants, as I explain further below.

Additionally, both interventions have explicit social objectives on top of the goal of mitigating GHG emissions. I thus believe that both CFCL and the use of public transportation serve as good cases enabling me to analyse the material, emotional and social consequences of Oslo's climate strategy in the everyday lives of my informants. Further, CFCL and the use of public transportation are climate interventions that are intimately linked. Indeed, incentivizing people to leave their car behind and rather use public transportation is considered a key element in CFCL. The use of public transportation, in the context of this thesis, is as such part and parcel of CFCL.

That said, due to the limited scope of this study I am only investigating the ways in which my informants experience taking the bus and the challenges/opportunities they face in the process of *accessing* Oslo city centre (CFCL). Accordingly, I am not analysing my informants' everyday lived experiences as they use the metro and/or tram, or when they are walking/rolling/scooting around in CFCL.

In what follows I briefly outline the overall objectives of CFCL, including Oslo's vision and ambition for people's use of public transportation.

2.2 Car-Free City Life (CFCL)

“For far too long, cities have been built for cars, including Oslo. The Car-free Livability Programme is all about giving the streets back to people” (Oslo kommune, 2019a, p. 1).

This quote captures the main objective of CFCL, namely to create a city centre where pedestrians and cyclists take precedence over private cars. As stated by Oslo kommune (Oslo kommune, 2018, para. 8):

The primary focus is to improve city life, and reducing traffic from private cars is used as means to achieve this. Freed areas previously occupied by cars can be used by the municipality, organizations, businesses and inhabitants to everything from outside dining, culture activities, art, bicycle stands or playgrounds.

CFCL stresses that removing *all* cars from Oslo city centre is not feasible nor realistic. For example, Oslo kommune states that “we take into account those who depend on using cars to access the city centre. Therefore, many of the reclaimed parking spaces have been made available for goods deliveries, tradesmen working in the city and the disabled” (Oslo kommune, 2019a, p. 4).

The CFCL was rolled out in 2016, covering approximately 1.3 km² of Oslo city centre (see Appendix B, photo 2). Since the implementation in 2016, several changes have occurred in the city space targeted by CFCL. For example, the *Plan of Action for the Car-free Livability Programme 2018 and 2019* includes a total of 40 ‘CFCL interventions’, and the programme will expand to include core areas of Tøyen and Grønland over the coming few years. The ‘CFCL interventions’ can be roughly categorised as follows:

- *Parking spots*: Since 2016, CFCL has removed approx. 760 parking spots in Oslo city centre. The vacated parking spots has been used for measures aimed at increasing urban life, to increase the number of disabled parking spots, as well as increasing opportunities for commercial parking (delivery of goods and services). The number of disabled parking spots has increased from 87 in 2016 to 126 in 2019 (Oslo kommune, 2019a).
- *Changed driving patterns* and closed streets for car traffic.
- *New street functions*, such as more pedestrian streets and ‘pedestrian friendly urban spaces’.
- *Recreation*, such as new urban furniture.
- *Art and culture in the city centre*, such as markets days, exhibitions, festivals and seminars.

Oslo kommune has not been able to quantify the reduction in GHG emissions resulting from CFCL. Still, CFCL is considered as an example of how OCS is working towards a city that is both greener and ‘warmer’ (socially inclusive). In relation to the latter, Oslo kommune states that CFCL

will ensure that Oslo city centre will be a better and more accessible place for everyone, regardless of ability and age. Indeed, Oslo kommune (2019a, p. 24) explicitly states that

[...] the city needs to improve how it facilitates for people with disabilities. Better accessibility for people with disabilities is a priority for the Car-free Livability Programme. The number of disabled parking spaces in the city centre has increased from 83 to around 130 in 2019. The City of Oslo works closely with the Norwegian Association of Disabled regarding the number and distribution of these spaces.

Related to above quote, CFCL is obligated to ensure that Oslo city centre is a space that is accessible and ‘usable’ for all in accordance to laws and regulations for universal design (see Appendix A). However, the extent to which CFCL is *actually* making Oslo city centre ‘warmer’ for (dis)abled people is unknown. For example, two evaluations of CFCL have been conducted, yet none of these evaluations investigate how CFCL has impacted the everyday lives of (dis)abled people, nor do the evaluations consider whether or not CFCL is universally designed.

2.3 Public transportation

Transport accounted for around half of Oslo's direct emissions of greenhouse gases in 2018, with emissions from private cars accounting for 24% of total GHG emissions in the city (Oslo kommune, 2020b). Thus, the climate strategy stresses that the rapid phasing out of fossil-fuelled vehicles is essential for the achievement of Oslo’s climate goals (Oslo kommune, 2019b).

Four out of the 16 target areas in Oslo’s climate strategy are directly linked to reducing emissions from transportation. Of relevance to this thesis is target area 3 (box 2), and Oslo’s ambitions to reduce the use of private cars and to further incentivise people to use public transportation. As stated by the climate strategy: Oslo kommune works toward making public transport increasingly attractive compared to private cars, and find new solutions that increase customers' freedom of movement and create a real alternative to owning and using your own car (Oslo kommune, 2020a, p. 34). As with CFCL, the use of public transportation is defined as an intervention that will not only benefit the climate, but also all of Oslo’s residents:

A well-developed and well-functioning public transport is an example of a measure that both provides great climate benefits and helps to reduce social disparities. It provides freedom of movement for everyone on equal terms. The results of the transition to a 'zero-emission society', in the form of, among other things, better air and less noise, also contribute to reduced social differences (Oslo kommune, 2020b, p. 58).

Box 2: Target area 3 in Oslo's climate strategy

Target area 3: Walking, cycling and public transport will be the preferred modes of travel in Oslo. Vehicle traffic will be reduced by 20 per cent by 2023 and by one-third by 2030 compared with 2015.

Source: Climate Strategy for Oslo towards 2030

In conjunction with Oslo's climate strategy, Ruter, the company administering Oslo's public transportation, developed its overall strategy document for the coming years, titled *Målbilde for bærekraftig bevegelsesfrihet*. While both Oslo kommune and Ruter state that they are working towards making public transportation accessible and useable for all, scant attention is provided to both the needs and challenges of (dis)abled people, as well as universal design. Indeed, the climate strategy makes only one reference to the need for a universally designed public transportation system in Oslo (Oslo kommune, 2020b).

2.4 Some notes on the limitations of my case

The climate budget for 2021 consists of a total of 45 climate interventions. Thus, zooming in on two interventions necessarily omits important insights that would otherwise have been generated by exploring how other interventions in the strategy might produce/reinforce social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people.

It is also important to stress that Oslo's climate strategy aligns with the City of Oslo's overarching strategies for future development in the city (*Planstrategi for Oslo kommune*). Hence, OCS does

not operate in isolation from other policies and planning processes. While these policies and planning processes have been accounted for, they are not the focus of my thesis. Furthermore, the climate strategy must adhere to several laws and regulations, both pertaining to the rights of people with disabilities and universal design. Yet, I do not explore the legal ramifications of OCS here as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to review laws and formal regulations. In other words, I am not analysing the extent to which laws and regulations pertaining to universal design and/or the rights of (dis)abled people are violated by OCS and CFCL. Appendix A briefly highlights the ways selected laws and regulations matter in terms of securing the rights and wellbeing of (dis)abled people in Oslo's green transformation. I further discuss limitations of my research project in the chapter on methodology.

3 Theory

3.1 Setting the stage

My thesis is dressed in feminist poststructuralist couture. Indeed, the main premises of my theoretical framework are that humans are fundamentally historical and cultural beings and that knowledge of ourselves and the world is always partial and situated. I assert that an external reality exists, but that the understanding of this reality is historically contingent and interpreted through a person's social, political and cultural values (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). In other words, our “knowledge and representations of the world are not reflections of the reality ‘out there’, but rather are products of our ways of categorising the world, or, in discursive analytical terms, products of discourse” (Gergen, 1985, cited in Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 5). I therefore contend that discourses shape our worldviews; what we see, what we do, what ought to be and what we aspire to become. Over time, these patterns of seeing and doing become habitual, tempting us to believe that some practices, objects, events, bodies and phenomena are normal and correct, and others not (Butler, 1999).

To unpack how and why my above ontological postulations matter for my thesis, I start this chapter by situating my thesis in poststructural feminist political ecology (PFPE). I do so by discussing PFPE's critical stance against ‘taken for granted knowledge’ followed by a brief poststructural feminist exploration of power, subjectivity and how social inequalities are produced and cemented by CCMAPs. I then a turn to critical disability studies (CDS) and theorizations of the ‘disabling effects of society’ and the social construction of the ‘disabled’. Together, I use PFPE and CDS to set the stage for a more in-depth poststructural investigation of “how the performative is implicated in processes of subjectivation—in ‘who’ the subject is, or might be, subjectivated as” (Youdell, 2006, p. 511). More specifically, I immerse myself in Judith Butler's theory of performativity and the idea that the subject is a performative (re)materialization of its social environment (Butler, 1999). Following this ‘deep dive’, I revert to PFPE and introduce the analytical lenses of space, intersectionality, ‘the everyday’ and emotionality with the intention to add theoretical layers to Butler's performative postulations. Together, I use insights from PFPE, CDS and the work of Judith Butler to theorize how and why disabled subjects are constructed in and through

environmental governance, what the consequences of this construction are for (dis)abled people in their everyday lives, and how these subjectivities can be subverted and transformed.

3.2 Knowledge and power in poststructural feminist political ecology

My theoretical framework builds on feminist scholarship evidencing that CCMAPs are grounded in discourses that are made up of norms, values, language and practices that influence and legitimize certain perspectives, bodies, values and actions over others (MacGregor, 2014). Over the last decades feminist poststructural scholars have demonstrated the ways in which CCMAPs are rooted in particular ways of making sense of the world and the people inhabiting it (Eriksen et al., 2015). As stated by Eriksen et al. (2015, p. 526):

Yet any adaptation decision, whether made by an individual adjusting his or her livelihood strategy, or a policy maker designing formal adaptation strategies, is the product of prioritizing some interests over others, privileging and experiencing some biophysical changes over others, hearing some voices and ignoring others. These processes of prioritization and exclusion necessarily have positive and negative effects distributed socially, spatially and through time.

PFPE scholars take a critical stance towards ‘taken for granted’ knowledge and question what kinds of knowledges are considered ‘true’ and ‘accurate’ in the domain of environmental governance (Elmhirst, 2011, 2015). PFPE draws attention to the interconnections between knowledge and power, and challenges the explicit and implicit language, values, judgements and contestations that ‘set the stage’ for how climate change is framed and addressed. PFPE scholars are continually recognizing that all knowledge about climate change reflects a situated and partial perspective (Israel & Sachs, 2012). Hence, PFPE contributes with conceptual and empirical insights into how discourses shape how climate change is defined and studied, as well as the type of CCMAPS that are identified and prioritized (Elmhirst, 2011). For example, PFPE makes clear that the production of knowledge about climate change and proper adaptation responses is “intimately tied to the political and social ordering that accompanies that knowledge-making” (Hulme, 2010, cited in Eriksen et al., 2015, p. 528). In other words, knowledges about what climate

change is and how to adapt to biophysical changes is not neutral and objective, but historically contingent and interpreted through individual's and collective's worldviews (Eriksen et al., 2015).

In its commitment to historically constituted and situated knowledges, PFPE reiterates Donna Haraway's critique of 'the scientific ideal' of absolute, universal knowledge as a "god trick of seeing everything from nowhere" (1988, p. 581). In this sense, PFPE answers Haraway's call to stand up against the "visualizing tricks and powers of modern sciences and technologies that have transformed the objectivity debates" (1988, p. 582). Indeed, PFPE continues to emphasize that power and politics are part and parcel of environmental governance and CCMAPs (Eriksen et al., 2015; Gonda, 2016).

To exemplify the above, PFPE scholars have been successful in demonstrating that dominant climate change discourses are rooted in hegemonic western ways of viewing the world, and moulded by masculinist ideologies of domination, control, and objective and value-free knowledge (Israel & Sachs, 2012). As a result, PFPE finds that technical-scientific CCMAPs risk reinforcing capitalist, colonialist, and patriarchal power structures that serve to reinforce segregation, inequality and socio-economic vulnerability (Eriksen et al., 2015; Israel & Sachs, 2012). PFPE scholars contend that CCMAPs solely embedded in technical-scientific discourses are 'disconnected' from the embodied and detached from everyday life experiences of different groups of people. Tschakert et al. (2013) and Nagoda (2015), for example, illustrate that technical-scientific approaches to environmental governance in practice promote CCMAPs that neglect the social dimensions and 'on the ground' complexities of climate change mitigation and adaptation. Consequently, these CCMAPs run the risk of producing/reinforcing social inequalities and vulnerability patterns. As such, PFPE highlights that climate change should not only be understood as a biophysical issue but also an urgent social justice issue. As argued by Klinsky et al., "In a world characterized by vast disparities of wellbeing, it is naive and dangerous to analyse climate policies (or the lack of them) without considering how humans in starkly different structural positions are affected by them differently" (2017, p. 171).

This critical stance towards knowledge does not mean that more technoscientific understandings of climate change should be abandoned altogether. Rather, the feminist project of situating and

pluralizing knowledge about climate change entails exposing the assumptions and limitations of the discourses in which CCMAP are grounded (Israel & Sachs, 2012). It also means creating spaces for new knowledges about how CCMAPs intersect in people's lives and allowing knowledges from different social (and geographical) locations to shape environmental governance at different scales (Bee, 2016; Bee et al., 2015).

Before continuing my exploration of PFPE I take two conceptual steps back and define *discourse* and *power*.

3.2.1 Discourse

I posit an exploration and understanding of discourse from a Foucauldian point of view. I have purposefully chosen to utilize Foucault's definition of discourse in this thesis as Foucault understands discourse to consist of both text (language) and practice (Foucault, 1977; Wandel, 2009). Foucault's approach to discourse has been summarized as "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs, and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (Lessa, 2006, p. 285). The Foucauldian notion of discourse, therefore, encompasses both the production of meaning and systems of representation through language and practice. Thus, discourses define and produce the objects of our knowledge (Downing, 2008; Schrift, 2018; Wandel, 2009). This means, Foucault, argues, that discourses shape our worldviews and the way that ideas are put into practice and materialized. This does not mean that there is no real existence to an object. Rather, Foucault argues that objects have no real meaning outside discourse. The concept of discourse, then, draws attention to the meanings and practices that are attached to an object, and how these meanings and practices become institutionalized at various levels in society (Downing, 2008; Foucault, 1977; Wandel, 2009).

3.2.2 Power

Power is a slippery concept. Indeed, the "literature on power is marked by deep, widespread, and seemingly intractable disagreements over how the term power should be understood" (Allen, 2016, para. 2). Following Ahlborg & Nightingale (2018), I understand 'power' as being relational,

emergent and productive. Importantly, my understanding of power retains an analytical distinction between human agency and what Foucault theorises as ‘constitutive power’ – power which works through discourses and disciplining institutions and which constitute actors and the social worlds in which they act (Allen, 2016). Yet, analytical distinction aside, I contend that it is the interplay between agency and the constitutive that is interesting as this interplay enables and constrains actors’ exercise of power. This approach to power, then, “provides a strong argument for not choosing one of the two conceptions, but rather, staying clear that power is relational, emergent and contingent in both of them, and then, actively working with the tension between them without conflating them” (Ahlborg & Nightingale, 2018, p. 387). In more simple terms, I assert that power is exercised through social relations which are situated in, and mediated by, discourses and disciplining institutions. I don’t deny the repressive functions of power, but by stating that power is productive I contend, in accordance with Foucault, that “power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1979, cited in Wandel, 2009, p. 374).

The emergent nature of power means that power cannot be held, possessed and neatly directed. Rather, power is dynamic and “produced in encounters between spaces, actors, discourses, institutions, knowledges and practices, across multiple levels [...] its outcomes [are] uncertain and ambiguous” (Ahlborg & Nightingale, 2018, p. 387). I assert that it is in these encounters that power is “exercised, internalized, resisted and transformed in relation to other humans, artifacts and the natural world” (Ahlborg & Nightingale, 2018, p. 388). Thus, power is always ‘placed’ and can be understood as a situated and embodied practice. Hence, my conception of power breaks with the agency/discourse dichotomy. That said, I would like to stress that the agency that I advocate does not presume freedom from discursive regimes. As explained by Davies and Gannon (2005, p. 313),

[agency] lies in the capacity to recognize that constitution as historically specific and socially regulated, and thus as able to be called into question. Agency is contingent on the discourses at play and on our positioning within them (Davies, 2008). Not only are we constituted through multiple and contradictory discourses, but how those discursive positionings are read opens up or closes down the possibility of agency.

I revisit the agency/discourse discussion further below when I discuss Butler's theory of performativity.

Moving forward I mobilize the concept of *subjectivity* as a theoretical lens to conceptualize the effects of power in environmental governance. Specifically, and as I explain below, I employ the concept of 'subjectivity' to capture how the operation of power in and through environmental governance produces both 'disabled subjects' and social differentiation.

3.3 Subjectivity and the production of inequality

As stated by Pile & Thrift, there are "forests of literature on the subject" (1995, p. 1). Contemporary theorisations of the subject and subjectivity often involve "the negotiation of a whole series of interconnected terms such as the body, the self, identity and the person" (Longhurst, 2003, p. 284). This has led to ambiguous, sometimes evasive and contested definitions of *the subject* (Longhurst, 2003). Below I cut a narrow path through this forest of literature on the subject by yet again turning my attention to PFPE.

My theoretical framework is inspired by PFPE scholars theorizing how "subjects emerge relationally [in environmental governance] from the exercise of power via dominant discourses and practice, and the internalization, resistance and ultimately re-expression of those discourses and practices" (Eriksen et al., 2015, p. 528). This work brings to view how CCMAPs, as discursive regimes, construct subjects and subject positions for different groups of people to take up, bounding the possibilities for agency as well as inclusion in mitigation and adaptation processes (Nightingale, 2011, 2013). As stated by Eriksen et al. "A focus on subjectivity therefore brings into view two crucial processes within climate change adaptation: how individuals come to be positioned in relation to adaptation efforts and how people understand themselves within those processes" (2015, p. 528).

In essence, 'subjectification' refers to the processes whereby subjects come into being (Butler, 1997b). Rather than something that is only imposed from the outside, subjectification occurs as power is internalised, resisted and/or re-expressed (Eriksen et al., 2015; Nightingale, 2019). Hence,

subjectification involves the simultaneous inscription and active take-up/resistance of the symbolic and discursive conditions of existence (Butler, 1999). Further, subjects and the process of subjectification are always *in the making* and subjects constantly emerge through “the ways in which people are brought into relations of power” (Nightingale, 2011, p. 123). Thus, to study how power operates in environmental governance one needs to be “attentive to how disciplining discourses and practices are invoked, enacted, (re)configured, subverted, and transformed by individuals” (Sundberg, 2004, pp. 46-47). The concept of subjectivity demonstrates how the exercise of power in environmental governance situates individuals and collectives in relation to each other, their social worlds, and their ecologies (Tschakert, 2012). Consequently, PFPE theorizations of ‘the subject’ highlights the productive nature of CCMAPs – how it names and categorizes people into hierarchies of normalcy and morality (Eriksen et al., 2015). Utilizing the concept of subjectivity, PFPE scholars thus explore how and why social inequalities are produced/reinforced by environmental governance through the production/reinforcement of problematic subject positions and naturalized (not natural) social hierarchies (Elmhirst, 2015).

While PFPE is gaining foothold within geography, little attention has been given to the exploration of the possible oppressive effects of environmental governance in the lives of the so called ‘disabled’. It is my intention to fill this knowledge gap by further theorize how the ‘disabled subject’ emerges in environmental governance, and what the consequences of this subjectification is in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. To do so I now turn to critical disability studies, and dive into theorizations of the social construction of the ‘disabled body’.

3.4 The construction of the disabled subject

The core of critical disability studies is the assertion that dominant ideas about what a ‘normal’ and ‘able’ body is, how it functions and how ‘able bodies’ looks like are inherently normative and constructed (Hirschmann, 2012). Therefore, the ‘disabled body’ is discursively contingent and defined in contrast to the constructed normal. That is, the (marginalized) space of (dis)ability exists around, and defines the boundaries of, the centred, (privileged) space of ability (Minich, 2016). Indeed, critical disability scholars contend that individuals’ and societies’ views and understandings of disability expresses normative ideas and assumptions concerning what kinds of

bodies, capacities or possibilities people should have or be afforded in order to lead good and able lives (Vehmas & Watson, 2016). Consequently, ableist discourses, practices and performances serve to exclude and discriminate ‘the disavowing quality of the normal’ (Goodley, 2014, cited in Vehmas & Watson, 2016, p. 5). In the context of this theoretical framework, ableism refers to

a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human. Disability then is cast as a diminished state of being human (Campbell, 2012, cited in Thunem, 2020, p. 9).

This disavowing quality of normal, then, makes living in a ‘disabled body’ harder compared to living in a socially constructed abled and ‘normal’ body. Consequently, CDS postulates that that a person’s (dis)ability is not always a disadvantage per se, it is a difference. Hirschmann explains:

We argue that what makes something a disability is not bodily difference itself—not impaired vision, or weak or missing limbs, or cognitive impairments—but rather the social contexts in which they exist. For instance, using a wheelchair does not itself constitute a “disability”: rather, the built environment, with its curbs and stairs, disables some bodies from moving freely (2012, p. 398).

Drawing on the above, and following Sami Schalk (2017), I deliberately use the term *(dis)ability*⁶ in this thesis. The reason for this is sixfold. Firstly, I use the term (dis)ability to designate the socially constructed hierarchies, practices and performances which categorize and value bodies⁷ based on dominant discourses of ability and disability (the terms dis/ability or ability/disability system have been used to refer to similar ideas). Secondly, the term (dis)ability brings attention to the constructed normal to which the majority of a population (‘the able bodied’) often belongs.

⁶ In the context of my thesis, the term (dis)abled is used to label people that break with the socially constructed norms of what constitutes a ‘norm functioning body’ (NFB) over a longer period of time (for more than 6 months). Thus, people that breaks with NFB for shorter periods of time (i.e. due to a broken foot or arm), are not considered to the (dis)abled.

⁷ My focus here is on the construction of the ‘disabled body’. Thus, discussions on the construction of the ‘disabled mind’ (i.e. ‘cognitive disability’) are omitted from the below deliberations.

Hence, (dis)abled people refers to individuals deviating from the (ableist) norms of how a body should/need to function in order to participate in society and live ‘good lives’. Inspired by Schalk (2017), I use the parenthetical designation of (dis)ability as it underscores the mutually dependent nature of disability and ability. As stated by Schalk (2017, para. 3):

Further, for me, the curve of the parenthesis, rather than the back slash of dis/ability or disability/ability, also visually suggests the mutable nature of these terms. Rather than the hard, distinct line of the back slash, the parenthetical curve helps highlight how the boundaries between disability and ability are uneven, contestable, and context dependent.

Thirdly, I use the term (dis)ability to engage in conversations about the *disabling effects* of environmental governance. In other words, I use the term (dis)ability to aid me in the exploration of how power, privilege and oppression operate in environmental governance and how CCMAPs might subject people as disabled.

Fourthly, the term (dis)ability supports my theoretical argument that subjectivities are in a constant flux as individuals move through the spatiality of discursive formations (see the discussion on ‘Emplaced subjectivities’). Thus, I claim that individuals do not have a fixed sense of identification or disidentification, rather people are “in a constant and unpredictable process of becoming” (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). Hence, the term (dis)ability points toward the constant movement my informants experience between *abled* and *disabled* subject positions.

Fifthly, serving both a radical and emancipatory function, the term (dis)ability explicitly recognizes that there are other ways of living good and meaningful lives outside of the constructed (ableist) normal. While it is imperative to acknowledge the material and bodily dimensions of (dis)ability, as I discuss below, I use the term (dis)ability to maintain that, depending on context, ‘disability’ is not necessarily a disadvantage - it is a difference (Hirschmann, 2012).

Lastly, I have also chosen to use the term (dis)ability as my informants differ in regard to how they subject themselves. For example, some informants identify as ‘people with function variation’ (PAV). The term ‘people with function variation’ is direct translation of the Norwegian word

‘funksjonsvariasjon’, which is an identity marker that several informants are comfortable with and use in their own lives. Other informants identify as ‘funkis’ or as disabled. In other words, I use (dis)ability to pay respect to the different ways in which my informants subject themselves in relation to Oslo’s green transformation.

While CDS analyses (dis)ability as a cultural, historical and social phenomenon, the term ‘Critical Disability Studies’ refers to a diverse, interdisciplinary set of theoretical approaches (Thunem, 2020). In my thesis I draw much inspiration from two strands of CDS, namely the Social Model of Disability (SMD) and literature on the ‘psycho-emotional dimensions of disability’.

3.4.1 The Social Model of Disability

In essence, the SMD is an approach in CDS that specifically

holds that a person isn’t ‘disabled’ because of their impairment, health condition, or the ways in which they may differ from what is commonly considered the medical ‘norm’; rather it is the physical and attitudinal barriers in society – prejudice, lack of access adjustments and systemic exclusion – that disable people (ShapeArts, n.d., para. 2).

To elaborate, the SMD emphasises that (dis)abled people are situated in “regulatory systems and forms of normality, and it is only in these highly ableist regulatory schemas that the contemporary disabled subject is constructed. Disabled people become constituted through the power/discourse formations where all subjectivities are always already culturally constructed” (Vehmas & Watson, 2016, p. 5). I use the term ‘disabled subjects’ to refer to subjects that have taken up (forced or voluntarily) ‘disabled subject positions’ that have been made available for certain types of bodies by ableist discursive regimes. In the context of this thesis, the term ‘disabled subject position’ signifies how power in environmental governance situates (dis)abled individuals in relation to each other, to ‘people with norm-functioning bodies’, to their social worlds and to their ecologies. Hence, disabled subject positions bound the possibilities for agency as well as (dis)abled people’s inclusion in Oslo’s green transformation. Differently put, a disabled subject position refers to socially constructed circumstances and ableist discursive conditions that prevent some groups of

(dis)abled people from fully participating in their societies. More specifically, and as I elaborate when I discuss Butler's theory of performativity, I understand that 'disabled subjects' *emerge* through the performative (re)materialization of these discursively constructed 'disabled subject positions'. As explained by Hirschmann (2016, pp. 99-100):

The fact that I have difficulty walking and use a wheelchair does not in itself constitute a "disability": rather, the fact that most buildings have stairs rather than ramps, and lack elevators and automatic doors, "disables" my body from gaining access to various buildings [...] because of the ways that social relations, the built environment, laws, and practices are structured and organized, certain bodies are hindered and made to be disabled, while other bodies are supported and facilitated.

In many respects, my theoretical framework is in opposition to the 'medical model of disability' (MMD) (Thunem, 20020). The crux of the MMD is that disability "is seen as an individual condition arising from a flawed body, which presents a "problem" that must be "fixed" or "cured"" (Hirschmann, 2016, p. 99). The SMD, on the contrary, allows for a scrutiny of "the social norms that define particular attributes as impairments, as well as the social conditions that concentrate stigmatized attributes in particular populations" (Minich, 2016, para. 6). The focus of my thesis is to use insights from the SMD and feminist poststructural thought to draw attention to the '*disabling effects*' of environmental governance. I understand these effects to arise when socially constructed disabled subject positions effectively prevent the so-called 'disabled' from fully participating in mitigation and adaptation efforts on equal basis with 'able bodies' (Schalk, 2017; Shakespeare, 2017; Vehmas & Watson, 2016). In other words, the disabling effects of environmental governance is a 'discursive happening' which occurs when disabled subjectivities and disabled subject locations are produced by CCMAPs and taken up (forced or voluntarily) by (dis)abled people. Later in this chapter I further unpack the performative production of the disabled subject by turning to Butler and the theory of performativity.

Due to their marginalizing and oppressive effects, the disabling effects of society can be understood as 'disabling barriers' (Shakespeare, 2006). Indeed, I assert that it is in encounters with disabling barriers that a (dis)abled persons difference is turned into a disability and disadvantage

(Hirschmann, 2016). A disabling barrier can, for example, deny (dis)abled people access to, and participation in, certain spaces and the services that these spaces provide. Therefore, the SMD argues that the disabling effects of society should be understood as “a form of social oppression, like racism, homophobia, and ageism, rather than as an individual problem caused by impairment” (Reeve, 2004, p. 83). Particularly, I am interested in investigating two types of disabling barriers, namely barriers in the built infrastructure and social barriers (see Box 3).

Box 3: Two types of disabling barriers

The Australian federation of Disability Organisations (n.d., para. 12) defines *social disabling barriers* as:

[barriers] created by people who see only disability when associating with people with disabilities in some way. These attitudinal barriers can be witnessed through bullying, discrimination, and fear. These barriers include low expectations of people with disabilities, and these barriers contribute to all other barriers.

Physical barriers are structural obstacles in natural or humanmade environments that prevent or block mobility (moving around in the environment) or access to different spaces. Oftentimes, the physical barriers are the product of lack of universal design. Examples of physical barriers include:

- Steps and curbs that block a (dis)abled people from entering a building or using a sidewalk.
- Gaps between the metro and the platform.
- Buses that are not able to accommodate wheelchair users

Following CRPD, I define universal design as:

[...] the design of products, environments, programmes and services to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaptation or specialized design”, not excluding “assistive devices for particular groups of persons with disabilities where this is needed (United Nations, n.d.-a).

In the context of this thesis, these two broad categories of disabling barriers represent both the social and material dimensions of ableist discursive regimes.

To summarize and circle back to PFPE: Employing insights from the SMD allows me to analyse the extent to which Oslo's climate strategy produces/reinforces 'disabled subjects' through the production of new, or the reinforcement of pre-existing, disabling barriers in society. Thus, the SMD enables me to theorize how OCS bounds the possibilities for (dis)abled people's agency and inclusion in Oslo's 'green transformation'. As argued by Hirschmann, "Many persons with disabilities do not want to change their bodies, they want to change these barriers, they want the able-bodied to see these facets of the world as barriers and not as inevitable or natural (2016, p. 101). That said, although drawing heavily on the SMD, I contend that my thesis benefits from infusing SMD with insights from both feminist geography and literature on 'psycho-emotional dimensions of disability'.

3.4.2 Nuancing the SMD: Intersectionality, space and emotionality

Firstly, infusing the SMD with insights from feminist geography, I understand disabling barriers, and the construction of the 'disabled', to be highly contingent and situated accomplishments. I thus contend that disabling barriers are experienced differently by (dis)abled people in different specific spatial and temporal moments throughout the course of everyday lives. Further, the disabling effects of society do not operate in isolation from other normative (and disciplinary) discourses, such as heteronormativity and normative assumptions about gender, race, and ethnicity. Feminist geographers use the concept of intersectionality to theorize how and why different social categories and systems of oppression, such as disability, gender, race, sexuality, etc., intersects in people's lives, and with what consequences (Nightingale, 2011). In other words, the concept of intersectionality has been used to analyse how "structures of power are organized around intersecting relations of race, class and gender to frame social positions of individuals [. . .] [and] to produce social locations for us all" (West and Fenstermaker, 1995, cited in Valentine, 2007, p. 15). Or differently put, an "intersectional approach enables researchers to examine the messy nature of human experience" (Guerrero-Arias et al., 2020, p. 1662).

Thus, I recognize that (dis)ability is constituted in different spatial moments as a component of multiple and complex subjectivities. Consequently, the disabling effects Oslo's climate strategy cannot be understood in isolation from other forms of subjection, including race, ethnicity, class,

age, sexuality, etc. This means that (dis)abled people's experiences with the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by CCMAPs can greatly vary based on discursive regimes 'beyond' (dis)ability. I elaborate on the importance of space and intersectionality below when discussing Butler's theory of performativity.

Secondly, the SMD has been criticized for its lack of engagement with the corporal and emotional aspects of (dis)ability. Indeed, the SMD does not necessarily recognize the disabling effects of impaired functioning or being, which might greatly impact people's quality of living. As stated by Vehmas & Watson (2016, p. 13):

Fatigue, the gradual loss of muscular functioning, loss of memory, sight or hearing are central to the experience of impairment effects to many disabled people, and to ignore these experiences would be one way to produce skewed accounts of disability that fail to do justice to disabled people's experiences.

Hence, the SMD has been guilty of overlooking the bodily complexity that underpins some people's sense and experience of (dis)ability (Grue, 2011; Shakespeare, 2017). As stated by Hirschmann and Shakespeare, respectively:

But when the social model is carried to the extreme –that disability is only and always a product of discriminatory treatment –the body, and certain aspects of bodily experience, such as pain, ironically became decentralized and even ignored [...] Many realize that disability is produced by the interaction of specific body types and specific kinds of physical or material spaces, social practices, attitudes, assumptions, beliefs, and biases (Hirschmann, 2016, p. 9).

Any researcher who does qualitative research with disabled people immediately discovers that in everyday life it is very hard to distinguish clearly between the impact of impairment, and the impact of social barriers (see for example Watson, 2002; Sherry, 2002). In practice, it is the interaction of individual bodies and social environments which produces disability (Shakespeare, 2017, para. 9).

I recognize the corporal and emotional aspects of (dis)ability, and I align myself with Shakespeare and Hirschmann's understanding of (dis)ability as both socially constructed, emotional and a result of bodily impairments. However, for the purpose of my thesis, I have chosen a deliberate emphasis on the social and emotional at the expense of the medical. In doing so, I am cognizant of the fact that my thesis brings to view only certain characteristics of (dis)ability whilst downplaying others. It is important to clearly state that this approach to (dis)ability risks misconstruing the lives of (dis)abled people. Nonetheless, the choice to focus explicitly on the identification of disabling effects of society, and their consequences, is deliberate. Moreover, this choice is inherently normative and political. By drawing on the SMD and feminist geography, I seek to foment change by bringing to view the disabling effects of Oslo's climate strategy that produces and/or reinforces the exclusion, marginalization and oppression of (dis)abled people. Doing so I wish to extend Haraway's argument that more needs to be done to examine the ways in which gender and race are at stake in environmental governance to also include (dis)ability (Sundberg, 2004). My thesis therefore adds to discussions of how socially constructed barriers that restrict (dis)abled people's life choices can be removed. In doing so I seek to answer the following call from Minich (2016, para. 6): "I must emphasize that this scrutiny of normative ideologies should occur not for its own sake but with the goal of producing knowledge in support of justice for people with stigmatized bodies and minds".

That said, I have not removed 'the embodied' from my thesis altogether. While my main focus is on the construction of 'disability', I am careful in directing attention to the emotional dimensions of the enactment/resistance of 'disabled' subjectivities and disabled performances. Indeed, the recognition that people's bodily experiences of the disabling effects of society greatly differ suggests a need to look more closely at the role emotions play in the moments when (dis)abled people are actively enacting/resisting 'disabled performances'. Consider the following quote from Morris:

Going out in public so often takes courage. How many of us find that we can't dredge up the strength to do it day after day, week after week, year after year, a lifetime of rejection and revulsion? It is not only physical limitations that restrict us to our homes and those whom we know. It is the knowledge that each entry into the public world will be dominated

by stares, by condescension, by pity and by hostility (1991, cited in Reeve, 2004, pp. 84-85).

While the emotional dimensions of disability are manifold (see for example Reeve, 2004), I am bringing to view the emotional states that arise within my informants as they encounter disabling barriers when using the bus/accessing CFCL. The emotional, together with the socially constructed, I believe, bring to view a potent and sophisticated understanding of the disabling effects of Oslo's climate strategy. As argued by Reeve (2004, p. 84),

[...] this extended definition of disability which incorporates both structural and psycho-emotional dimensions of disability, includes the limits on what disabled people can both *do* and *be* – for many people, such as myself, it is this latter form of disablism which is the most restricting.

I should stress that I don't explicitly employ the term 'bodymind' here, which is a term used by several disability scholars to highlight the inseparability of the body and mind (see for example Schalk (2018)). Yet, I throughout this thesis I am careful in bringing to view the interrelatedness of social and emotional aspects of (dis)ability. I further elaborate on the importance of the emotional and embodied below (see section titled 'Subjectivity as embodied').

3.4.3 Some notes on ontology and the way forward

Arguably, my ontological position and above-mentioned postulations place my thesis in the loose confines of both poststructural feminist political ecology (PFPE) and critical disability studies (CDS). I assert that both scholarly approaches show a distinct 'family resemblance' as they are rooted in poststructural and anti-essentialist thinking and claim that subjectivities are not fixed but continually re-made. Specifically, both PFPE and CDS employ a critical stance when addressing and challenging normalizations and when exploring taken-for-granted assumptions, particularly (but not exclusively), regarding categories of (dis)ability, gender, race, and sexuality (Elmhirst, 2011; Vehmas & Watson, 2016). In other words, PFPE and CDS offer a mode of inquiry that enables me to radically contest and transgress 'normality' in its various disguises and to

reconceptualize how bodies and subjectivities are constructed, performed, resisted and remade across spaces and time. This contestation and reconceptualization add important theoretical and empirical insights into how CCMAPs might produce/reinforce social inequalities and problematic subjectivities. In other words, combining insights from both PFPE and CDS enables me to theoretically evidence the ways in which (dis)ability is at stake in environmental governance.

As previously stated, I am aware that criticism has been levied against the wider incorporation of poststructural theory into both disability studies and feminist thinking, especially concerns with how this incorporation has led to a loss of focus of the material and the everyday (Davies & Gannon, 2005). Nonetheless, I assert that feminist poststructural thought is not decoupled from the everyday and material. Far from it. In what follows I further illustrate how an engagement with poststructural feminist theories can draw attention to both the discursive and embodied implications of environmental governance. To do this, I now turn to Judith Butler and the theory of performativity. I contend that Butler's theory of performativity adds important theoretical and philosophical depth to the preceding discussions on the construction of the 'disabled subject'. Indeed, I assert that the theory of performativity is well placed to nuance discussions of how and why the 'disabled subject' comes into being in environmental governance. For the purpose of my thesis, I am entering Butler's work with the intent to posit a theoretical explanation of a) how Oslo's climate strategy produces/reinforces the 'disabled subject' and b) what the consequences of the (performative) construction of 'disability' might be in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. I am also entering this literature to gain insights into how inequalities, stemming from disabling barriers and the 'disabled performance', can be subverted, opposed and transformed.

3.5 Butler and the Theory of Performativity

Drawing inspiration from Foucault and others, Judith Butler's work presents a continuing challenge to notions of 'the subject' as a given, self-contained and bounded entity. For Butler, subjectivation is broadly understood as the *making of the subject*, "a kind of power that not only unilaterally acts on a given individual as a form of domination, but also activates or forms the subject" (Butler, 1997, cited in Gonda, 2019, p. 92). As Foucault, Butler (1999) uses the term *subject* and not *identity/person* to underline the linguistic nature of our *position* within discourse.

In other words, Butler (1999) understands the subject as a constructed location within discourse, into which a person inserts themselves or is inserted by social forces.

Moving ‘beyond’ discourse, Butler (1999) proposes the idea that the subject is a performative⁸ (re)materialization of its social environment. Butler (1999) thus envisions subjects as intimately entangled within their contexts as performative materializations of social values and norms. Indeed, Butler adopts Foucault’s approach of discourse as productive and uses this alongside the notion of the performative to explore the production of (gendered) subjects (Butler, 1999). The following discussion considers central elements of Butler’s theory of performativity as presented in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1999)⁹. That said, key insights from some of Butler’s other written publications are also considered.

In *Gender Trouble* (1999), Butler questions the belief that gendered subjects and behaviours are natural. Rejecting gender as a natural fact, Butler asserts that people’s learned gendered behaviour is a performance, a set of repeated acts, that is imposed upon people by normative heterosexuality (1999). Butler (1999) contends that the natural-seeming coherence of the categories of sex, gender, and sexuality is socially constructed through the repetition of stylized acts in time: “Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (Butler, 1999, p. 43).

Inspired by Foucault, Butler therefore posits that the gendered subject is constructed within regulative discourses. These discourses, also called ‘disciplinary regimes’, determine what possibilities of sex, gender and sexuality are socially permitted to appear as coherent or ‘natural’ (Butler, 1999). Butler theorises that regulative discourses serve to coerce and trigger the performances that maintain the appearance of natural seeming attributes pertaining to gender (as well as sex and sexuality). Butler argues:

⁸ “Performativity is not to be confused with performance. Performance suggests an actor who consciously follows – or refuses to follow – a script” (McKinlay, 2010, p. 234).

⁹ Second edition. The first edition was published in 1990.

If there is something right in Beauvoir's claim that one is not born, but rather becomes a woman, it follows that a woman itself is a term on process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification. Even when gender seems to congeal into the most reified forms, the "congealing" is itself an insistent and insidious practice, sustained and regulated by various social norms (1999, p. 43).

Gender identity, for Butler, is an *illusion* created by our performances. This means that a subject's gender identity is not *natural*, but rather *naturalized* by gender fables which establish and circulate the misnomer of natural facts. Differently put, discursively mediated performances produce that which they name (Butler, 1999). Importantly, Butler asserts that subjects cannot easily break out of the discursive regimes that greatly influence their everyday performances. For example, Butler stresses that gender is not a performance that one can change as we do our clothes (Disch, 1999). Butler posits that the subject seeks recognition of its own existence in regulative discourses that are not of the subject's own making (Disch, 1999). Consequently, the stylized repetition of specific gender performances leads the performers to end up believing gender to be a natural fact and a social necessity. Butler (1999) extends this argument and contends that the subject must be performatively constituted in order to make sense as a subject. As a result, different performances might defend by the performing subjects as they desire their maintenance and understands themselves in terms of them (Butler, 1999).

To take a step back, Butler (1999) demonstrates that while gendered subjects appear at the level of the everyday, to precede their designation, this apparently pre-existing subject is an artefact of its performative constitution. In this sense, gender is a deeply ingrained act that has been performed even before the performer enters the stage. This means, Butler (1999) argues, that identity is always a journey, a becoming of the self without a point of departure nor arrival. I should stress here that, as Butler (1997a) notes in *Excitable Speech*, discourses do not need to be made explicit or spoken to have performative force. Indeed, silent discourses, discourses that go unspoken or are silenced, remain constitutive (Youdell, 2006).

Butler's theory of performativity is well placed to explain how the 'disabled subject' comes into being in environmental governance. From the above, I argue that what constitutes a 'disabled

body' is not a natural fact and that 'disability' does not stem intrinsically from bodily difference. Rather, 'disabled bodies' are naturalized by and within regulatory discourses. I assert that 'disabled subjects' emerge out of the performative (re)materialization of 'disabled subject positions' that are discursively regulated and maintained. Again, the purpose here is not to say that there are no material and corporal conditions to (dis)ability. What I am interested in is to use Butler's theory of performativity to bring to view the social aspects of (dis)ability and the ways in which 'disabled subjects' are constructed and sustained by OCS. Indeed, I draw on the theory of performativity to investigate different ways Oslo's climate strategy, through the production/reinforcement of disabling barriers, are capable of mediating *disabled performances*.

More concretely, I understand the 'disabled performance' to represent daily practices and ways of being that arise and ensue as (dis)abled people enter ableist discursive field imbued with disabling barriers. The disabled performance deviates from the performances that are considered as 'normal' for people with norm-functioning bodies. The disabled performance therefore exists around, and defines the boundaries of, the centred, (privileged) space of ability (Minich, 2017). Disabled performances, I contend, are thus performative (re)materializations of socially constructed circumstances and ableist conditions that prevent some groups of people from fully participating in their societies. The point here is not to assert that the disabled performance prevents (dis)abled people from having the exact same body and the same bodily functions as the assumed 'normal'. Rather, I assert that disabled performances effectively turn a person's *difference* into a *disability*¹⁰. Hence, in the context of this thesis, disabled performances signify the process of *becoming* disabled. Differently put, a disabled performance effectively disables the (dis)abled performer and thus serves to discriminate against "the disavowing quality of the normal" (Goodley, 2014, cited in Vehmas & Watson, 2016, p. 5).

To summarize, I use the theory of performativity to demonstrate that "the boundaries between disability and ability are uneven, contestable, and context dependent" (Schalk, 2017, para. 3). I employ the term '*disabled performance*' to signify the acts that are conducted by different groups of people as they encounter and navigate both physical and social disabling barriers. The term '*disabling performances*' draws attention to the disabling effects of taking up disabled subject

¹⁰ This is the 'disabling effects' of the disabled performance.

positions. I argue that we cannot assume a stable 'disabled subject' that precedes its everyday performances. Rather, it is the very act of performing as 'disabled' that constitutes who the disabled subject is. I understand that the 'disabled subject' emerges when discursive fields and disabling barriers (produced/reinforced by Oslo's climate strategy) set the stage for disabled performances which effectively turn (dis)abled people's difference into disability.

Keeping the above in mind, I would like to pause here and reflect on the below quote by Samuels:

Yet, the question remains: What meaning, or intention, is lost through the wholesale adoption of Butler's theoretical framework inflected only by a mere substitution of terms? In making such substitutions, do we lose sight of the fact that Butler is quite explicitly discussing not (dis)ability, but gender/sex--that the abject domain she delineates is specifically produced by "certain highly gendered regulatory schemas" (1999, ix; my emphasis). Is it not necessary to at least ask if there is a difference between disability/impairment and gender/sex--and, since there obviously is, how that difference operates in the present situation? (2002, p. 64)

Like other feminist political ecologists, I use Foucault and Butler as starting points rather than theorists to be fully defended. Indeed, I seek to nuance the theory of performativity, as outlined above, by drawing on recent work in PFPE that explicitly theorizes the intersectional, spatial and embodied imperatives of subjectivity. Doing so I am consciously stepping away from treating gender and (dis)ability as simple analogies.

3.5.1 Intersectionality and the everyday

My view is that no single account of construction will do, and that these categories always work as background for one another, and they often find their most powerful articulation through one another. Thus, the sexualization of racial gender norms calls to be read through multiple lenses at once, and the analysis surely illuminates the limits of gender as an exclusive category of analysis. (Butler, 1999, p. xvi)

This quote illustrates that Butler, as other poststructural feminists, presume that a subject is complex and intersectional (Crenshaw, 1991). Drawing inspiration from Butler, PFPE places the ‘decentered subject’ at the heart of the debates on the nature-society nexus (Tschakert, 2012). While much of ‘early PFE’ used gender as an analytical entry point for their investigations, PFPE argues that gender alone does not provide an adequate basis for understanding the production of social difference in and through environmental governance (Elmhirst, 2011; Nightingale, 2006). Moving ‘beyond’ gender, PFPE explores how gender is constituted in different contexts as a component of multiple and complex subjectivities (Nightingale, 2006). PFPE scholars stress that although gender can be a useful entry point for understanding relationships between social difference, environmental change and political economies, it cannot be understood in isolation from, for example, subjectivities related to race, ethnicity, class, age and sexuality (Nightingale, 2006). As argued by Tschakert (2012, p. 149), “[a] feminist theoretical lens reminds us of the intersectionality (Nightingale, 2011) of these various subjectivities experienced through spatial practice, making attribution to just one of them exceedingly difficult, if not unnecessary”. PFPE has exposed the limitations of privileging one system of oppression in the analyses of how social inequality and difference are produced and maintained by environmental governance. PFPE scholars are thus increasingly investigating how “fragmented and complex subjects are formed [in environmental governance], how they are perpetuated through various layers of inequality and oppression, and how they act in the context of exercised power” (Tschakert, 2012, p. 149).

While the intersectional approach has been widely theorised and applied in feminist geography, Guerrero-Arias et al. argue that there “are few studies that address the social construction of the disability identity with an intersectional approach” (2020, p. 1665). This assertion reflects Hirschmann’s plea that “critical theorists should turn to disability as an important category of intersectional analysis” (2013, p. 649).

It might seem paradoxical that I am stressing the importance of intersectionality when I, thus far, I have drawn much attention to the construction of the disabled subject and disabling barriers in environmental governance. However, I seek to use (dis)ability as my analytical entry point to capture the “constant movement that individuals experience between different subject positions as they move through everyday life” (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). Hence, for the purpose of my thesis,

the lens of intersectionality is well placed to highlight the diversity that exists within the social category of '(dis)abled people'. It does so by bringing to view how (dis)abled people's experiences with, and performances of, disabling barriers are not shaped by ableist discourses only. As stated by Pulrang (2020, para. 13):

Disabled people's race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, economic and social class, education, and religion and fundamental values also affect how we experience and process our disabilities. Despite wrangling and definition-slicing over "intersectionality," "appropriation," and "privilege," it's actually pretty obvious that disability overlaps with other social identities and experiences, and that disabled people who are also, for instance, Black, LGBTQ+, or poor, experience multiple layers of stigma and discrimination that others may not.

Drawing inspiration from Butler and PFPE, I am therefore using the lens of the everyday to bring to view the 'intersectional disabled subject' and to evidence that (dis)ability intersects with other social markers of difference in my informants' lives. Using (dis)ability as an analytical entry point, I will look at specific everyday accounts of the multiple, shifting, and sometimes simultaneous ways 'disabled subject' emerges as my informants encounter different disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS. Such an analysis means asking questions about what subjectivities are being 'performed' within specific spatial contexts and specific biographical moments. Further, I assert that taking a route through the routine, taken-for-granted activities of everyday life at various sites (i.e. on the bus or 'the city centre') provides a useful methodological entry point for analysing how intersectional disabling subjectivities are constructed, performed, resisted and remade across spaces and time. The attention to everyday, seemingly mundane, spatial practices also opens the possibility to understand how everyday disabling barriers are navigated, enacted, (re)configured, resisted, subverted, and/or transformed by my informants (Sundberg, 2004). Bee et al. reiterate this viewpoint stating that the "Mundane practices and everyday embodied experiences are often overlooked as unspectacular, when in fact, they are the actual stuff of power and politics" (2015, p. 5). Indeed, the "enactment of identities in everyday life roots performativity in mundane daily experience" (McKinlay, 2010, p. 235). This means that a focus on the 'everyday' does "not confine theoretical work to what might be erroneously thought of as merely 'local'"

(Dyck, 2005, p. 243); rather, it holds tremendous potential for exploring the workings of power in and through environmental governance across different scales. As stated by Bee, “Employing a feminist epistemological lens to explore climate governance emphasizes the importance of more closely considering the mundane, everyday spaces, and practices of climate governance that produce and regulate subjects and subjectivities, and affect people’s daily lives” (2015, p. 5).

In the next chapter (Methodology) I revisit the concept of intersectionality and define how I have operationalized intersectionality in the context of this thesis.

3.5.2 Emplaced subjectivities

We need to think of subjectivity as an unwieldy, continually contestable and affirmable basis for living in the world. Subjectivities are then simply a changing ensemble of openings and closings, points of contact and points which repel contact. In space, we orient ourselves and are oriented. That is the spatial imperative of subjectivities (Probyn, 2002, p. 299).

The spatial imperative of subjectivity, as formulated by Probyn above, has been central feminist geography. Indeed, feminist geographers apply the spatial imperative of subjectivity to show how space, discourses and social relations mutually constitute people’s everyday performances (Pratt, 1998). Valentine, for example, stresses that “The stories through which specific identities emerge for a particular individual do not occur in a vacuum; rather, identities are highly contingent and situated accomplishments. In other words, space and identities are co-implicated” (2007, p. 19). This means, Nightingale argues, that “subject positions do not exist in the abstract, devoid of context but, rather, are performed within specific places and spaces [...] Acting in these spaces is crucial to the performance of particular subjectivities” (2013, p. 2366).

Consequently, subjectivities are fluid and in constant flux as individuals move through the spatiality of discursive formations. What is interesting from these insights, then, is the argument that subjects are ambivalent, unstable and “in a constant and unpredictable process of becoming” (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). The spatial imperative of subjectivity points to how individuals can

inhabit contradictory subjectivities in different spatial contexts and temporal moments (Nightingale, 2011, 2013). Therefore, the ways individuals experience and perform the intersection of categories such as gender, class, sexuality, and disability in their lives are not stable. Rather, the subject is understood as constituted through disciplinary discourses that are dynamic, constantly changing, yet time- and place specific. It follows from this, then, that it is through the situatedness of the performative re-materialization of specific discourses that individuals and groups inhabit multiple [and sometimes conflicting] subjectivities (Nightingale, 2019). The post-structuralist feminist scholar Braidotti (1994) uses the concept of the ‘nomadic’ subject to capture the fluid, temporal and spatial dimensions of subjectivity. While Braidotti’s work on the nomadic subject is mainly applied to gender and sexual difference, I will use the concept to highlight the many ways in which the ‘intersectional disabled subject’ is always in the process of becoming.

The spatial imperative is, however, not absent from the work of Butler and Foucault. Employing the concept of the ‘discursive field’, Foucault theorises the role of space in subject formation. As explained by Peci et al. (2009, p. 382):

The discursive field, wherein the time-space dimension is appraised, is another important concept for Foucault. The field is the space in which discursive happenings are situated. It is in the field that the questions of the human being, consciousness, and the subject, manifest themselves, cross over, become embroiled, and define themselves (Foucault, 1972: 25). Temporality and spatiality become one in the concept of field. The field is time and space, being and becoming, structure and history, formation and (trans)formation.

Here I appropriate the concept of discursive fields to signify the spatial imperative of subjectivity. I understand discursive fields to be spatial entities with encoded meanings that may be “reproduced or resisted through the ongoing negotiation of everyday life in homes, workplaces, communities and nation-states in the context of audiences of the repeated performativity of identity” (Moss & Dyck, 2003, p. 68). Thus, from this point forward, I use ‘discursive field’ to denote the space where disabled subjectivities are performed and thus where the disabled subject is *becoming*. In other words, the concept of discursive field points to the situatedness of the disabling barriers, and the disabled performances, that are produced/reinforced by OCS. It is within discursive fields, then,

that bodily difference is turned into disability and disadvantage. Thus, where (dis)abled people are located is constitutive of their *disability*, not incidental to it. Consequently, (dis)abled people's enactment/resistance of disabled performances changes as they move between discursive fields, such as when at home, on the bus, or when in Oslo city centre. The spatial imperative of (dis)abled subjects is succinctly captured by Reeve (2006, p. 20):

Her identity as disabled/impaired/whatever continually changes depending on context as well as having a temporal element. When she first became disabled she saw herself as hopeless, undesirable and a burden – now she is powerful, sexual and productive. But tomorrow might be different – a few intrusive comments by strangers about her disabled hand or leg whilst out shopping can shatter that. So 'becoming' is a more useful term in connection with her identity than the more static term 'being'.

It is not my intention to postulate that discursive fields are fixed and operate in isolation from one another. However, due to the limited scope of my thesis, and for the sake of simplicity, I will approach discursive fields as singular analytical entities.

Intrinsically linked with the spatial imperative of subjectivity, is the 'sensing' and emotional subject. In what follows I unpack how the emotional and embodied matter for the disabled performances scrutinized here.

3.5.3 Subjectivity as embodied

The surrounding community, society and natural environment can make a dramatic difference in terms of impairment effect but, at the end of the day, one's life in a society, in a culture, is an embodied existence which affects the way one deals with the environment and with others (Vehmas & Watson, 2016, p. 13).

Butler's treatment of the body and embodiment in the process of subject formation has been scrutinized on several fronts, often being criticized for lacking materiality (Clare, 2009). For example, critics argue that Butler's prioritization of language and discourse means that she most

often treats the body as a sign, as a social construction with a corresponding material entity (Clare, 2009). Indeed, in *Gender Trouble*, Butler argues that the body's surface is not natural but the site of "a dissonant and denaturalized performance that reveals the performative status of the natural itself" (Butler, 1999, p. 186).

It is evident that poststructural theorizations of 'the body' have developed important insights in the field of feminist theory, for example by evidencing how bodies are "objects of discursive inscription - surfaces on which values, morality and social laws are inscribed (Longhurst, 1997, p. 489). Yet, others argue that this treatment of the body is limited in its ability to account for the 'fleshiness' of bodies or the lived experience of corporeality (Clare, 2009). In short, while Butler has been deeply influenced by Foucault's writing, her theory of performativity prioritizes signification and an understanding of the body as a discursive entity, rather than as an entity that senses (Clare, 2009). Thus, "the materiality of the body has been counterposed against the body as a surface of inscription, as a readable text" (Moss and Dyck, 2003, p. 62).

At this point I should note that Butler addressed the crux of the above critiques of *Gender Trouble* in her book *Bodies That Matter* (1993). In the introduction to *Bodies That Matter*, Butler poses the question "What about the materiality of the body, Judy?" (Butler, 1993, cited in Samuels, 2002, p. 71). In the book, Butler clarifies that she is not postulating that bodies are social constructions only. However, Butler contends that the discursive and normative is an integral part of people's bodies and identities, and thus must be elucidated:

For surely bodies live and die; eat and sleep; feel pain, pleasure; endure illness and violence; and these "facts" one might skeptically proclaim, cannot be dismissed as mere constructions. Surely there must be some kind of necessity that accompanies these primary and irrefutable experiences. And surely there is. But their irrefutability in no way implies what it might mean to affirm them and through what discursive means (Butler, 19993, cited in Samuels, 2002, p. 71).

The 'sensing body' has gained prominence in geography over the past decade. As stated by Moss & Dyck, "Several coalescing interests [in geography] are feeding into the attractiveness of body

and embodiment as sites for theory building, not only about bodies but also about knowledge arising from bodily experiences” (2003, p. 58). In what has been labelled *geographies of affect*, scholars argue that discursive regimes, if examined alone, limits the understanding of how individuals and collectives experience themselves and everyday life in different places (Longhurst, 1997). Understanding ‘the body’ as a myriad of discursive formations and as material entities that senses involves exploring links between the discursive, the performative and bodily experiences (Nightingale, 2019). Together, the constructed and the embodied are key concerns in “theorizing human experience, subjectivity and the relations of power through which difference is constructed and regulated” (Moss & Dyck, 2003, p. 58). In the context of this thesis I approach emotions as “embodied experiences that imply individual and collective ways of thinking, engagements, expressions and relationships among humans and their environments, which subsequently inform political ecology relationships among people, their environments and conflicts” (González-Hidalgo & Zografos, 2017, p. 63). Thus, emotions can reveal “how people’s sense of self is shaped by their affective capacity to respond to other bodies, both human and non-human” (Singh, 2013, p. 190). I understand emotions to be part of people’s as *lived experiences*, which consists of “a person’s biological (somatic), intellectual, emotional, bodily, social, gendered, artistic and spiritual experience, within their cultural and geographical location” (Barbour, 2004, p. 230).

Founded on the emotional and embodied ethos, feminist geographers have engaged closely with people’s embodied experiences and daily existence in different spaces (Moss & Dyck, 2003). For example, “work on gender and race is particularly salient as it shows how people’s experience of being a physical person is bound up in their subjectivity” (Nightingale, 2013, p. 2367). These studies bring to view the emotional bonds established between people and places, and how these emotional bonds influence people’s sense of identity and their relations with physical and social environments (Longhurst, 1997; Nightingale, 2013; Tschakert et al., 2013). This work, then, examines people’s (bodily) lived experiences as they encounter and perform life among other bodies within different discursive fields. Drawing inspiration from geographies of affect, I am using the concepts of emotions and embodiment to bring to view the experiencing individual (Longhurst, 1997, 2005). I thus theorize the body as simultaneously a source of inscription and a material reality; an entity that has its own history and which is imbued with emotions that both constrain and enable our actions. Consequently, breaking with the *discourse/materiality divide*, I

draw upon ideas of a “discursively produced body which is constantly lived through both its materiality and its representations in particular environments” (Moss & Dyck, 2003, p. 68).

I should stress that my approach to embodied experiences differ from the medical understanding of disability. What I seek to draw attention to here is (dis)abled people’s embodied experiences with, and emotional responses to, the disabling barriers that they encounter in their everyday lives. As stated by Reeve, “emotional dimensions of disability, the ‘barriers in here’ work alongside and in conjunction with structural dimensions of disability, the ‘barriers out there’” (2004, p. 93). In essence, I seek to draw attention to (dis)abled people’ emotional responses when they encounter disabling barriers, and how these emotional responses impact (or not) (dis)abled people’s enactment/resistance of disabled performances. Indeed, such a focus opens a conceptual space to explore how emotions are instrumental in shaping both the construction and lived experiences of the ‘disabled subject’.

Following from the above exploration of the concepts of intersectionality, the everyday, discursive fields and emotions, I now briefly revert back to the work of Butler. Below I further unpack how I intend to use Butler’s theory of performativity to explore how inequality and social difference are produced in and through environmental governance, as well as how disabled performances can be subverted, challenged and transformed.

3.6 Exclusion, marginalization and punishment

In her Theory of Performativity, Butler emphasises that the subject is constituted through both exclusion and differentiation. In *Gender Trouble* Butler contends that discursive regimes establish what is and is not considered ‘real’. Hence, discursive regimes establish discursive fields in which certain types of bodies and performances are given legitimate expression and privileged status and others not. Consequently, Butler argues that the process of subject formation “operates as a preemptive and violent circumscription of reality” (1999, p. xxiii). In other words, the social world, according to Butler, is encrusted with normative violence. Indeed, the theory of performativity does not necessarily refer to voluntarist and joyful performances. Rather, Butler calls attention to the forced reiteration of norms in the sense of compulsory and constraining performances that

sustain problematic subject positions and ‘realities’ (McNay, 1999). Butler (1999) further argues that the belief in ‘normality’ is compelled by social sanction and taboo. Consequently, humans’ belief in ‘natural’ behaviors and bodies result from both subtle and blatant coercions. Assumptions about what is ‘normal’ therefore results in ‘non-normal’ people having less fulfilling lives. Arguably then, the disabled performance can be understood as stylized acts with marginalizing effects.

In this thesis I use the concept of disabling barriers to signify the exclusion and social inequalities that are closely linked to the social construction of the disabled subject. Disabling barriers, I contend, hold the potential of forcing (dis)abled people into ‘disabled’ performances, which effectively prevent the so-called ‘disabled’ from fully participating in society on an equal basis with ‘able bodies’. Indeed, a disabling barrier is understood as a socially constructed condition with marginalizing and oppressive effects in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. In other words, these barriers, thus, force the reiteration of ableist norms as they stage constraining performances that sustain problematic disabled subjectivities and disabled ways of life. It is these disabling barriers, and their discriminatory effects, I am interested in identifying and challenging in this thesis.

3.7 Resistance and transformation

Although Butler contends that constraint and exclusion conditions the possibilities of becoming, Butler (1999) argues that discursive regimes are not inexorable. As explained by McNay (1999, p. 177):

Change arises from the constitutive instability of the symbolic and discursive structures which invest the body with meaning. The cultural necessity for a performative reiteration of these symbolic norms highlights the extent to which they are not natural or inevitable and are, therefore, potentially open to change.

Butler asserts that regulative discourses are constitutive but not fully determining of (gender) subjectivity. Thus, Butler insists that the theory of performativity is also a theory of agency. Butler

argues that regulative discourses are resistible because they (however natural or immutable they might seem) are contingent on temporal processes which are mediated by the iteration of constructed norms (Butler, 1999). Butler further states that this temporal process is not “a repetition of acts ... [that] remain intact and self-identical” like copies (Butler, cited in Disch, 1999, p. 550). Instead, these acts are repeated anew in different discursive fields like a citation. Understood as ‘citationality’, Butler theorizes that performativity opens a contingent, yet fragile, opportunity of turning power back on itself. This happens when the stylized repetition of acts is exposed to be the re-materialization of an entrenched convention (Disch, 1999). In these moments, Butler argues, possibilities arise of introducing difference into the chain of citationality.

It is this agency that is Butler’s cause for radical optimism as it offers subjects the potential for insubordination, resistance and liberation (McKinlay, 2010). In other words, Butler’s theory of agency is developed in terms of signification. Signification, Butler writes, “harbors within itself what the epistemological discourse refers to as ‘agency’” (Butler 1999, p. 185). Thus, agency lies in the capacity to recognize and call into question the ways in which we are socially regulated. Butler calls the capacity to name and to call into question discursive contingent performances for ‘discursive agency’. Youdell (2006, p. 519) explains:

By thinking of agency as discursive—as being the product of being inaugurated in and by discourse and so able to join its citational chains—Butler moves past an understanding of intent and agency that is the property of an a priori, rational, self-knowing subject, but retains a subject who can act with intent.

Therefore, discursive regimes, and their effects, ultimately exceed the intent or free will of subjects. Yet, the performatively constituted subject can still deploy discursive agency, and thus perform in a manner that breaks the citational chain (Butler, 1999). Davies & Gannon (2005) adds to this and states that performative agency is contingent on the discourses at play and on people’s positioning within them. In other words, performative agency is a situated and fleeting accomplishment and sometimes difficult to realize and apply. That said, with the theory of agency, Butler provides an opening for subversive action and calls for people to trouble the categories of gender *through* performance. Butler writes, “If there is a positive normative task in *Gender*

Trouble, it is to insist upon the extension of this legitimacy to bodies that have been regarded as false, unreal, and unintelligible” (1999, p. xxiii). This *troubling* of gender is what Butler understands as ‘politics of the performative’.

Butler’s performative politics offers significant promise for a poststructural politics of change and the formulation of strategies for resisting and subverting normative performances mandated by discursive fields (Davies & Gannon, 2005). Indeed, discursive fields are not fixed and immutable. Rather, I understand discursive fields to simultaneously be both naturalized discursive regimes ‘out there’ and subjective springs of human agency. It is through actions of performative politics, Butler insists, the sedimented meanings of enduring and prevailing discourses might be unsettled and reinscribed. Hence, through performative politics Butler envisions discursive fields to radically change by opening up for ideas, subjects and performances previously barred or rendered unintelligible. As explained by Youdell (2006, p. 519):

Through such practices, Butler insists, the sedimented meanings of enduring and prevailing discourses might be unsettled and reinscribed; subordinate, disavowed or silenced discourses might be deployed in, and made meaningful in, contexts from which they have been barred; and challenges to prevailing constitutions of subjects might be deployed self-consciously through the discursive practices of subjects who are themselves subjectivated.

How might Butler’s performative politics matter for my thesis? I argue that Butler’s performative politics aligns perfectly with my normative and political objective to foment change by bringing to view the disabling effects of OCS. I seek to identify and address disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy and call out the ways these barriers facilitate the exclusion, marginalization and oppression of (dis)abled people. In other words, I will call out the discursively mediated performances that ‘disable’ certain groups of people by turning difference into disability. Hence, by drawing inspiration and courage from Butler’s performative politics, I seek add to discussions of how socially constructed barriers in environmental governance that are restricting (dis)abled people’s agency and life choices can be removed. By exposing the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy it becomes possible to articulate their marginalizing effects and to identify ways to break the citational chain of problematic disabled

performances. In doing so I seek to challenge the ‘natural order of things’ and create spaces for ‘alternative’ subjectivities and performances to be promoted by Oslo’s climate strategy.

3.8 Summary

The above discussion highlights the ways in which (dis)ability is at stake in environmental governance. My theoretical framework draws on poststructural thought and posits that CCMAPs construct the disabled subject through the production of new, or the reinforcement of pre-existing, disabling barriers in society. These disabling barriers are constructed and sustained within discursive fields, which are defined as spaces in which discursive happenings are situated. Furthermore, discursive fields, including disabling barriers, authorize and legitimize people’s everyday performances. Disabling barriers force certain individuals to into what I term ‘the disabled performance’, which is a performative re-materialization of ableist discursive regimes.

Drawing on feminist geography, I introduced the lenses of space, intersectionality and embodiment with the intention to add theoretical depth to the disabled performance. I added these lenses to nuance how disabled performances are invoked, enacted, (re)configured, subverted and transformed as (dis)abled people take the bus/access CFCL. Thus, I contend that the disabled performance is situated, emotional and intersectional, and that the disabled subject is produced in performative moments when disabling barriers effectively prevent the so-called ‘disabled’ from fully participating in society on an equal basis with ‘able bodies’. This matter, because Oslo’s climate strategy might, unintentionally, produce/reinforce disabling barriers that further the exclusion, marginalisation and oppression of (dis)abled people. The proposed theoretical framework therefore sets the stage for the interrogation of the ways that OCS produces and cements social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people over time and context.

Moreover, theoretical attention has been given to how disabled performances invoked by OCS can be challenged, subverted and/or transformed. Thus, my framework enables me to investigate how (dis)abled people, based on their everyday practices and embodied experiences, comply with or resist disabled performances staged by OCS. Additionally, I have explored, theoretically, the potential for Oslo climate strategy to support and create spaces for emancipatory subjectivities that

foster emancipatory action (Eriksen et al., 2015). This line of query will contribute to debates on how CCMAPs can be a source of social transformation (Gonda, 2019). Hence, this thesis answers the below call from Eriksen et al. (2015, p. 526):

Rather than enhancing participation of vulnerable groups in adaptation processes designed by powerful groups, there is a need for co-production of these processes by the vulnerable (Manuel- Navarrete, 2013). In other words, there is a need for disadvantaged groups to have access to subjectivities that cast them in active roles rather than as either victims or villains in responding to environmental change (Hartmann, 2013), as well as policy and science making forums wherein different knowledges are contested.

Evidently, my focus here is on the everyday and performative. It is therefore important to stress that it is not my intention to explore OCS' embeddedness in existing socio-political institutions and other discursive regimes. My deliberate attention to people's everyday therefore omits other important discussions that I believe are fruitful topics for further research.

4 Methodology

4.1 From ontology to epistemology to methodology

My ontological postulations, as laid out in the previous chapter, has clear epistemological and methodological implications. Making claims about the form and nature of reality requires me to critically consider the following questions: What is knowledge? How can knowledge about reality be obtained? What is the relationship between the knower and what can be known? In essence, the answers to these questions make up my epistemological standpoint, my “theory of knowledge” (Harding, 1987, p. 3). The intricate relationship between ontology and epistemology should not be underestimated as this relationship “delineates a set of assumptions about the social world—who can be a knower and what can be known” (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 5). Importantly, these assumptions influence the decisions I as a researcher make, both in terms of what to study (based on what can be studied) and how to conduct my study (methodology).

In what follows I first define my theory of knowledge. Given my interest in the everyday and the performative, attention is given to how my epistemology allows for the exploration of the subjugating effects of Oslo’s climate strategy in the lives of (dis)abled people. Specifically, I elaborate on how to generate knowledge of how and why Oslo’s climate strategy produces/reinforces disabling barriers and mediates disabled performances. I then discuss how my epistemology delimits my methodology, sampling strategy and choice of research methods.

4.2 Epistemology: Situated knowledge

As with the rest of my thesis, my epistemology draws much inspiration from feminism and feminist geography. That said, I would like to stress here that there is no single feminist epistemology or methodology (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; McDowell, 1993). Rather, there are “myriad of ways of being feminist, engaging in feminist praxis and producing feminist geographers (Moss and Al Hindi, 2010, cited in Johnson and Madge, 2016, p. 77). Over the past decades, multiple, and sometimes contradicting, feminist philosophies of science has emerged.

Therefore, “The history of feminist thought, whether in geography or elsewhere [...] has been one of contestation, contradiction and simultaneity, with competing perspectives held at the same time (McDowell, 1993, p. 162).

Despite differences, feminist scholars have been successful in “eliminating boundaries that privilege dominant forms of knowledge building, boundaries that mark who can be a knower and what can be known questions that place women's lives and those of “other” marginalized groups at the center of social inquiry” (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 4). I am particularly interested in how poststructuralist feminist scholars construct their understanding of the social world by grounding scientific inquiry in the situated voices and embodied experiences of groups of people that are often subjected in contrast to the dominant normal. Indeed, poststructural feminists regard these voices and experiences as legitimate sources of knowledge, and carefully place the voices and experiences of ‘the others’ at centre stage in their research (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). This approach to ‘the construction of knowledge’ as led much of feminist research to embrace the epistemology of situated knowledge.

The term 'situated knowledge' can be traced back to Donna Haraway (1991) and her publication *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: the Reinvention of Nature*. By employing the epistemology of situated knowledge, Haraway questions what she considers a dangerous myth in Western societies, namely the myth that researchers, by adopting ‘appropriate’ methods of inquiry, can be neutral conveyors for the world’s truths (Haraway, 1991). On the contrary, the feminist epistemology of situated knowledge posits that “a person’s social location both enables and sets limits to what that person can know” (Blaikie, 2007, p. 168). In other words, the epistemology of situated knowledge asserts that all forms of knowledge (and knowledge production) reflect the social identities and subject positions of knowledge holders/producers, as well the particular conditions in which these identities and locations are produced (Haraway, 1991). Consequently, knowledge about the world is always situated, partial, embodied and grounded in people’s lived experiences.

Today feminist researchers across disciplinary fields continue to demonstrate how people’s situated knowledge and lived experiences are key places from which to build knowledge and foment social change. Hence, departing from the epistemology of situated knowledge, feminist

research disrupts traditional ways of knowing and creates new meanings and understandings of the social world. This position is in stark contrast to the positivist research paradigm. As explained by Hesse-Biber (2012, p. 15):

The positivist paradigm assumes the viability of the value-neutral and objective researcher, who can obtain generalized findings or universal truths. Based on these assumptions, positivism has very specific answers to epistemological questions. Certain types of “knowledge” are not considered scientific knowledge, certain ways of obtaining knowledge are not valid, and certain people may not possess knowledge.

Placing my thesis in the epistemology of situated knowledge has two major implications. Firstly, it means grounding my research in the situatedness of the meanings and interpretations, the motives and intentions, and the everyday lived experiences of individuals. As stated in the theory chapter, the lens of the performative naturally privileges everyday lives as a methodological entry point to examine people’s experiences and situated knowledges of places and events. Thus, I contend that attention to everyday routines, activities and embodied experiences provides a useful vantage point for bringing to view and analysing both disabling barriers and disabled performances that become salient as my informants take the bus/access CFCL.

Secondly, I must recognize the importance of *researcher positionality*, and how my own subjective experiences, values, and partial and situated knowledge influence the research process and outcome(s). Indeed, feminist scholars assert that positivist notions of objectivity in scientific inquiry must be transformed into ‘feminist objectivity’ (Haraway, 1988). This means that I should bring to view, not ignore, how my social positioning and personal values influence(d) my research and the relationships that I established in the process of conducting this study. Differently put, ignoring and rendering invisible my own social positioning and worldviews would be both unrealistic and undesirable (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

4.2.1 Contextualising the research journey – situating myself

Following the goals of feminist objectivity, also referred to as ‘reflexivity’, I use the next few paragraphs to situate myself and my research. In other words, I am refusing to ‘write myself out’ of my thesis by becoming impartial, universal or distanced. Rather, I ‘write myself in’ and try to account for how my situatedness influences all aspects of the research process. As stated by Leavy (2000, p. 4):

During the initial phase of research, the context of discovery, Sandra Harding asserts and I concur that feminist researchers have an obligation to disclose a brief personal 'biography' including why they have chosen to research a given topic, the vantage point from which they will begin inquiry and the way in which they will gather, analyze and report the knowledge they have produced.

I have for a long time been curious as to why and how societies normalise certain attributes, sexualities, and bodies. As a queer person, I experienced early that my own sexuality existed around, and helped define the limits of, the centred, privileged space of heterosexuality. For example, why did I, as a queer person, have to ‘come out’ (repeatedly), while my ‘straight’ friends did not? Why was it that I, as a queer person, was assumed to possess certain attributes, often labelled as ‘feminine’? Why was it that I could not hold the hands of my lovers in public spaces without fearing retribution from random passer-by? The list is long. The point that I am trying to make is that I have questioned, and continue to question, normalizations and taken-for-granted assumptions that I face in my everyday life, particularly (but not exclusively), regarding categories of gender and sexuality. I should also mention that I grew up in a matriarchal household. My mother is a staunch feminist, and I do think that I have taken a critical stance against patriarchy and the naturalized privileging of (certain groups of) men and ‘masculine’ attributes from an early age. Indeed, and perhaps inspired by my mother, I would call myself a radical feminist.

However, although my sexuality effectively renders me as ‘other’ and different from the heterosexual normal in various situations, I am a white, cis male with a norm-functioning body. As such, I do belong to a very privileged group of people, ‘despite’ my queerness. I have never personally encountered any hate speech/crime, and I have never been bullied by anyone based on

my sexuality and/or gender expression. Maybe the reasons for this are that I can ‘pass’ as a heterosexual male in many different contexts. I do have to admit that I sometimes ‘code switch’ in order to disguise my queerness, especially when I feel threatened in what I perceive to be hostile heterosexual places. Hence, my sexuality and gender identity are in some situations less singular and ‘obvious’ and, therefore, less likely to put me in a ‘queer box’. That said, I am very proud to be queer, and I often argue that queer people, as with other minority groups, have a superpower: we are able to call (some) normalizations/discourses more easily into question than other groups of people. I would say that this ‘superpower’ is what Butler calls discursive agency.

Yet, my superpower is subjective. That is, my views and understandings of the embedded meanings and effects of normalizations/discourses are situated. Moreover, I do not claim that my discursive agency enables me to avoid regurgitating discourses unwittingly (Berg, 2013). On the contrary, I am positive that I continuously cite and reproduce several discourses unknowingly, and that many discourses that shape my everyday are not necessarily known to me. As a researcher this is important for me to state. Indeed, throughout the research process I might have subconsciously deployed certain discourses and inscribed their meanings in both text and practice, and onto people’s bodies (Berg, 2013; Butler, 1999). Therefore, I have to acknowledge that throughout my research, and based on my situatedness, I must surely have cited multiple discourses “through the meanings, associations and omissions embedded in the historicity of apparently simple and benign utterances and bodily practices” (Youdell, 2006, p. 514). As such, I must ask myself: have I subjected my informants as ‘disabled’ or as people with (dis)ability? Have I, in my quest to foment change, blindsided certain aspects of Oslo’s climate strategy that have had positive impacts in the lives of my informants? Has my situatedness allowed me to really understand the stories that my informants have told me about their everyday embodied experiences? In other words, have I paid close enough attention to how I (‘the researcher’), both knowingly or unknowingly, have been, and still is, implicated in a process of ongoing subjectivation of my informants (‘the researched’) and myself?

I don't have clear-cut answers to these questions. However, these are some of the questions that I have regularly asked myself throughout the research process. For example, I know that having a norm-functioning body has consequences for my research project. By no means can I 100% relate

to the everyday lived realities of my informants. I am not blind, and I do not use a wheelchair. In my thesis I seek to scrutinize and challenge ableist discourses and their oppressive effects in the lives of (dis)abled people. At the same time, my privileged location within ableist discourses is undoubtedly 'visible' to the people involved in my research. This location was often openly discussed during my interviews. In order to get a better understanding of how my informant's daily lives are implicated by their (dis)ability, one of my informants suggested that I could try to get on the bus, for example, using a blindfold or by using a wheelchair. I thought this was a great idea. However, the interesting thing is that I immediately felt 'scared' by the idea of walking around Oslo with a blindfold or getting on the bus while sitting in a wheelchair. Why was I scared of this? Maybe because I knew that I would be attracting people's attention. Maybe because I knew that using a blindfold or a wheelchair to get on a bus would be complicated and potentially trigger fear and anxiety.

This last paragraph brings to view the researcher/researched relationships that were established in my research process. The researcher/researched relationship is often categorised in terms of the researcher being an 'insider' or 'outsider' (Blaikie, 2007). While there are a myriad of books and articles discussing and comparing the two positions, I argue that the boundaries between the status as insider or outsider are complex and constantly in flux (Blaikie, 2007; Mullings, 1999). Freezing positionalities in place and assuming that being an 'insider' or 'outsider' is a fixed attribute is, I contend, both a false assumption and counterproductive (Mullings, 1999). As Naples (1996) explains, having membership of a group does not mean absolute sameness with that group. Likewise, not having membership is not a sign of complete difference. Naples (1996) understands insider/outsider statuses to be dynamic and shifting categories that are continuously produced through researcher/participant interactions. For example, my norm-functioning body sets me 'apart' from my informants. At the same time, the research process brought to view aspects in which we are similar. In other words, even though there are obvious differences between me and my informants, such as ethnicity and (dis)ability, there were similarities based on age, sexuality, gender and education. By way of illustration, when discussing experiences of getting on the bus using a wheelchair, I was clearly an 'outsider'. However, when discussing queer culture, or when bonding over mutual friends, I felt close to my informants and felt like an 'insider'. Thus, breaking

with the insider/outsider divide, I argue that as researchers, we can only be in the space between ‘outsider and insider’ (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Back to the task of situation myself: Feminism and environmentalism are causes close to my heart. I have had the privilege to question, explore and challenge gender fables as a professional. For the past five years I have been working as a gender advisor/researcher for a research institute in Amsterdam, and I have been working as a gender advisor professionally on two projects while conducting this study. I believe that my professional experiences have greatly shaped the way that I approached my thesis. It is also relevant to mention that I love nature! I grew up in rural Norway, and I’m in love with the view from where I grew up - the view of Sognefjorden and the surrounding mountains. Growing up in this landscape has deeply connected me with nature and all its beauty. It is perhaps the beauty of rural Norway that made me interested in climate change, both its causes and consequences. Indeed, this interest led me to work for Greenpeace back in 2009 and prior to this master (in 2015) I completed a MSc in ‘Environmental Policy and Regulation’ at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

But why am I writing a thesis on the everyday lived experiences of (dis)abled people as they take the bus/access CFCL? As with a lot of things in life, my thesis topic is a result of random encounters. Well, maybe not all that random. My flatmate is Hilde who I’ve known since childhood. Hilde moved to Oslo about the same time as I did to start her new job as a communication advisor for Blindeforbundet¹¹. I learned so much about the everyday lives of people that are blind from Hilde. More than that, I realised how little I knew of the everyday challenges and opportunities that members of Blindeforbundet face when navigating different spaces and situations. I remember that Hilde was working on a campaign to raise people’s awareness of ‘ledelinjer’¹². I have to admit, I had no idea what a ledelinje was. I think that this specific incident sparked an interest in me.

As I was learning more about Blindeforbundet, and the work that they do, I was in the process of deciding on a topic for my thesis. I knew that I wanted to write about climate change mitigation

¹¹ The Norwegian Association of the Blind and Partially Sighted (NABP).

¹² Tactile walking surface indicators.

and adaptation policies, and how such policies might produce and/or reinforce social inequalities. Further, I was conscious from the beginning of the research process that I didn't want to include 'informants' in my project as 'objects of research' only. Rather, I wanted to engage with my informants as co-designers of my research project and as co-creators of knowledge. Thus, I asked Hilde to connect me with one of her colleagues, and over the course of the spring of 2020 I had several conversations with people working for both Blindeforbundet, Rådet for folk med funksjonsnedsettelser¹³ and Norges Handikapforbund¹⁴ (NHF). Overall, these dialogues greatly shaped my research project and led to the final formulation of my research questions. It was important for me to develop a research topic and design that 'made sense', not just for me, but also for the people that I sought to include in my project as informants and for organisations that are working on similar topics as the one discussed here.

4.3 Methodological implications

To create feminist approaches to research, feminist scholars have not only redefined the nature of knowledge (epistemology), they have also redefined the theory and process of conducting research (methodology). As stated by Campbell & Wasco (2000, p. 783), "In many respects, feminist approaches to research are most clearly identifiable by the processes used to construct knowledge".

Methodology is understood as the theoretical/philosophical underpinnings of the practices, procedures and rules used to conduct research (Peake et al., 2016). The methodology of my research project is inspired by the above-mentioned feminist thinking about reality and how it can be studied (ontology and epistemology). For the purpose of my thesis, I have chosen to use qualitative research methods to guide me in the exploration of selected people's situated knowledges, including their everyday embodied experiences, of Oslo's climate strategy. Qualitative methods are deemed appropriate for the investigation of how people think, feel and/or behave in particular situations and in particular places (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). My objective here is not to generalize the experiences and knowledges of individuals, nor to impose a 'dominant'

¹³ The council for people with disabilities.

¹⁴ The Norwegian Association of Disabled (NAD).

or ‘correct’ interpretation of (dis)abled people’s experiences with taking the bus/accessing CFCL. Therefore, it is not my intention to expose or postulate *universal truths*. Rather, I seek to illustrate how and why OCS can produce/reinforce social difference by bringing to view moments when the strategy produces/reinforces disabling barriers, disabled performances and thus the disabled subject. I believe that such an illustration is recognizable, and that these narratives, albeit few, resonates with my informants, Blindeforbundet, NHF and others. I further elaborate on my approach to, and application of, qualitative research in the paragraphs below.

4.3.1 Sampling of informants

4.3.1.1 Sample

After my initial discussions with Blindeforbundet and NHF, as well as with my supervisor, I decided to limit the study to include the everyday lived experiences of people using wheelchairs and people that are blind. Only people residing in Oslo were sampled for the research as these people are directly impacted by Oslo’s climate strategy in their everyday lives. That said, my informants represent both ‘users’ and ‘non-users’ of public transportation.

Recognizing that ‘wheelchair users’ and ‘people that are blind’ are not homogenous groups of individuals, I took care in ensuring that my informants represented differences in gender, age, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Moreover, it is important to stress that my informants differ in terms of the wheelchairs that they use and in terms of their blindness. Thus, it is unreasonable to believe that my informants somehow ‘represent’ the experiences of using public transportation and CFCL of all (dis)abled people in Oslo. My informants also differ in terms of how long they have lived with their (dis)ability and whether they identify as ‘disabled’, ‘funkis’ or as ‘funksjonsvarierte’.

This partial account, then, is offered as fragments of a larger network of discourses, disabling barriers and performances that are particularly significant to the subjectification processes that I am exploring in this thesis. This brings me to intersectionality. As discussed in the theory chapter, feminist scholarship has continuously argued the need move away from simplistic narratives of,

for example, women vs. men, or disabled vs. abled. Rather, much of contemporary feminist research is concerned with analyses of how multiple identities intersect and are created/performed in and through the discursive fields in which people's everyday lives are embedded.

Although feminist approaches to, and overviews of, the concept of intersectionality have multiplied in recent years, it is still challenging to grasp what intersectionality actually means and how to operationalize it in research (Choo & Ferree, 2010). As stated by Hirschmann (2012, p. 401):

I think feminist approaches to intersectionality have been limited in part because, no matter how much feminists remind ourselves that “women” occupy all racial, ethnic, religious, class, and sexuality positions, one tends not to hold all of that multiplicity in mind when one uses the term — we are sometimes better at calling for intersectionality and proclaiming its importance than we are at actually doing it.

Choo & Ferree (2010) argue that researchers should be clear about which specific style of intersectional analysis they utilize (and why) in an effort to define a coherent intersectional research agenda. Choo & Ferree (2010, p. 129) continue by distinguishing three styles of ‘doing’ intersectional research:

The first, emphasizes placing multiply-marginalized groups and their perspectives at the center of the research. The second, intersectionality as a process, highlights power as relational, seeing the interactions among variables as multiplying oppressions at various points of intersection, and drawing attention to unmarked groups. Finally, seeing intersectionality as shaping the entire social system pushes analysis away from associating specific inequalities with unique institutions, instead looking for processes that are fully interactive, historically co-determining, and complex.

I have consciously decided to follow the style of intersectionality that Choo and Ferree (2010, p.129) label as ‘group centred’, which aligns with the first style described in the quote above. This means that my intersectional objective in this thesis is to bring to view the different voices and daily lived realities of my informants. In practice, this style is defined as an acknowledgement of,

and a specific focus on, inclusion of the myriad of embodied experiences of differently situated individuals. For the purpose of my research, I will tease out these differences and draw attention to how my informants experience Oslo's green transformation in different ways based on how their (dis)ability intersects (or not) with age, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. In other words, intersectionality is represented in this thesis by explicitly making visible the diversity of my informant's lived experiences as they take the bus/access CFCL. This style of intersectional research was chosen because, as discussed below, I was not able to collect primary data as intended due to the pandemic. Given that I am relying more heavily on secondary data than anticipated I feel that I don't have enough information that speaks to the two latter 'styles' of intersectionality presented by Choo & Ferree (2010). As such, it is not my aim here to, for example, study the intricacies of how and why ableism, along with various other forms of 'isms' (such as racism and sexism) come together in Oslo's climate strategy to produce specific subject positions for different groups of people. This is, however, a fruitful topic for future research.

4.3.1.2 Sampling

My sampling strategy can be labelled as 'snowballing' (Stratford & Bradshaw, 2016). Firstly, based on my initial dialogues with key informants from Blindeforbundet and NHF, I decided to recruit informants to my study that were members of either of these two organizations. From both organizations, 16 potential informants were identified through conversations with key informants, and I was given their contact details. I then proceeded to contact each identified person by phone, with the intention to verbally introduce myself and the purpose of my thesis. Immediately following the call, I sent the identified persons an email with more in-depth information about my research project, and a formal 'information letter' outlining what participation in the project would entail. Out of the 16 people contacted, 9 people agreed to participate in the study.

In addition to actively reaching out to people identified by my key informants, both Blindeforbundet and its youth chapter circulated information about my thesis in their newsletter and on closed social media forums (only open to their members). This approach led one person to contact me asking if they could be part of the study. Thus, a total of 10 people was recruited as informants for this research project.

4.3.1.3 Participants

Table 1 presents an overview of the 10 informants that participated in my study. Each informant has been given an alias due to anonymity. Three of my informants are blind and use a guide dog. Six of my informants are wheelchair users. Some use manual wheelchairs, others use electric wheelchairs or a combination of the two. Some informants are ‘walking wheelchair users’. One of my informants, Titilope, does not use a wheelchair but has reduced mobility.

Half of my informants are aged between 19 - 33, three informants are aged between 34 and 55 and two informants are 60+. My informants further differ in terms of their gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation and employment status. As stated above, most of the informants are members of either Blindeforbundet or NHF/Norges Handikapforbunds Ungdom. All of my informants, except Susan, live in Oslo¹⁵. Interestingly, many of my informants are politically active and label themselves as activists. The younger informants are familiar with the social model of disability and define themselves as ‘people with ability variation’ (PAV) or ‘funkis’. The older informants usually don't use the label PAV or ‘funkis’. It seems that politically active people/activists were more positively attuned to participate in my study than non-politically active people. This is a potential sample bias that I have accounted for.

Table 1: Participants

Alias	(dis)ability		#of interviews	# of FGD
Hanne	Blind	Has guide dog	-	2
Olaug	Blind	Has guide dog	-	2
Henry	Blind	Has guide dog	-	2
Karoline	Movement	Manual and electric wheelchair	2	
Ellen	Movement	Reduced walking/ wheelchair user		2

¹⁵ Susan recently moved out of Oslo.

Titilope	Movement	Reduced walking		2
Susan	Movement	Electric wheelchair	1	
Inger	Movement	Manual wheelchair	1	
Tarjei	Movement	Electric wheelchair	1	
Wei-chen	Movement	Electric wheelchair	2	

In addition to interviewing the above participants, I conducted two interviews with public agencies that are part of the planning and implementation processes of Oslo’s climate strategy (see Table 2). These interviews were more informal in nature and were not recorded. The purpose of these interviews was for me to better understand the extent to which Oslo kommune had engaged with social issues in the planning and implementation of the climate strategy, and how Oslo kommune works with universal design in the context of CFCL. Both of these interviews served to better frame my case (presented in Chapter 2). The interviews were set up after I directly contacted Klimaetaten and Bymiljøetaten, either by phone or by email.

Table 2: Informal interviews with public agencies in Oslo

Name of agency	Date of interview
Klimaetaten (the City of Oslo’s climate agency)	20 January, 2021
Bymiljøetaten (the Agency for Urban Development)	12 February, 2021

4.4 Methods

I define method as “a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence” (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 5). Considering my feminist approach to this research project, it is worthwhile to briefly deliberate on the following question: is there a unique feminist method of inquiry? Although the notion of ‘feminist methods’ runs throughout feminist literature, it is a somewhat ‘fussy’ term as it suggests there is a set of specific techniques that are uniquely feminist (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Rather, ‘feminist methods’ are familiar methods of data collection (e.g., interviewing, focus

groups or ethnography) that are adapted to be consistent with feminist epistemology and ideology. (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992) note that some ‘feminist methods’ do appear new and unique, but only because their application diverges from more traditional and positivistic approaches to data collection. As explained by Hesse-Biber (2012, p. 7):

A closer examination of the full range of feminist social analyses reveals that often it is not exactly alternative methods that are responsible for what is significant about this research. Instead, we can see in this work alternative origins of problematics, explanatory hypotheses and evidence, alternative purposes of inquiry, and a new prescription for the appropriate relationship between the inquirer and his/her subject of inquiry.

I originally decided to employ walking-interviews and in-person focus group discussions as methods for data collection. I considered each of these methods to be well suited to a) investigate subjective and complex experiences, perceptions, behaviours and motivations, and b) to explore how Oslo’ climate strategy intersects in (dis)abled people’s everyday lives, and with what ‘subjugating’ consequences (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). However, Covid-19 and the resulting state-sanctioned mobility restrictions and social distancing requirements effectively prevented me from collecting data as initially planned. I deemed it unsafe to meet my informants in person as I feared that both walking-interviews and in-person FGD could put both the informants and myself at risk of contracting the corona virus. I was therefore challenged to find new methods for data collection. In the end, I replaced the walking interviews with online semi-structured interviews (OSSI) and the in-person FGD with online synchronous focus group discussions (OFGD). Both methods were deemed safe and ‘fit’ for the purpose of my thesis. I was pleasantly surprised by the fact that conducting interviews and FGDs online was not as challenging as I feared since covid-19, in some respects, had normalized online interactions and exchanges. All my informants were familiar with Zoom, and despite having to meet in an online environment, I felt that both the interviews and FGD provided me with high-quality data. Nonetheless, due to Covid-19, I was not able to generate the amount of in-depth data that I originally had planned for. Indeed, the OSSI/OFGD could not replace, in my opinion, the level of insight into the ‘disabled performance’ as the walking interviews could have allowed for. My analysis and discussion chapter bear the mark of this.

To compensate for the above limitation, I decided to collect secondary data in the form of blogs, newspaper articles and other documents that raised the same (or similar) issues that emerged during the OSSI/OFGD. I also identified several reports commissioned by various organizations and public agencies that in one way or the other analysed the social effects of CFCL or (dis)abled people's experiences with public transportation in Oslo. I found the secondary literature to be a great supplement to the primary data collected through OSSI and OFGD. For example, two of these reports¹⁶ collected primary data on (dis)abled people's experiences with taking the bus in Oslo by conducting walking interviews. Thus, the secondary data identified provided me with qualitative information that I could triangulate with findings from the OSSI and OFGD. Secondary data discussing the (dis)ability/CCMAP nexus outside the geographical confines of Oslo were not considered.

4.4.1 Timeline and collection of data

All the online SSIs and FGDs were conducted using Zoom in the period January - February 2021. Two exceptions were the interview with Tarjei and the first FGD with Henry, Hanne and Olaug, which took place December 2020 and was conducted face-to-face. All the OSSI and OFGD were recorded and transcribed. I should also note that the OSSI/OFGD were conducted in Norwegian. All the below quotes from the OSSI/OFGD haven thus been translated to English and I have to account for the fact that some minor nuances in the informants' stories about taking the bus/accessing CFCL might have been lost in translation.

I gave each informant the opportunity to choose between participating in OSSI or OFGD. Five of the 10 informants participated in OSSI, the other half participated in OFGD. Out of the five informants that participated in the SSI, two participated in a follow-up interview. All the informants who participated in the first FGD participated in a follow-up FGD. The overall objective of the first round of SSI and FGD was to explore my informants' thoughts and embodied experiences using/planning to use public transportation and when accessing CFCL. To do so, I

¹⁶ Øksenholt & Aarhaug (2015) and Ipsos (2018).

first introduced my informants to the following hypothetical scenario (and ‘photo 1’ - see Appendix B):

Scenario 1: *I started the scenario by sharing a photo of a bus stop in Oslo.* You are asked to participate in a meeting at the other side of the city from where you are living. In order to get to the meeting, you have to take a bus. What do you think and feel when you plan this journey? Moreover, what do you think and feel when you move towards the bus stop, when you are at the bus stop, when the bus arrives and you get on the bus, when you are on the bus and when you are getting off the bus?

After discussing Scenario 1, I introduced Scenario 2 (and ‘photo 2’ - see Appendix B):

Scenario 2: *I started the scenario by sharing a photo of the geographical area covered by CFCL.* You want to leave your house/apartment to go to a cafe in Oslo City Centre. The cafe is located in the area that is under CFCL. What do you think and feel when you plan this journey? What do you think and do when you access CFCL? How does this make you feel? When you are inside CFCL, what do you think and do in order to get to the cafe? How does this make you feel? What do you think and do when you leave the cafe to go home? How does this make you feel?

I then presented the informants with three statements from Oslo’s climate strategy. The first statement was linked to the use of public transportation. The second statement was linked to the overall objective of CFCL. The final statement touched upon the social justice dimensions of the climate strategy. After presenting each statement I asked the informants to share with me their initial thoughts about the statement and to discuss how the statement made them feel.

The purpose of the second round of OSSI/OFGD was to revisit the scenarios above, and to go deeper into some of the stories and experiences that were brought up in the first OSSI/OFGD. Soon after the completion of the first OSSIs/OFGDs, I transcribed the recordings and conducted a preliminary analysis in NVivo 12. This approach was inspired by the idea of *planning for emergence* between the OSSI/OFGD (Morgan et al., 2008). Allowing myself time to conduct a preliminary analysis of the first OSSI/OFGD enabled me to become familiar with the recorded

data and to start constructing interesting patterns and themes that could be explored further in the second round of OSSI/OFGD. Moreover, the preliminary analysis enabled me to bring back my initial ‘thoughts’ and findings to my informants in the second round of OSSI/OFGD and thus validate/refine/challenge my own subjective analytic interpretations of the data (Stratford & Bradshaw, 2016).

4.5 Thematic analysis, rigour and ethics

I analysed both my primary and secondary data in NVivo 12 by following Terry et al.’s six steps for ‘reflexive thematic analysis’ (Terry et al., 2017). In particular, I inserted an abductive logic into my thematic analysis (Blaikie, 2007). This means that the starting point of my analysis is the social worlds of my informants. Therefore, the first objective of my analysis was to employ and deploy semantic (descriptive) codes to capture, understand and categorise my participants’ own articulated meanings and interpretations, as well as their descriptions of the behaviours, motives and intentions that they use in their everyday lives as they use the bus/access CFCL (Blaikie, 2007). In other words, I used semantic codes to immerse myself in the language of informants with the intent to better grasp their social realities (Blaikie, 2007). The semantic codes were *somewhat* generated inductively from the data set. I deliberately use the word ‘somewhat’ here because it is unreasonable to claim that my codes *emerged naturally* from the data set (Terry et al., 2017). Indeed, I, as the researcher, was never ‘a blank state’ during the deployment of the semantic codes. On the contrary, and as I discuss in more depth later, I inevitably brought my own social positioning and theoretical lens to this stage of my analysis (Terry et al., 2017).

The second objective of my analysis was to produce accounts of *patterns* across the datasets by clustering codes together into different themes. Each theme was underpinned by central organising concepts taken from my theoretical framework (Terry et al., 2017). My themes were thus generated deductively. Each theme served as the basis to turn the language of my informants into more social scientific descriptions of the everyday, and how Oslo’s climate strategy is experienced, enacted, and/or contested by my informants. In the process of generating themes I was therefore purposefully looking for moments when (dis)abled people were subjected as ‘disabled’ through disabled performances mediated by disabling barriers. Or differently stated, from the dataset I was

looking for a) discursive fields that existed in the everyday lives of my informants, b) whether or not these discursive fields contained disabling barriers and c) what types of disabled performances these barriers staged. I also sought to identify the social inequalities these disabling barriers and performances produced or reinforced in the lives of my informants. This wasn't an easy exercise. As Youdel (2006, p. 513) states, "While at times it seems that discourses and their effects are clearly evident, more often it seems that these are subtle and oblique, needing to be teased out, to be deconstructed".

It is important to stress that my reflexive thematic analysis, like most approaches to qualitative analysis, was not a strictly linear process. On the contrary, my thematic analysis was iterative and recursive. I constantly moved back and forth between my informant's accounts of their everyday experiences and the more abstract and theoretical ways of thinking about these experiences. Furthermore, the exercise of abstracting my informants' everyday accounts into themes did not reflect 'real' discursive fields and barriers 'out there'. Rather, how I understood (and still understand) these fields and barriers, and their subjugating effects, was (and still is) constrained by my own situatedness. Differently put, I was fully immersed and entangled in the abstractions that I generated. Hence, 'discursive fields', 'disabling barriers' and 'disabled subjects' did not *emerge* naturally from my datasets. Rather, as with the semantic codes, my abstractions were subjectively constructed through a personal, productive, iterative and reflective engagement with both primary and secondary data. The abstractions presented here are products of my own creation and thus bear a heavy interpretive burden. This means that during the analysis I constantly had to ask myself: how do I understand the everyday accounts expressed by my informants? Am I getting this right? Am I seeing what I want to see? What am I not seeing? These are important questions to ask. Indeed, Doucet & Mauthner argue that "Data analysis is where the power and privilege of the researcher are particularly pronounced and where the ethics of our research practice are particularly acute because of the largely invisible nature of the interpretive process" (2012, pp. 129-130).

4.5.1 Rigour of analysis

To thoroughly address the ethical dilemmas that surfaced when I moved in between ‘lay’ accounts and more social scientific descriptions of the everyday, I regularly ‘checked in’ with my informants, my supervisor and my peers. When ‘checking in’ I invited my informants and supervisor to scrutinize the ways data had been collected, as well as the process and outcomes of my reflective thematic data analysis. For example, on five separate occasions I presented the findings of my analysis to six of my informants. These ‘checking in’ sessions allowed me to critically and openly discuss the political and subjective nature of my analysis and ensure that my informants’ accounts of their everyday lives had not been misconstrued. Moreover, it enabled me to engage with my informants outside of the OSSI/OFGD context, which I greatly enjoyed. In these conversations we also discussed ways in which we could use my research to foment change and how to disseminate my findings to a wider audience.

I also made sure to adhere to relevant rules and guidelines mandated by the Centre for Research Data in Norway (NSD) to account for ethical research practice. The next section discusses the ethical dimensions of my research in more detail.

4.5.2 Ethics in feminist research

Feminist research is defined as much by its objectives as its process and values (Harding, 1987). As stated by Campbell & Wasco “In many respects, feminist approaches to research are most clearly identifiable by the processes used to construct knowledge” (2000, p. 783). The above sections bring to view some of the ethical issues surrounding the construction of knowledge - a discussion that I have framed in philosophical or epistemological terms. However, feminist discussions on ethics also “address ethical dilemmas that can arise during data collection and fieldwork, many of which revolve around issues of honesty and lying, power and privilege, and the overall quality of the relationships between researcher and researched” (Doucet & Mauthner, 2012, p. 122).

In this section, I examine two defining features of feminist research ethics that I deem relevant to my own study, namely emotionality and non-hierarchy.

4.5.2.1 Emotionality

Feminist scholars continue to challenge the notion that social science is about thinking and not feeling (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Indeed, feminist scholars have for long evidenced that “feelings, like beliefs and values, also shape research and are a natural part of inquiry” (Campbell & Wasco, 2000, p. 786). For me, emotionality impacted my research in two important ways. Firstly, I took care in acknowledging the emotionality of participating as an informant in my research project. For example, I often reflected on how my informants must feel when sharing personal information with a ‘stranger’. I therefore approached the OSSI/OFGD as more than simple question-and-answer conversations, but rather as a setting in which my questions and inquiries could trigger strong emotional responses. This matter, because the way that my informants react emotionally to both myself, and the questions that I ask, influence their wellbeing as well as the quality of the data generated (Hesse-Biber, 2012). For example, I found that talking about how their position in an ableist society made some of my informants sad, others angry. Indeed, sharing stories about how they are denied access to, for example, the bus or different parts of Oslo city centre triggered strong emotional responses in several informants. As such, not only were emotions the explicit topic of inquiry, I also strived to design and conduct OSSIs and OFGDs that respected my informants' feelings and the emotionality of their lived realities.

Secondly, throughout the research, I took care to attune to my own emotional responses to different situations that I encountered. For example, the OSSIs and OFGDs are settings in which I was exposed to emotion-laden stories and where I encountered stories that baffled me, haunted me, entertained me, made me happy and sometimes made me uncomfortable. In recognizing the emotionality of conducting a study like this, I often set aside time to reflect on the following questions. How did the stories of my informants make me feel? How did my emotional responses to x, y and z shape my analysis and the process of writing of my thesis? I discussed these questions with my peers and my supervisors, and in some instances with my informants. But, most of the time I checked in with myself and tried to reflect on my own emotions to gain substantive and novel insights into my own research. As stated by Bondi (2005, p. 436):

Once the idea of the researcher as detached, objective observer is relinquished, questions about the kind of positions researchers occupy and the consequences for the

knowledge produced. The reflexive self-monitoring undertaken by researchers reveals a wide range of emotions, from the pleasures of conversations rich with mutual recognition and humour, to uncomfortable interactions steeped in anxiety, uncertainty and suspicion, emotions that flow between and among people and places, including researchers as well as those on whom their research focuses.

In sum, throughout the process of research, I made sure to tune in to the feelings of my informants as well as my own emotions. However, since the pandemic ‘forced’ me to meet my informants in an online environment, it was at times hard to tune in to their emotional states and reactions. Yet, through open and honest conversations with my informants I was able to grasp the emotional toll of participating in the OSSI/OFGD specifically, and in the research project more generally.

4.5.2.2 Non-hierarchy

“Feminist research is mindful of hierarchies of power and authority in the research process [...] including those power differentials that lie within research practices that can reinforce the status quo, creating divisions between colonizer and colonized” (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 4).

This quote demonstrates that research, including my own research project, is interwoven with relations of power (Dowling, 2016). Historically, a hierarchy has existed between the researcher and the research participant whereby the researcher has been cast as the expert and the participant is considered as someone to be researched (Johnson & Madge, 2016). Consequently, normal research practice was (and often still is) for the researcher to exclude the ‘researched’ from participating in decisions about research design, implementation, analysis and presentation (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Several feminist scholars have argued that this ‘naturalized’ hierarchy does very little to facilitate trust and that it undermines the building of open and honest relationships. Some scholars thus assert that it is necessary, and ethically imperative, for researchers to create non-hierarchical relationships with the research participants (Campbell & Wasco, 2000).

Yet, was it possible to establish non-hierarchical relationships between myself and my informants? I argue that, in the context of my own research project, it was not feasible nor possible to do so because I, as the ‘researcher’, had (and still has in the time of writing) the utmost authority over the data collection, analysis and presentation. The fact that it is I, and not my informants, that is writing this paragraph is very much indicative of the power asymmetries in my research project. As stated by Dowling, “Power cannot be eliminated from your research, since it exists in all social relations” (2016, p. 36).

The recognition that power asymmetries existed (and still exists) in my research has thus been vital. Firstly, it has allowed me to critically reflect on my own privileged positions within my own research project. For example, what were the consequences of me deciding which questions to ask, and in what order, in the OSSI/OFGD? What were the consequences of me ‘controlling the tape-recorder’ and of me deciding which literature to cite?

Secondly, it allowed me to reflect on how to involve my informants in both the design, conduct and presentation of my research, as I’ve discussed in more detail above. I have been cautious to involve both my informants and organizations, such as Blindeforbundet and NHF, in discussions on how my research could be made relevant to (dis)abled people, civil society organizations and policymakers. I also, as mentioned above, gave my informants opportunities to verify or refute the findings of my analysis and to come up with suggestions as to how my research could be utilized to foment social change. While these measures did not fully remove power asymmetries from my research, they helped me to stay accountable and to reflect on how both my informants and I were differently positioned within my project.

4.6 Some final reflections on limitations and covid-19

I conducted my research during a pandemic. That is, in the lack of better words, weird. I would be lying if I said that covid-19 did not impact my research, including the writing of this thesis. It did. As explained above, due to the pandemic I had to change the way that I collected data and the ways in which I was able to connect with my informants. Indeed, given that most of the interactions between the informants and myself took place in virtual environments, it was sometimes difficult

to pick up on people's body language and other 'non-verbal cues' that otherwise would have alerted me to emotional triggers and to potentially asymmetrical/exploitative relationships. However, I hope that the above discussions highlight how I have met these challenges and tried to solve them.

I have also been (and still is) personally affected by the pandemic, as everyone else. Because of Covid-19 I decided to move back to the village where I grew up to live with my parents. This has not been all bad, I love my parents and I love my village! Yet, I have been removed from Oslo, UiO and my peers. I moved back to my parents in December 2020 and I am still here six months later. That means that I have been away from the academic space in which I envisioned (before the pandemic) that I would write my thesis. I miss walking in the halls of UiO and having two-hour long coffee breaks with my friends discussing everything from who dates who to our research questions. Sometimes the pandemic has left me in a state of malaise, and I have felt unmotivated and discouraged. Yet, overall, I have enjoyed writing my thesis. I have thoroughly enjoyed connecting with my informants and reflecting on my research questions. I have enjoyed reaching conclusions while looking at the beautiful Sognefjord and witnessing the coming of spring. So, of course the pandemic has been challenging. At the same time, I have been so privileged and fortunate compared to many others.

5 Discussion

What follows is an exploration of the ways that the ‘disabled subject’ become salient, are enacted/rejected, and are made relevant/irrelevant as my informants take the bus/access Car-Free City Life (CFCL). The structure of the discussion largely mimics the structure of the theory chapter. I am first discussing how discursive fields and disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy are instrumental in mapping ways of life that are ‘*disabled*’. I draw attention to how disabling barriers, as situated accomplishments, set the stage for the enactment/resistance of the disabled performance, as well as the fluctuating emotional responses that accompany these performances. It is important to stress that my focus here is on the everyday performative and emotional constitution of the disabled subject in particular spatial orderings (discursive fields). Thus, other performances and/or barriers present in the same discursive fields as the ones identified here are not accounted for.

I then evidence the social differentiation that follows from the production of the disabled subject. Here I bring to view how disabled performances, as the re-materialization of ableist discursive regimes, produce everyday social inequalities and social hierarchies in the lives of my informants. Specific focus is given to emotionality and exclusion. Finally, and inspired by Butler, I elaborate on the possibilities for *troubling* the ways in which Oslo’s climate strategy produces/reinforces disabling barriers. The focus here is on performative politics and the possibilities for a poststructural politics of change. I discuss how the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy can be dismantled and how disabling performances can be resisted, subverted and ultimately transformed. Thus, in this final section I explore how sedimented meanings of enduring and prevailing ableist discursive fields produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy (OCS) can be unsettled and reinscribed.

5.1 Disabling barriers and the performances of the ‘disabled subject’

From the analysis I find a multitude of fleeting discursive fields that are present in the everyday lives of my informants as they take the bus/access Oslo city centre. These discursive fields contain

a myriad of both physical and social disabling barriers, and thus provide the terrain in which my informants are always enacting, (re)configuring and/or subverting the disabled performance.

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, it is not my intention to bring all the discursive fields, disabling barriers and disabled performances identified in the analysis to view. Rather, in what follows I zoom in on selected discursive fields, disabling barriers and performances that I contend are representational of the subjugating and disabling effects of OCS. I have chosen to present specific situated moments which exemplifies how and why disabled performances are invoked, enacted and/or subverted by my informants as they use the bus/access CFCL. Some of these barriers can be considered as small, others as big. Some barriers are subtle, others are plain visible. Some disabling barriers are material, others are social. Nonetheless, all the barriers accounted for in this chapter are produced or reinforced by OCS, they stage the disabled performance and they support the construction of the disabled subject by turning difference into disability.

I have organized the below section on the disabled performance as follows: I start my discussion by grounding the representations of selected disabling barriers and disabled performances in the language used by my informants. The purpose is to showcase the minutiae of my informant's everyday lives as told by themselves. In doing so I bring to the fore the meanings and interpretations the informants give to the acts of taking the bus/accessing CFCL, as well as other social situations that were discussed in the OSSI/OFGD. In essence, these stories illustrate, empirically, the disabled performances which are produced or reinforced by Oslo's climate strategy. I first present stories pertaining to using the bus in Oslo, before introducing stories that were brought up in relation to accessing CFCL by private car and taxi.

I then use these 'lay' accounts to generate more social scientific explanations of the ways disabling barriers produce the disabled subject, and how disabled performances are navigated, enacted, resisted or transformed by my informants. Drawing on my theoretical framework, this latter part of the discussion is thus as a feminist poststructural analysis of how OCS produces/reinforces both the disabled subject and social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people.

5.2 Taking the bus: setting the stage

More than half of my informants regularly use the bus to get around in Oslo. It is therefore not my intention to subject my informants as people that are inherently opposed to using bus or other modes of public transportation. Some informants use the bus almost daily, while other informants use the bus seldom. Some never take the bus to get from A to B but will from X to Y. Others stopped using the bus years ago. Yet, while the frequency of bus usage varies among my informants, none express that taking the bus is an easy and enjoyable affair per se. Indeed, it is evident that several discursive fields exist along the entire travel chains for the informants, and that each discursive field is home to multiple disabling barriers, both physical and social. This means that by using the bus my informants are constantly entering into spaces imbued with (ableist) discursive regimes that set the stage for a multitude of disabled performances. These discursive fields, and the disabled performances they stage, are considered highly problematic by many informants. To this latter point, consider the response from Ellen and Susan when presented with the ‘bus scenario’ (see methodology):

My first thought is ‘hell no’, this is not going to work at all! The thought of me taking the bus to the other side of town makes me think ‘mhm, this is not happening’. Instead I have to book a taxi to this meeting because I risk arriving an hour or two late if I have to take the bus. (Ellen)

To be honest, I would have declined the meeting invitation if I had to get there by bus. If I take the bus in Oslo, it is absolutely extraordinary because it is so cumbersome. I have often experienced that I do not get the help I need to get on the bus, that the bus driver does not take out the ramp, that the bus just drives away from me, that there are many prams preventing me from getting onboard, that there are people with large suitcases who occupy wheelchair spaces, that the ramp is stuck, that I get asked if I can take another bus, or that I am being told that it is better for me if I take a taxi. So, I stopped taking the bus. (Susan)

5.2.1 The discursive fields of the bus stop, the parked bus, and the moving bus

From my analysis I identified (constructed) three discursive fields that most of my informants enter and navigate as they use the bus, namely *the bus stop*, *the parked bus* and *the moving bus*. I understand the bus stop, the parked bus and the moving bus to be spatial entities encoded with specific meanings, disabling barriers, performances and norms about how things should be done in order to be legitimate. As exemplified by Ellen:

What often creates stress for people with ‘funksjonsvariasjon’ at the bus stop and when taking the bus is that we encounter so many negative and ableist attitudes. I believe that these attitudes permeate the structures of society in such a way that they in the end become physical barriers for people with ‘funksjonsvariasjon’. For example, I know that the bus stop is designed for people with norm-functioning bodies and not for me. So, I feel that the bus stop is built on ableist attitudes.

5.2.1.1 The bus stop: Lack of audio announcements

Like Ellen, several informants state that they experience bus stops as places that are not designed for them to use and where they constantly face and endure explicit and implicit discrimination. For Hanne, Olaug and Henry, all of which are blind, a major disabling barrier at the bus stop is the lack of audio announcements. Without audio announcements, they are often prevented from accessing information about when and where ‘their’ bus arrives at the bus stop. This lack of information is especially stressful and frustrating if several busses arrive at the same bus stop. Sometimes, Hanne, Olaug and Henry rely on other people at the bus stop to obtain this information. The disabled performance of eliciting information from people at the bus stop can be experienced as both pleasant and/or uncomfortable. Firstly, due to noise pollution, it is difficult for Hanne, Henry and Olaug to know whether there are other people at the bus stop. Not knowing if they are alone at the bus stop or not can cause feelings of frustration. Secondly, the performance of obtaining the information needed can be stressful, especially when people at the bus stop react negatively to this interaction. Other times people at the bus stop don’t hear Hanne, Henry and Olaug because they are listening to music. This unintentional ignorance can leave Hanne, Henry and Olaug feeling invisible:

Hanne: [At the bus stop] you have to say out loud ‘sorry, sorry, sorry’ and hope that there is someone there to help you.

Henry: But there are not always that many people at the bus stop, at least not where you live Hanne, so often there is not a lot of people to ask [for information].

Hanne: That is true

Olaug: And then sometimes there is so much noise at the bus stop, which makes it difficult to know if there are other people there to ask for information.

Hanne: And sometimes people just walk straight past us even though we are asking them for help because they are listening to music and don’t hear our question.

Henry: Oh yeah!

Hanne: It is difficult to ask people when they don’t us.

The above conversation shows that the disabling barrier of ‘lack of announcements’ forces Hanne, Henry and Olaug into a disabled performance (obtaining information) which might trigger different emotional states, such as stress and frustration. Moreover, this disabled performance does not necessarily secure access to the bus, as I illustrate in the next section,

Olaug further tells that Blindeforbundet in 2012 filed an official complaint against Ruter¹⁷ to *Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet* (Gender Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud) due to the lack of auditive information at bus/tram/metro stops in Oslo. In 2013 the Ombud concluded that Ruter had not secured sufficient auditive information at bus/tram/metro stops, and thus had violated the law pertaining to universal design. At the same time the Ombud concluded that universal design could be secured if the bus/tram/metro drivers provided information orally to passengers at bus stops hosting two or more bus lines (Likestillings- og diskrimineringsnemnda, 2014). Yet, Hanne, Olaug and Henry tell that eight years later the problem of accessing information about their travel at the bus stop persists.

¹⁷ The company administering Oslo’s public transportation.

5.2.1.2 The parked bus: The bus driver

Oftentimes, however, the ‘bigger’ disabling barriers for the informants arise when the bus arrives at the bus stop. At this moment a new discursive field appears, namely ‘the parked bus’. As they enter the discursive field of ‘the parked bus’ my informants start to feel anxious and fearful that something ‘bad’ might happen. As stated by Henry: *When the bus arrives and the bus driver opens the door, that is when the high blood pressure kicks in.*

For example, Hanne says that it is hard for her to get on the right bus if several busses are parked at the bus stop at the same time:

[...] there are many buses that stop there [at the bus stop being discussed]. The buses stop in a row, behind one another and oftentimes the buses don't even stop close to the bus stop. The buses just stand parked behind each other. So, then you first have to approach the bus driver in front and ask, ‘sorry does this bus go to X?’. Then the driver replies, ‘No’. Then you go to the bus parked behind and ask the same question, and the bus driver yet again replies with a ‘No’. Then you might think that there are no more buses, at least I thought that there was a maximum of two buses [at the bus stop in question]. Once, I asked the second bus driver if he was going to X, and he said ‘No’, and he did not bother telling me that the bus behind was going there. Then suddenly the bus that I was waiting for starts driving, and gone it was. That's how it is with buses. Had there been an outside announcement and had the bus drivers stopped automatically and told you the route, then it would be much easier to get on the bus.

Hanne's story illustrates that the lack of auditive announcements force people that are blind into a performance of locating themselves at the bus stop where they can speak to the bus driver. However, this exact location is often unknown and/or not accessible. Hanne's story also brings to view the social disabling barrier of the ‘bus driver’. Most informants state that in the discursive field of the parked bus the bus driver is a ‘gatekeeper’. For example, the bus driver must recognize that Henry, Olaug and Hanne need travel information and be willing to provide it to them. Moreover, if the bus driver parks the bus in an odd location and refrains from announcing which

bus it is, then Hanne, Olaug and Henry risks being be ‘left behind’ at the bus stop. I return to the disabling barrier of ‘the bus driver’ below.

5.2.1.3 The parked bus: The gap and the ramp

For Karoline, Ellen, Wei-chen, Tarjei and Susan the discursive field of the parked bus is also imbued with several disabling barriers and disabled performances. They all state that boarding the bus is often experienced as challenging, and sometimes impossible. From the interviews and focus group discussions, three disabling barriers related to ‘the parked bus’ were identified by informants using wheelchairs, namely ‘the gap’, ‘the ramp’ and ‘the bus driver’. Sometimes these barriers act together, sometimes only one barrier is experienced by my informants. This last point is illustrated by Ipsos (2018, p. 15):

Boarding the bus for people with reduced mobility can be problematic and for people using wheelchairs it can sometimes be impossible. For people in wheelchairs, boarding [the bus] is by far the biggest challenge due to height differences and long distances between platform and the vehicle. In some places, boarding goes well, but many exceptions make unknown journeys unpredictable and worrying. Boarding is especially challenging for people in electric wheelchairs as they are the least mobile and it is difficult to manoeuvre electric wheelchair over a “gap” or up steps.

The gap

The above account from Ipsos brings to view the disabling barrier that many informants refer to as ‘the gap’. While the gap is persistent at metro and tram stops, where the gap is part of the built infrastructure, the gap is more in a state of flux at bus stops:

The bus drivers are very different in terms of how they see us. Or, everyone sees that I am standing there, because I am always locating myself where the bus drivers can see me, and I am giving them a clear a sign that I am there. So, they should understand that I'm going on that bus. Some are very good at stopping close to the platform and slowing down the bus. Some do not slow down the bus, and some do not park the bus close to the stop. So,

there you have the whole spectrum – manual and electric wheelchair user, Skøyen (Ipsos, 2018, p. 15).

I usually use a manual wheelchair, but I also use electric wheelchair from time to time. When I am using my manual wheelchair, I do not usually use a ramp to board the bus, however I depend on the bus driver getting as close as possible to the bus stop and that the gap between the bus stop and the bus is small. (Karoline)

These stories show that due to the unpredictability of the gap, some (dis)abled people must clearly signal to the bus driver that they are at the bus stop and that they are wanting to get on the bus. If faced with the gap, many people using wheelchair must decide whether to cross the gap or wait for the next bus to arrive. In other words, the gap, as with the lack of announcements, trigger different, and sometimes contradictory, disabled performances. For example, Susan, states that she is often ‘fearless’ in the face of the gap. By this she means that she does not let the gap prevent her from getting on the bus. She says: *I have zero fear. So, I just speed up to get across the gap and hope for the best. It usually works, but I’ve been close to hurting myself several times* (Susan). Other people are forced to wait at the bus stop for the next bus if the gap is too wide. This latter performance is signified by the impossibility of accessing the bus. Ellen tells that the disabled performance of ‘waiting for the next bus’ trigger strong emotional responses as many (dis)abled people associate this performance with feelings of being a second-class citizen:

We see that people's attitudes say that it is OK to refuse disabled people to get on the bus. People had not tolerated this if, say, women, queer people or other minority groups had been denied access to the bus. Why do people not react to this? (Ellen)

The ramp

The ramp is a ‘notorious’ disabling barrier for my informants using wheelchairs. Indeed, from the interviews and FGD it is evident that the ramp is a common disabling barrier which triggers a wide variety of performances, depending on whether the ramp is functioning or not. For example, if the ramp is not functioning most of my informants using electric wheelchairs are effectively prevented from entering the bus. If this is the case, then they must wait at the bus stop until the next bus

arrives. Alternatively, if the ramp is not working and my informants are pressed on time, then they are sometimes forced to call a taxi.

The ramp must work. The best thing for me is if buses here had ramps like buses in London. There they have a button on the outside of the bus and if you press it, the ramp comes out. Considering the bus drivers, well... they must both be able to operate the ramp, want to operate it, have the resources they need to ensure that the ramp works as it should and have enough space at the bus stop to take out the ramp. (Wei-chen)

The disabling effects of ‘the ramp’ is well captured by Dagbladet (a Norwegian newspaper) in their featured story about Amir Hashani (Hexeberg, 2020) (Box 4).

Box 4: Amir’s story

It was last night that 29-year-old Amir Hashani wanted to take the bus to Nationaltheatret. Hashani is handicapped and completely wheelchair dependent. He says that the driver did not want to let him onboard because the bus driver lacked the equipment for the fold-down ramp.

- The bus driver did not have the stick to the ramp. After approx. 20 minutes he just drove away, Hashani told Dagbladet.

This was the last bus of the evening, and the 29-year-old had to call his boyfriend in the middle of the night to get home. He reacts to the treatment he received from Ruter.

- This is awful, it's discrimination. It should not be possible. I did not know what to do. I panicked completely, he says about the incident.

Hashani says that this is not the first time he has been denied access to a bus.

- It happens very often with me and other disabled people. This is everyday discrimination.

Source: (Hexeberg, 2020)

Due to the unpredictability of the ramp, a few of my informants using manual wheelchairs carry their own ‘ramps’ as a safety measure to get on the bus. These ramps are small but heavy. If the ramp is working, however, (dis)abled people are sometimes expected to operate the ramp themselves:

Sometimes the bus driver comes out and helps with the ramp, other times not. When that happens you must have kind people around to help [with the ramp]. The bus driver is actually obliged to do so [take out the ramp], but some of the bus drivers do not bother. Or they are angry if they have to get up from their seat – Electric wheelchair user, Oslo (Ipsos, 2018, p. 15).

Bus drivers are therefore found to force (dis)abled people into the disabled performance that I term ‘ramp operators’. Other times it is the fellow passengers that are operating the ramp and helping wheelchair users to get on board the bus. While this act is by some of my informants experienced as kindness, others experience these situations as frustrating and unnecessary:

Also, there are some [bus drivers] who sit and wait because they think I can do it myself, or they expect me to travel with someone who can do it. No, I'm on a trip alone... and even though I travel with someone, it's still the bus driver's job [to operate the ramp] – manual wheelchair user (Ipsos, 2018, p. 15).

While both the ramp and the gap are understood as disabling barriers in and of themselves, the above accounts highlight that these physical barriers are often constructed at specific moments by ‘the bus driver’.

5.2.1.4 The bus driver

The disabling barrier of the ‘bus driver’ is found in several discursive fields, such as ‘the parked bus’ and ‘the moving bus’. As previously stated, the bus-driver is by many seen as a ‘gatekeeper’, a person that can either make the bus ride joyful and easy, or horrible and stressful. The bus driver is a disabling barrier on two fronts. Firstly, the bus driver might have ableist attitudes which

he/she/they explicitly or implicitly express towards (dis)abled people, either orally or silently (body language). For example, Øksenholt & Aarhaug (2015, p. 12) find that the bus driver sometimes resents assisting (dis)abled people getting onboard the bus:

Ole (movement) state that it is a problem that bus drivers don't assist wheelchair users to board the bus. He also believes that it is a problem that bus drivers do not want to assist two wheelchair users at the same time. Inattentive or less service-minded drivers make wheelchair users feel embarrassed or, in the worst case, overlooked.

Secondly, the bus driver might not have the knowledge or skill to operate the various functions on the bus that are there to ensure that (dis)abled people can get on and off the bus with ease. In these cases, the bus driver serves to produce and/or reinforce physical disabling barriers, such as the gap and the ramp (as Amir's story exemplifies). That said, it is important to stress that bus drivers are also experienced as 'enablers'. Indeed, Susan says that some bus drivers are careful in ensuring that both blind people and wheelchair users (and others) are given the opportunity to use the bus on equal basis with people with norm-functioning bodies (PNFB):

I want to say that some bus drivers are really helpful. There was one time when I was very tired, and I had just been left behind by the bus that I was trying to get on. Then suddenly another bus appeared and stopped in front of me. The bus driver asked me where I was going and said that I could come in front and that that he would drive me, even though this meant that he had to take a detour.

While enabling acts are usually appreciated, it is the unpredictability of the bus driver's behaviour which creates uncertainty among my informants. Ellen explains (dis)abled people never know if they will encounter friendliness, hostility and/or blatant discrimination when/if the bus door opens:

One can really meet individuals who are absolutely fabulous. But you never know if you will meet the biggest asshole with the worst attitudes. One never knows, and that is what creates uncertainty in many of us, that we do not know what we are getting. If it had only

been a minimum standard, I would have been very happy, but now it ranges from fabulous to the absolute worst. (Ellen)

Evidently, as with the other disabling barriers presents so far, the ‘bus driver’ is found to regulate and maintain different disabled performances. I return to this point below when I further nuance ‘the disabled performance’ using the lenses of intersectionality, space and emotionality.

5.2.1.5 The moving buss: the freak curiosity and the gaze

As soon as the ‘parked bus’ leaves the bus stop, my informants find themselves in a different discursive field, namely ‘the moving bus’. As with the bus stop, the moving bus is a discursive field imbued with several disabling barriers which stage a myriad of disabled performances. In what follows, I zoom in on two social disabling barriers pertaining to the attitudes and behaviours of ‘fellow passengers’, namely ‘the freak curiosity’ and the ‘gaze’.

The freak curiosity

Many (dis)abled people with visible impairments are faced with the ‘freak curiosity’ of fellow bus passengers. Differently put, (dis)abled people often find themselves as objects of others' curiosity when using the bus. This freak curiosity can play out in different ways since this type of curiosity can come across as friendly, or as ignorant and hurtful. For example, one of my informants said that he/she/they, while on the bus late at night, has been asked about their sexual preferences and abilities to have penetrative sex. While my informant stated that he/she/they did not mind this interaction, the example serves to illustrate the type of interactions that (dis)able people may have to endure in the discursive field of the moving bus. As stated by Morris (1991, cited in Reeve, 2004, p. 86):

We often experience the fascination that non-disabled people have with ‘just how do you *manage?*’ They have a consuming curiosity about how we pee, how we shit, how we have sex (do we have sex?) ... Our physical difference makes our bodies public property’.

Yet, whether the freak curiosity is experienced as ‘malicious’ or not by my informants, Susan express that she experiences the freak curiosity as an act of ‘othering’:

I get noticed when I am taking the bus. I become a norm-breaking body sitting in a chair that is very visible, I am noticed in all arenas. That gaze [from people with norm-functioning bodies] is the same in different spaces, but when I am using the bus there is a greater probability that people starts talking to me. I receive both positive and negative comments on the bus, but positive comments might also trigger stress if I am, for example, praised for taking the bus (laughing). So yeah, I experience that people have some sort of need to talk to me because I stand out. (Susan)

While the freak curiosity often results in (dis)abled people having to engage in conversation with their fellow passengers, the freak curiosity can also be experienced as subtle, as a gaze.

The gaze

Several informants experience that they are being gazed at when taking the bus. 'The gaze' is, however, experienced differently based on how visible and apparent my informants' (dis)ability is to others. For example, (dis)abled people that more visibility break with norm-functioning bodies feel that they are seen as 'disabled' by their fellow passengers. Ellen, for example, explains that she sometimes experiences that 'the gaze' dehumanizes her and strips her of personal attributes: *We are seen as people who are different, we are seen as a medical diagnosis and with a different focus [...] we are seen as deviations, not as normal people.*

The gaze is experienced as a disabling barrier as it makes several informants feel 'disabled', uncomfortable and unwelcome in the discursive field of 'the moving bus'. Sometimes the gaze is felt as hostile. Anxiety and stress, for example, often arise when informants are gazed at because disabled performances cause the bus to be delayed. Tarjei shared a story when he was not able to get off the bus because the ramp did not work:

Then I stood there [by the exit] for a long time. Because I had an electric wheelchair I needed help to get off the bus [...] Eventually a janitor came and fixed the ramp, but it took a long time and there were a lot of passengers who got angry with me because they blamed me for delaying the bus. People just started at me, but I was like 'don't blame me, it is not my problem, it is the ramp'. (Tarjei)

In sum, I find that both the freak curiosity and the gaze stage disabled performances where my informants unwilling act as ‘disabled’ objects to be approached and gazed at. Moreover, some of the informants whose (dis)ability is not ‘obvious’ to fellow passengers explain that the gaze might be turned into ‘the surprised gaze’ when their (dis)ability is ‘exposed’. Ellen and Titilope explain that when this happens, awkward, and sometimes hurtful disabled performances arise:

I am a walking wheelchair user, and sometimes I walk without aids. In those situations when I say ‘sorry, can I sit here?’, and I do not look old, people say ‘oh, why would you like my seat?’. Then I have to hand over my medical diagnoses to get a place to sit. This is not a problem when I come walking with a cane, as I sometimes do, but without a cane it is a bit like ‘oh, can I sit somewhere?’ (Ellen)

Since I'm a young woman without a permanently visible ‘funksjonsvariasjon’, so many people assume that I don't need to sit down on the bus. When I have to sit, I ask people if I can get their seat. Because of how I look, people often think ‘oh, she probably has menstrual cramps’, and they give me their seat. I'm lucky to be perceived like that, I don't mind. I am also lucky that I am fluent in Norwegian. So when I say ‘I have to sit’ people understand it on the first try. What I can experience is that there are some groups, maybe people over the age of 50, who do not understand that young people who look like me can have problems. That is challenging [...] So yeah, people on the bus don't always understand that I have to sit, and they might say ‘but, I also want to sit’. Sometimes I don't bother with this, and I just sit on the floor. But, it is dangerous to sit on the bus floor, because you quickly get a knee in the face or someone might step on you. A lot of it has happened. I often just sit down on the floor if I have a bad day and can't bear to interact with people. When I sit on the floor someone might ask me if I am doing OK. It is nice when that happens. On rare occasions, the bus driver can ask people to stand up for me. It does not happen that often, but some of the bus drivers recognize me. Those situations are so nice because it is tiring to always having to fight for a seat on the bus. (Titilope)

5.3 Accessing Car-free city life by car or taxi

The above accounts highlight several of the discursive fields, disabling barriers and disabled performances that are part and parcel of my informants' everyday life as they use the bus. For the next few sections I shift the focus away from the discursive terrain of using public transportation to disabling barriers encountered by my informants when accessing the area covered by 'Car-Free City Life' (CFCL) by car or taxi. As with the travel chain of taking the bus, CFCL is understood as a mix of fleeting discursive fields that my informants must navigate when accessing Oslo city centre. Below I zoom in on selected disabling barriers and disabled performances that are found in relation to three distinct discursive fields in CFCL, namely 'the disabled parking spot' (DPS), the 'ordinary parking spot' (OPS), and 'the taxi'. Again, by firstly presenting my informant's own accounts of navigating the below discursive fields, my aim is to bring to view the everyday and mundane aspects of the disabled performances which are mediated by Oslo's climate strategy. Later in this chapter I use these 'lay' accounts to generate more social scientific explanations of the ways CFCL produces or reinforces the disabled subject.

5.3.1 Access to CFCL by car

Accessing CFCL is considered relatively easy by a few of my informants, whilst others deem it very challenging or impossible. Moreover, some of my informants spend a lot of time in CFCL, while others rarely or never travel to Oslo city centre. Considering that accessing Oslo city centre by bus is challenging or impossible for many (dis)abled people, CFCL is perceived as an area that is tricky or impossible to *access*. When public transportation is not a viable option, my informants state that they can access CFCL by driving their own cars or by using taxi. Yet, as mentioned in the background chapter, with 760 ordinary parking spots removed from Oslo city centre since 2016, finding a parking spot has become a major challenge for my informants. Oslo kommune stresses that the city is working to increase the number of disabled parking spots as a measure to avoid that (dis)abled people get excluded from the city centre. Nonetheless, as the below accounts illustrate, the 'disabled parking spot' is an unruly discursive field that does not, by any means, grant (dis)abled people automatic access to CFCL.

5.3.1.1 Disabled parking spots: Disabled parking permit (DPP)

The increase in disabled parking spots (DPS) from 87 to 126 is one of the very few concrete measures in CFCL (and Oslo's climate strategy) directly targeting (dis)abled people. However, the disabled parking spot is perceived by many informants as an almost mythical place, a place that very few can access and enjoy. To have access to a DPS a person must possess a disabled parking permit (DPP). The DPP is by many considered as the 'key to the city' – without it you are excluded from both the DPS and from Oslo city centre. Tarjei says that being granted a DPP is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible:

I lived in X [a different city than Oslo] for more 20 years. I had DPP all the years in X. When I came to Oslo, I had to apply for DPP again, but did not get it. I have applied 10 times. They wrote that I do not need DPP, but [Oslo municipality] has not given me the basis for rejecting the application. I don't have DPP now. I have applied for DPP with professional help and with a lawyer. They refuse to give me the permit, and they have refused other people as well... the last two to three years, [Oslo municipality] have become more rigid. I have a doctor's certificate, and I also received a statement from a specialist. I have lots of papers and attachments. But no, 10 times in a row I have been rejected. I have given up, at the same time as I have not given up. It's frustrating. I have spent a lot of resources, a lot of time and effort. Things are useless.

Tarjei's situation resonates with several of my informants. Consider Ellen's story below:

What has happened in recent years is that more and more municipalities have become more restrictive in granting people DPP. For example, I have not been allowed to renew my DPP, but I have appealed that decision. I have had DPP for 10 years and thought I should get it renewed this summer, but no... A friend of mine who needs assistance around the clock seven days a week was recently denied DPP because [Oslo kommune] claimed that my friend's assistant could just drive her to where she needed to go. If you then have a car-free centre like here, think about the people who are 100% dependent on assistance and who does not get DPP... and then the assistant must find a parking space to park the car and then go back with so many one-way streets. This can take a lot of time, and I think it is an

untenable situation to put a person who is dependent on so much assistance. So, there are some challenges with Car-Free City Life. The idea is very good, but... the implementation in practice is challenging. Especially now that the walking distances have become longer.

It is evident that the DPP is both a 'key to the city' and a major disabling barrier. For many, the absence of the DPP is an insurmountable disabling barrier: Without the DPP many are prevented from accessing the discursive field of the disabled parking spot, which is a space that many must pass in order to be granted access to Oslo city centre. Below I explain how the absence of DPP triggers problematic disabled performances.

5.3.1.2 Ordinary parking spot: Distance

As stated above, a prominent disabling barrier encountered by my informants when accessing Oslo city centre is the removal of ordinary parking spots (OPS). Firstly, for people that are denied DPP, OPS become their only viable option to access CFCL when using their own cars (and sometimes taxis), or when DPS are occupied. For example, Inger tells that finding a place to park her car is oftentimes challenging: *There are only two DPS outside the concert hall, and they are almost always busy. Where should I park my car now the streets are closed?* The issue of occupied DPS is echoed by SWECO (2019, p. 73):

67% of the users of disabled parking spots say they never or rarely find a vacant disabled parking spot [in Oslo city centre]. Some state that it is most difficult to find a vacant parking spot during the day, and that they have to be in the city centre early to secure a spot.

Secondly, and related to the Inger's quote, with more of the OPS removed, the distance between available parking spots and my informants' destinations are often increased (i.e. their dentist or the movie theatre). Thus, even though the number of DPS has increased over the past five years, the removal of 760 OPS in CFCL, and the resulting distance between the OPS and end destinations, is for many informants considered a major disabling barrier. This increased distance prevents some of my informants from getting to their destination as they are not able to walk far, or because the

infrastructure that must be navigated from the parked car to the end destination is not universally designed.

The removal of OPS has also had unintended consequences for informants that are using taxis to access Oslo city centre. Indeed, after the implementation, the discursive field of ‘the taxi’ changed for many (dis)abled people, as I explain below.

5.3.2 The taxi

Many (dis)abled people in Oslo use the ‘TT scheme’ (tilrettelagt transport)¹⁸. The TT scheme is a service available to people who cannot use/have difficulty using public transportation without assistance. In practice, the TT scheme gives an individual up to 150 ‘travels’, either by taxi or a ‘TT car’ in Oslo (Oslo kommune, n.d.). In what follows, Hanne, Olaug and Henry explain how the discursive field of the taxi has changed as new disabling barriers were produced after the implementation of CFCL in 2016. As a result, new disabling performances, especially for people that are blind, are found to be staged by CFCL.

Hanne, Olaug and Henry tell that the TT-scheme has been hard hit by the removal of ordinary parking spots in Oslo city centre. Olaug states that the removal of ordinary parking spots, changed driving patterns and closed streets has made it difficult for taxi drivers to find a parking spot close to where she is going. These barriers make it more difficult for Hanne, Olaug and Henry to use the TT-scheme to access Oslo city centre as many people that are blind are reliant on taxi drivers to escort them from where the taxi parks to their destination. Yet, Olaug explains that with fewer OPS in CFCL, the distance a taxi driver must escort (dis)abled people by foot has greatly increased. Consequently, Hanne, Olaug and Henry experience that many taxi drivers do not dare to stop to drop off or pick up passengers in the city centre. They state that taxi drivers are reluctant to stop because of the time it takes to escort (dis)abled passengers, time that could otherwise have been spent on earning money on new customers. Olaug states that it is oftentimes uncomfortable to ask

¹⁸ The TT scheme can be translated as ‘adaptive transportation’.

the taxi driver to be escorted when she knows that the taxi driver is busy or reluctant to help. Hanne explains:

Does Oslo kommune think that a taxi driver will follow me to a restaurant 400 meters away [from the parking spot]? Do they expect a taxi driver to really do that because he earns so much money? It's so silly, you cannot say that [...] Who will pay for that time when the taxi driver follows us around? Taxi drivers should not have to be social workers [...] One time, this politician told me 'but, don't you want to be part of the future?'. I told him that of course I do, but I also want to be able to go to restaurants and theatres and to meet friends in the city centre. Then this gnome of a politician said that the taxi driver could just escort me to wherever I am going, even though it is 400 – 500 meters away from the parking spot. So, in reality this politician told me that the taxi driver has to pay for the parking and then figure out where I am going while escorting me (laughing)... sure, that's going to happen.

Hanne, Olaug and Henry also explain that they have experienced that taxi drivers are afraid of being fined for driving in CFCL or for parking illegally when escorting (dis)abled people by foot:

I know of taxi drivers that are scared to be fined because they must assist and escort blind people and wheelchair users. This one person that I know was assisted out of the taxi by the taxi driver and then the taxi driver was given a fine because he had parked illegally in order to get close to X. The taxi driver said to the parking lot attendant 'don't you see that I am supporting this person?'. The parking lot attendant had replied, 'but he can drive many kilometres himself in that wheelchair'. The taxi driver complained but eventually had to pay the fine. I mean, I get it that taxi drivers are hesitant to escort us (Hanne)

As a result of the above, Hanne, Olaug and Henry explain that their freedom of movement has been greatly reduced. They tell that several social arenas, buildings and meeting venues in the city centre, such as the City Hall, have become less accessible after the implementation of CFCL. Consequently, Olaug states that many blind people are prevented from participating in central parts of the city's social and cultural life, from accessing goods and services, and that they are prevented from participating in public meetings in the city centre.

Henry, who often meets up with friends to drink beer, tells that one pub in Oslo city centre has become very difficult to access now that taxi drivers cannot park in front of it:

Before the pandemic, I often went to pubs because I am interested in beer. So, I found myself trying out new places at Løkka and Torggata. However, it I feel that it is almost impossible to get to this one pub in Karl Johans gate. The taxi drivers have nowhere to park. So, then I must walk there myself, or hope that the taxi driver is willing to escort me there. So, I have to know the ‘geography’ pretty well, and that is not easy. (Henry)

Because many blind people feel that they are denied access to Oslo city centre because of CFCL, Olaug tells that Blindeforbundet filed a complaint’ against Oslo kommune to Diskrimineringsnemnda¹⁹ in 2019:

We did this because of everything that happened with Car-Free City Life. We feel that it is difficult to access the city centre because of it... We don’t have access! I feel that accessing Oslo city centre is always a challenge. I am not using the city centre just to be social and have fun, I also use it because I have to run errands, to participate in meetings and to go to the dentist.

The complaint was denied by Diskrimineringsnemnda because, per Norwegian law, taxi drivers are permitted to park the taxi ‘illegally’ when escorting (dis)abled people. However, Diskrimineringsnemnda acknowledged that people that are blind experience greater difficulties in accessing Oslo city centre after the implementation of CFCL, and that more needs to be done to ensure that taxi drivers do escort (dis)abled people when necessary (Diskrimineringsnemnda, 2020). In sum, the stories told above points to a discursive field (the taxi) which is imbued with complicated social (the attitudes of social taxi drivers and parking lot attendants) and physical disabling barriers (distance). Interestingly for this thesis, however, is the finding that the discursive field of ‘the taxi’ has been greatly impacted by CFCL, and that new disabling barriers and disabled performances (i.e. being escorted over longer distances or walking/scooting over long distances) have appeared in this discursive field after Oslo kommune started removing OPS in 2016.

¹⁹ Norwegian Anti-Discrimination Tribunal

5.4 A brief reflection

The everyday life experiences of my informants exemplify moments when Oslo's climate strategy produces/reinforces disabled performances and thus subjugate (dis)abled people as 'disabled'. For example, the above accounts illustrate that the 'disabled subject' emerges when the lack of audio announcements at the bus stop force Henry into the disabled performance of obtaining travel information from fellow passengers or the bus driver. The disabled subject emerges when Tarjei is prevented from entering the bus due to the gap. The disabled subject emerges when Ellen must perform as a ramp operator or when Titilope unwillingly has to engage in awkward conversations with their fellow passengers about her perceived disability. The disabled subject emerges when Inger is denied DPP and are not able to access CFCL. The disabled subject emerges when Hanne are forced to consider alternative travel options because taking the bus is deemed as too risky or impossible. The disabled subject emerges when Olaug is gazed at on the bus. The disabled subject emerges when Susan is not able to go to a meeting in Oslo city centre because the taxi driver is not able to park the taxi close to the meeting venue and don't have time to accompany her.

The above everyday 'lay' accounts therefore bring to view, and untangle, the discursive terrain many (dis)abled people navigate when taking the bus/accessing CFCL. Moreover, the accounts highlight specific disabling barriers that have been produced/reinforced by OCS, as well as moments when these disabling barriers stage performances which turn difference into disability and disadvantage. Specifically, the stories illustrate that Oslo's climate strategy reinforces disabling barriers that have existed for long, especially related to the use of public transportation. Indeed, the disabling barriers and disabled performances that are found 'at the bus stop', at 'the parked bus' and at 'the moving bus' are not created by Oslo's climate strategy per se. However, Oslo kommune's removal of ordinary parking spots from Oslo city centre, combined with the difficulty in obtaining the DPP, effectively force (dis)abled people into these discursive fields to a greater extent than before if they want to access to the city centre. Differently put, Oslo's climate strategy is found to 'push' some informants into discursive fields that are experienced as highly problematic, such as the bus stop, the parked bus, and the moving bus:

Because of Car-Free City life I feel more pressured to use public transportation when I want to go to the city centre because I don't want to spend more than 30 minutes trying to

find an available parking spot. These days, if I feel like going to the city centre, I either change my mind because it is so difficult getting there, or I decide to use the bus, but that requires me to set aside a lot of energy for the journey getting there. (Karoline)

At the same time, that above accounts illustrate that OCS has produced new disabling barriers and disabled performances in the lives of the informants. These new barriers and performances are especially found in discursive fields related to CFCL. The removal of ordinary parking slots, the difficulty in accessing DPS, changed driving patterns and ‘increased distances’ are all examples of new disabling barriers that were discussed in the OSSI/OFGD. As stated by Olaug:

They want Oslo to be a green city, but they have put so many restrictions in it. In my opinion [the politicians] have not considered all groups in the design of Car-Free City Life. But of course, the environmental party and the city council disagree with me, they continuously state that the green city is for everyone. They think that I am wrong. They say that they have increased the number of disabled parking spots, that they have laid some tactile walking surface indicators, and they say that taxi drivers can leave the car and follow someone who needs it to the destination and if they get fined they can always get their money. But the reality is different.

Evidently, my informant’s stories bring to view important aspects as to how OCS intersects in the lives of (dis)abled people, often with unintended and obscure outcomes. Yet, I contend that the ways in which OCS stages and sustains disabled performances requires closer analytical attention. Indeed, my analysis finds that the disabled performances produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy are not fixed and predictable. Rather, the disabled performances highlighted above are situated, complex, ambivalent, emotional and unstable. Thus, the ways in which my informants come to be positioned in relation to Oslo’s green transformation are not static. More concretely, and building on my theoretical framework, my analysis finds that the disabled performances mediated by OCS are mediated by three interconnected elements, namely space, emotions and intersectionality.

5.5 Zooming in on the disabled performance

By untangling the complexity of how OCS mediates disabled performances, my objective is fourfold. Firstly, I use the spatial, emotional, and intersectional imperatives of the disabled performance as heuristics to tease out subtle and different ways that OCS produce/reinforce the disabled subject. Importantly, by highlighting the manifold and sometimes contrasting everyday lived experiences of my informants the fore, I evidence that there is a need to deconstruct the myth of the ‘universal disabled subject’.

Secondly, I bring to view the resisting subject, and discuss moment when the above-mentioned disabling performances have been subverted and resisted by my informants. These accounts are of analytical interest as resistant acts are found to rub up against, and so expose, dominant spatial orderings defining who is in place/out of place in different discursive fields.

Thirdly, the exercise of nuancing disabled performances might lead critics to accuse me of absolute relativism and of neglecting practical issues of power and politics in environmental governance. I therefore use the lenses of space, emotionality and intersectionality to highlight the more persistent and cross-cutting disabling effects produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy. While it is important not to stereotype and generalise the disabled performances outlined above, my analysis finds that there are some commonalities in how OCS produces/reinforces social inequalities in the lives of my informants. As I further discuss below, my analysis finds that OCS persistently excludes some (dis)abled people from Oslo city centre, drain (dis)abled people of time and energy and force (dis)abled people into polluting modes of travelling.

Lastly, by combining the spatial, emotional and intersectional imperatives of the disabled performance, I propose an agenda for a poststructural politics of change that sets out to trouble what I term the ‘(dis)ableisation of environmental governance’. While much of my thesis is aimed at exposing the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy, this final section discusses how these barriers can be dismantled and how the citational chain of disabling performances can be broken.

5.5.1 The intersectional subject

While (dis)ability is the central analytical category in my thesis, I insist upon bringing to view how (dis)ability intersects with other social markers of difference to produce multi-faceted, complex, and potentially ambivalent subjects. My ‘intersectional objective’, as stated in the methodology, is to capture differences in my informants’ experiences of taking the bus/accessing CFCL; experiences resulting from “complexities that defy linear explanations” (Artiles, cited in Guerro-Arias, et al., 2020, p. 1662). Indeed, my informants are differently situated within the discursive fields identified here and differently impacted by the disabling barriers that are produced/reinforced by OCS. For some, a disabling barrier is experienced as insurmountable, for others the very same barrier might be deemed insignificant. For some a specific disabling barrier effectively prevents them from using public transportation, while others use public transportation on a regular basis. This matter because the disabled performances of my informants are dependent on how their disability intersects with, and sometimes reinforce, other social markers of difference. The disabled subject is therefore created in multiple ways as my informants perform according to discursive regimes ‘beyond’ disability.

Age and sexual orientation were the most salient social markers intersecting with ‘disability’ in influencing my informants’ performances and experiences taking the bus and/or accessing CFCL. By focusing explicitly on (dis)ability, age, and sexuality, I am not fully considering how other social markers of difference influence the production of the disabled subject, such as socio-economic status, race and gender. However, I have chosen to concentrate on the social markers that were consciously expressed by my informants during the interviews and focus group discussions.

Age

Both Ellen and Titilope find that being young and (dis)abled influences the way that the above identified social disabling barriers intersect in their lives. Specifically, both Ellen and Titilope must endure ‘the surprise’ to a greater extent than older people whose (dis)ability is more visible to fellow passengers. As discussed above, this means that both Ellen and Titilope are oftentimes forced into disabled performances where they must ‘explain’ and justify their disabilities to fellow passengers/bus drivers to get a seat. Old age was mentioned by Olaug as something that makes it

difficult for her to feel safe on the bus: *I can tell that as I have gotten older balance is getting worse and that makes it harder to take the tram and the bus.*

Furthermore, Olaug explains that her age makes it harder for her to stay ‘up to date’ on new technologies that have been developed to make the use of public transportation easier:

Olaug: When the technology gets better, it gets better for some and that is great. At the same time, there are many who are not able to make use of that technology and then they, for example elderly people, become a group that becomes even more left behind.

Henry: What are you thinking about?

Olaug: Well, there is a lot of investment in technology. Ruter, for example, is investing a lot of money in developing new apps. We must constantly remind them that not everyone can use smartphones and apps when they are taking the bus. We must be watchdogs so that technology does not take over in a way that make some groups worse off.

Henry, on the other hand, tells that he is comfortable using the new technologies, such as google maps and other apps, and that using these technologies has made life easier for him when taking the bus/accessing CFCL.

Sexuality

Ellen, Susan, Titilope, Wei-chen and Tarjei are all queer, and explain that some social barriers, such as the gaze and the freak curiosity, can become more salient in the moments they visibly transgress two degrees of ‘normalcy’ (the intersection of being queer and (dis)abled). Ellen and Susan tell that the discomfort resulting from such a doubly deviant expression leads them to sometimes fear entering some of the discursive fields mentioned above.

I can feel a little insecure sometimes because when you use a wheelchair you can be seen as a weaker person. When I am also a woman and short, I am quickly seen as weak and it gives me a feeling of insecurity. If I then come in rainbow-colored stash, it will be even worse. I think attitudes are so important. One in three of us who are disabled has experienced hate speech. Those of us who belong to more than one minority group

experience it more. Being a disabled queer woman makes certain spaces awful, and sometimes I dread leaving the house. (Ellen)

I have received hurtful comments from people that ‘picks’ up that I am queer [...] For me it is much more difficult to deal with hate speech that is directed towards my sexuality and who I love, than hate speech that is directed towards my function variation. (Susan)

The above accounts illustrate that youth and sexuality might reinforce social disabling barriers, while old age might reinforce infrastructural barriers that prevent or block mobility. In other words, Ellen, Susan and Olaug’s stories illustrate how disabled performances are mediated by discourses ‘beyond’ ableism. Consequently, there is a great variety between my informants as to why they find it challenging to travel by bus/access CFCL.

Nonetheless, I should not steer away from the fact that ableism is the discursive regime that most saliently intersects in the everyday life of my informants when they take the bus/access CFCL. Indeed, I find that it is ‘disability’ that most prominently define those who are ‘in place’ and/or ‘out of place’ in the discursive fields identified in this thesis. From my analysis it is evident that it is my informant’s specific types of (dis)abilities that most powerfully mediate their performances as they navigate their everyday discursive terrain and respond to the disabling barriers identified above. ‘The gap’, for example, intersects in the lives of wheelchair users, whether or not they are straight or queer, old or young, rich or poor. Similarly, the lack of announcements at the bus stop affects all blind people, despite that blind people constituting a diverse group of people in terms of gender, ethnicity, race, etc. Accordingly, while the force and potency of disabling barriers differ amongst my informants, my informants’ experiences with OCS are most strongly contingent on their (dis)ability. In the OSSI/OFGD several informants stated that their (dis)ability often overshadows, or destabilizes, other identities. In these cases, Ellen experiences the ‘undoing’ of her social identities by disability: *Sometimes I feel that people view me as creature without gender.* (Ellen). This point was also raised by Olaug:

But I think that, what shall I say, people who meet us think of us as blind and not young or old... that is not true. People think that we are only blind, period. Or, people think that we

are only blind and a little bit weird. It don't like this category 'all the people that are blind'.
(Olaug)

Thus, my study “presents intersectionality within intersectionality” (Hirschmann, 2012, p. 401). By this I mean that (dis)abled people are not *only* intersectional subjects based on how (dis)ability intersects with gender, race, age, etc. (Dis)abled people are most obviously intersectional based on their different types of (dis)abilities. Thus, it matters if Karoline uses a manual or electric wheelchair and it matters if Henry uses a guide dog or a white cane when taking the bus/accessing CFCL. This intersectionality within intersectionality might seem blatantly obvious. As stated by Hirschmann: “Even deeper are the differences of disabled persons from one another; differences so deep as to make it virtually impossible to have a category of “disability”” (2012, p. 403). Yet, questions remain as to whether Oslo's climate strategy recognizes this *intersectionality within intersectionality*, or if the strategy approaches (dis)abled people as a homogenous group of people.

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, it is not my intension to bring to view all my informant's unique experiences using the bus/CFCL. Rather, the point is to highlight that my informants' daily performances and experiences with disabling barriers are, to various degrees, intersectional, and highly dependent on their specific type of (dis)ability. As such, the above accounts illustrate the danger in homogenising the 'disabled experience' in Oslo's climate strategy as this essentialisation obfuscate non-homogenous and intersectional daily experiences and injustices. I return to this point below when presenting the agenda for troubling the *(dis)ableisation of environmental governance*.

5.5.2 The nomadic subject

The everyday accounts presented in this thesis illustrate that where my informants are located is constitutive of their (dis)ability, not incidental to it. From the above it is evident that the lens of the 'nomadic subject' offers valuable insights into the multitude and sheer creativity of ways that my informants have to perform as disabled subjects. Furthermore, it is undeniable that the nomadic disabled subject is always performed in space (in discursive fields). It follows too that how (dis)abled people inhabit discursive fields is an interactive affair. Or differently put, the way that

(dis)abled people enact/subvert disabling barriers is a performative affair that is constitutive of their ‘disability’. Thus, the boundaries between the disabled subject and Oslo’s climate strategy are unfixed and emerge out of the daily practices with differently located disabling barriers. Consider the below conversation between Hanne, Olaug and Henry:

Hanne: I was taking the bus a dark winter’s night. A bus arrived the bus stop, and I asked the bus driver if the bus was going to X. ‘Yes’ says the bus driver and I get on the bus. Then, after the bus has driven by several bus stops, the bus driver suddenly says through the speaker system ‘you, the lady going to X, this bus does not stop there. You can just exit the bus and cross the street and take the next bus back’.

Olaug: Yes, that is exactly what they say.

Hanne: Yes, thank you very much. But hey, where is exactly this bus stop? I was in luck, because the bus stop was just across the road from where I exited the bus, but that is not always a given. The bus stop was a shed, but had it been just a pole then I wouldn’t have been able to find it. I mean, it was cold and late at night, and I was all in the middle of nowhere.

The two discursive fields in Hanne’s story, the ‘moving bus’ and ‘the bus stop’ are *constitutive of* Hanne’s (dis)ability. Indeed, Hanne’s story highlights that the enactment/resistance of the disabled performance changes as she moves between fleeting discursive fields. Thus, my informants are in a continuous and unpredictable process of becoming ‘disabled’ as they move through the variety of discursive fields and disabling barriers that make up their everyday terrain. In other words, the disabled performance is contingent on the discursive field in which (dis)abled people are located and which disabling barriers they have to navigate. This is the spatial imperative of (dis)ability.

Moreover, I find that the discursive terrain in which my informants live their everyday is fleeting and constantly changing. This means that both discursive fields and disabling barriers are in a constant process of being produced, sustained and challenged. For example, my analysis finds that many disabling barriers are unstable and unpredictable (except for more persistent disabling barriers in the built infrastructure).

Unpredictable disabling barriers

The bus driver is a good example of an ‘unpredictable’ disabling barrier. The bus driver can signify a disabling barrier for Wei-chen and Tarjei in the discursive field of ‘the parked bus’ when the bus driver does not operate the ramp with friendliness and skill. Yet, the day after, ‘the bus driver’ might approach Tarjei with a smile and a willingness to operate the ramp without hesitation. In those instances, the bus driver might also eliminate other disabling barriers, such as the ramp and the gap. As such, the unpredictability of the bus driver plays a great role in whether the discursive fields of the parked bus and the moving bus stage the disabled performance.

Yes, [the bus driver] can choose to make the challenges bigger or smaller. If he comes out and takes responsibility for the ramp, which technically is his responsibility, then I feel that I am welcome and that the bus driver sees me, and that he recognizes that I am a passenger on an equal footing with others. Other times the bus driver does not want to get out, and he waits and sees if I, or others, take responsibility for the ramp, this happens often. I think this is completely wrong because it should not matter to others' kindness if I can get on the bus quickly or not. (Susan)

I have experienced that there are passengers who are faster to help with the ramp than the bus driver. I have also experienced that the bus driver asks me ‘but do you not travel with someone that can help you with the ramp?’. It's funny, sometimes I can tell that the bus drivers have been trained to operate the ramp because suddenly they are all so polite and helpful. (Karoline)

The weather

The weather is another factor that influences the force of disabling barriers. For example, Ellen, Susan and Inger tells that the bus stop is as a more unruly discursive field when it snows. Indeed, snow can make pre-existing barriers, such as the gap and the ramp bigger as the ground becomes wet and/or icy. In other cases, Ellen and Susan tell that snow and rain can cause new disabling barriers to occur, such as wet and slippery floors, which has resulted in instances where wheelchair users have hurt themselves.

Covid-19

With strict Covid-19 policies in place, both blind people and wheelchair users report that taking the bus has become extra challenging. For example, the front door on the bus no longer opens, which means that Henry, Olaug and Hanne are effectively prevented from accessing information from the bus driver. *Handikapnytt*, an online magazine run by NHF, also reports that several wheelchair users have been denied access to the bus as bus drivers are reluctant to help (dis)abled people to get on board due to the risk of Covid-19 contamination. As such, covid-19 has reinforced both the disabling barrier of ‘announcements’, ‘the ramp’ and ‘the bus driver’. While I did not probe in detail about the disabling effects of Covid-19, I find that this is an area of urgent research.

5.5.3 The emotional subject

The everyday accounts above underscore that it is “vital to understand bodily experience in order to understand people's relationships with physical and social environments” (Longhurst, 1997, p. 486). It is evident that each of the disabled performances identified in this thesis trigger a variety of emotional responses among my informants. Together with the disabling barriers, these emotional responses play an important role in constituting my informant’s everyday lived experiences as they perform life within different discursive fields. In other words, “emotional dimensions of disability, the ‘barriers in here’ work alongside and in conjunction with structural dimensions of disability, the ‘barriers out there’” (Reeve, 2004, p. 93). I should stress that this section only brings to view the emotional dimensions of identified disabled performances. As such, I am not discussing the emotionality linked to medical conditions that my informants might suffer from in their everyday lives. This shortcoming is articulated by Hirschmann (2012, p. 388), “The social model of disability has certain shortcomings, of course; some bodily impairments are sources of suffering and frustration, disabling no matter what social context”.

Firstly, my analysis finds that several disabled performances are major sources of stress in my informants’ lives. Or, as Henry said, disabling performances produce ‘high blood pressure’. Susan says that she considers this ‘high blood pressure’ as a minority stress:

Yes, there is a lot of stress [when traveling by bus]. I see it as a minority stress. When I go to work, I must set aside an hour to get there because I assume there are at least four buses that will leave me behind. This means that when I arrive at work I am really exhausted due to many impressions. And it can be that I arrive work an hour early, and that is also stressful (Susan).

Stress was also brought up as a central aspect when Hanne, Olaug and Henry shared experiences taking the bus:

Hanne: Then [the bus drivers] say, 'I'll tell you when you get off...if I remember'.

Olaug: Yes, 'if I remember' ... that is not very reassuring.

Hanne: It's very stressful actually...

Henry: It's high blood pressure!

Hanne: The fact that you can never know if you will get off at the right station is really stressful. It's not that you die because of it, but it's quite inconvenient, and it can get quite tiring.

Each disabling performance causes different levels of stress in my informants. This is because, as already explained, different disabling barriers intersect in the lives of my informants in different ways and with different force. Furthermore, for some informants it is one specific disabled performance that causes high levels of stress, for others it is the cumulative amount of stress from having to navigate several disabling barriers that 'gets' to them. Hence, it is not necessarily one barrier/performance (i.e. lack of announcements) that leave my informants with 'high blood pressure'. Rather, it is the combination of, for example, the lack of announcements, the gaze, and the unexpected unknown that together leave my informants feeling overwhelmed when taking the buss/accessing CFCL. Tarjei explains:

I get anxiety every time I am on the way to the bus. Will it go well, will it not go well, how should I behave, should I be angry, cheerful or angry? Should I be crazy and go nuts if the bus driver leaves me behind at the bus stop? ... It is realty hard mentally... for example, it is hurtful if you are denied access to the bus, or if someone says, 'but you have an electric

wheelchair, can't just drive yourself?'. It becomes a mental strain. In the end, we are completely locked in our heads, so that we don't dare traveling by bus because we are afraid of what might happen. Eventually one becomes trapped, both mentally and literally in the apartment.

Tarjei's quote illustrates that using public transportation and/or accessing CFCL can bring up powerful emotional responses beyond stress, such as fear, grief, uncertainty, inadequacy, disappointment and despair. Wei-chen also tells that feelings of when anxiety might arise when she is in the discursive field of 'the moving bus':

Sometimes, it's a little cruel, when you press the stop button for disabled people, there is a huge horn sound, oh my goodness. Everyone on the bus knows that it's you who pressed it, damn it. I have anxiety, so I think it's awful that half the world knows that I'm about to leave the bus. But at the same time it is good because the bus driver can forget that you are getting off at a certain bus stop. There have been cases when I have pressed the stop button, and it says 'stop', but the bus driver does not see it. Then I see that the bus driver doesn't get up, and if he does not get up I know that he will not help me off the bus and oftentimes the bus driver just keeps on driving. To get off I must wave so that the bus driver sees me in his mirror. If not then you just have to... or, some people that I know just shouts 'hey, I'm getting off here!'. But I don't dare doing that, so I just sit still until the bus driver realizes that he has forgotten about me. Then the bus driver says, 'is this where you wanted to get off?'. If this happens then I reply 'no, but just let me get off the bus'.

Many informants explain that negative experiences from taking the bus/accessing CFCL 'sticks' with them. They state that they fear that unpleasant experiences might occur over and over. Oftentimes, it is the fear that something bad and unpleasant might happen which prevent (dis)abled people from taking the bus/travelling to Oslo city centre.

Henry: It has been almost one year since I've used public transportation to get anywhere [due to the pandemic]. I am excited to see what happens when the world goes back to normal.

Olaug: Yes, I think that a lot of people will isolate themselves from social activities in the city centre when things open up [...] I think so because I feel very anxious and insecure about the thought of going anywhere with public transportation if it has been a while since I last used the metro or the bus.

Insecurity and feeling different

For many informants it is the reactions of others (social barriers) which trigger strong emotional responses. Indeed, the above discussion on the 'surprise' and 'the gaze' illustrates how emotional responses to social interactions should be considered as an important aspect of the disabling effects of OCS. From the OSSI/OFGD it is evident that the disabled performance rubs up against, and so expose, the discursive regimes which define who is in place/out of place, who belongs and who does not. As previously discussed, when my informants rub up against ableist discursive regimes they sometimes feel that they become painfully visible. This 'visibilization of disability' can cause fellow passengers to react to the disabled presence with freak curiosity, pity, intrusive gazes, revulsion or disregard. These reactions can cause (dis)abled people to feel uncomfortable, afraid or insecure. Consequently, the emotionality of being a norm-breaking body results in some (dis)abled people choosing to stay away from the bus and CFCL, and thereby removing themselves from the benefits and resources that these discursive fields provide.

One of the things that irritates me when I travel by bus is that I am perceived as friendless or that I am perceived to be travelling alone. It seems to me to it is kind of impossible for people to comprehend that I am actually travelling with a friend or a partner. I am always seen as someone who is alone. And if I do travel with someone, people think that this someone is a nurse or my assistant. (Ellen)

The unknown

From my analysis I find that it is in situations when 'the unknown' presents itself that the 'high blood pressure' strongly kicks in for several informants. Not knowing where they are, or which discursive fields they might be entering in to, is a major source of stress, fear and anxiety for many. Henry explains: *Leaving the bus at a place that is not known is not OK. It is in the unknown that the challenges really amplify.*

The unknown can be considered as an uncharted territory with unfamiliar discursive fields, and hence unfamiliar disabling barriers. Ellen says that not knowing which disabling barriers she might encounter is a critical source of stress and anxiety: *It's not always that I have checked if I can get off the bus at the stop where I am going off. It can be scary, because suddenly there's a gap there. What should I do then?* Øksenholt and Aahaug (2015, p. 17) also bring to view the emotionality of 'the unknown':

For Liv (movement), it is a combination of the unknown and uncertainty that prevents her from using public transportation. By the unknown, she means a lack of overview and knowledge of what is awaiting her. Because of this, a journey undertaken by public transportation becomes a stressful situation because she is unsure of what she will experience. Liv also does not like to be dependent on help and wants to manage herself as much as possible. She thinks it is embarrassing to 'demand' something more than ordinary passengers.

To overcome threats of 'the unknown', my informants spend a considerable amount of time planning their journeys to Oslo city centre and journeys that they plan to undertake by public transportation. Yet, many informants explain that they don't have access to the information that they need to get to their end destination without being, for example, 'left behind' at the bus stop or denied access to CFCL. Because of this lack of information, some informants decide to stay at home or to travel by other means than the bus, as I will discuss further below. This finding is echoed by (Ipsos, 2018, p. 13):

People using wheelchairs are to a greater extent dependent on planning their journeys, first and foremost to ensure that the journey is feasible in terms of access to the platform and arrangements for boarding and alighting the bus. Online information about universal design and information available at stations is perceived as very deficient and often insufficient to find out if a trip is possible to complete at all.

To take a conceptual step back, this exploration of 'emotionality' shows that emotions play a great role in constituting my informants' performances as they navigate their everyday discursive

terrain. This means that the emotional work alongside and in conjunction with the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS. Hence, emotional acts of getting on the bus/accessing CFCL are integral to the production the intersectional and nomadic disabled subject. It is therefore paramount to acknowledge that (dis)abled people's use of the bus and CFCL is not only mediated by disabling barriers 'out there'. The act of taking the bus/accessing CFCL is also mediated by the stress, fear, gazes and hostility that accompany disabled performances.

5.5.4 Resisting subjects

It is important for me to not subjugate my informants as passive, as someone who is staying at home, and as someone who are always performing according to expected norms about what a 'disabled' person should do and look like. Far from it. Many informants are continuously resisting and subverting the disabling barriers and performances that I have outlined above. In other words, my informants are not 'fully controlled' by their everyday discursive fields and disabling barriers. I am certainly not claiming that Oslo's climate strategy strips (dis)abled people of their 'discursive agency' and their capabilities to trouble disabled performances. During the OSSI/OFGD my informants told several stories about how they refuse to accept the conditions and consequences of a variety of disabling performances and barriers they encounter when taking the bus/accessing CFCL. Blindeforbundet's complaint against CFCL is an illustrative example of this. Other examples were shared by Ellen, Jon (Ipsos study) and Amir (Dagbladet):

I must admit that sometimes when I am traveling by bus with friends, we have conducted a proper civil action when we get off because we take out the ramp ourselves, but we don't put it back in place. This means that the bus driver has to get on his feet and pull the ramp in place himself. One time the bus driver did not notice that the ramp was out and started driving and ramp ended up falling off! The bus driver could have lost his driver license because driving with the ramp out like that endangers the lives of pedestrians. It is not our responsibility to pull the ramp back in, it is the [the bus driver's] job. (Ellen)

To be able to get across the gap and into the carriage, I have to drive towards the open doors at high speed. If there are other people at the entrance, I shout that they must get away. Fortunately, I have never hurt anyone, but I have my heart in my throat every time. I drove into the wall once, but I was the only one who got injured (Jon Kjølborg, user of electric wheelchair). (Ipsos, 2018)

Another example of resistance is Amir Hashani's (Box 4) effort to document each time he is denied access to the bus. After having been denied access to the bus several times, Amir is now filming whenever he is entering a bus to record the prevalence and severity of 'the ramp' and 'the bus driver'. Amir's recordings have received a lot of attention and have been shared widely on social media.

These stories illustrate moments when (dis)abled people tap into their discursive agency and resist, and potentially transform, disabling performances. For example, after Amir posted his stories on social media Ruter was quick to condemn the behaviour of the bus driver and sent a personalized apology to Amir with a promise to make things better. Ironically, only one week after Ruter's apology Amir was yet again denied access to one of Ruter's busses. Nonetheless, these stories of resistance offer hope for positive change as they bring to view the myriad of disabling barriers that effectively disable certain bodies and produce social inequalities in the lives of my informants. By examining how (dis)abled people negotiate and resist disabling barriers, we are better attuned to conceptualise and envisage how new spaces in societies can be established to overturn inequitable structures. Hence, these stories offer "examples of how resistance manifests itself and the ways it may be harnessed effectively by disabled individuals and by disabled people's movements to create and sustain change for a more just society" (Peters et al., 2009, p. 543).

The emotionality of resisting

Yet, I contend that it is important to nuance the romanticization of the resistant acts of (dis)abled people. Resistance and transgression of disabled performances may be contested, as in the use of mental and physical violence, or alternatively through fear-induced self-surveillance. It is thus essential to recognize the emotionality of subverting and resisting disabled performances. For example, resistant acts might trigger sanctions and hostility among others (i.e. the fellow

passengers) which leaves (dis)abled people in a state of emotional pain. Statistics show that 1/3 (dis)abled people in Norway have been the target of hate speech (NHF, n.d.) and several informants told stories about how they have subjected to hostility and discontent when taking the bus. Resistant acts might therefore lead (dis)abled people to endure normative violence and emotional trauma. Consequently, (dis)abled people who challenge their ascription as ‘disabled’ are de facto challenging the normative, and sometimes violent, underpinnings society, often with unknown consequences. Karoline, for example, explained that resisting the disabled performance often require courage and strength, and that she sometimes don’t have the energy to fight back when she is discriminated against. Susan also brought up the emotionality of resisting disabled performances and said: *Some people don’t have enough energy to fight back and might therefore end up isolating themselves more compared to myself and other people that are politically active.*

5.6 The production of social difference and inequality

My informants’ experiences of taking the bus/accessing CFCL expose how Oslo’s climate strategy systematically constructs the disabled subject through the production/reinforcement of disabling barriers. In other words, my analysis finds that OCS reproduces/reinforces dominant spatial orderings in particular spaces (discursive fields) and stage a variety of disabled performances. By turning difference into disability and disadvantage, these disabled performances orchestrate the discrimination/exclusion of (dis)abled people and bound their possibilities for inclusion in Oslo’s green transformation. In the preceding sections I used the lenses of intersectionality, space and emotionality to elaborate on some of the more subtle and unpredictable ways that OCS stage disabled performances. In what follows I demonstrate how OCS can be a conduit of social difference by zooming in on how OCS produces more persistent disabling effects and social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people.

5.6.1 The emotionality of green practices – ‘I have broken up with the bus’

As a result of both the emotional, physical and social aspects of disabled performances, several informants state that taking the bus/accessing CFCL demands a lot of time and energy. For

example, Hanne, Olaug and Susan explain that they constantly must consider whether they have enough energy to take the bus/access CFCL, or to get home after spending time with friends in the city:

If you have spent a full day in CFCL, you must ensure that you have enough energy for the journey back home. For example, you cannot stay [in the city centre] until you are so tired that you just sit and slumber on the subway. You must have enough energy to deal with situations where things don't go as planned, for example that you don't get off the bus. And that is why it is an advantage to use a car, because then you can stay [in the city centre] until you are exhausted. Especially if you have a driver you can just sit and sleep on the way home. (Susan)

My dentist is in Karl Johans gate. The first time I was going to see the dentist was difficult because it was so hard to figure out where I had to go. Navigating new places is very stressful and demands a lot of energy. Sometimes it takes an incredible amount of energy to get where you are going. It can be so overwhelming and I think that I don't have the strength to go there and that I will be exhausted long before I arrive' (Hanne).

I think that the threshold is higher to participate in social activities in Oslo city centre if you have to spend a lot of time and effort finding out how to get there. One may have to spend two hours to find a place that others spend 20 minutes getting to. There are so many things that make it so tiring and difficult to access the city centre (Olaug).

In essence, both the OSSI/OFGD, and the secondary literature, highlight that disabled performances can be experienced as energy draining. Indeed, constantly having to navigating through discursive terrains filled with physical and social disabling barriers is experienced as demanding for most of my informants. This matter, because the levels of energy that my informants carry with them throughout the day greatly influence the extent to which they take the bus and/or choose to travel to Oslo city centre. The below account from Øksenholt and Aarhaug (2015, p. 17) is illustrative of this point:

The reason why Lars (movement) rarely travels by public transport is because he is afraid that it will not work. He says that because of the uncertainty about whether or not travelling by public transportation will work, he prefers to travel in other ways. Moreover, he says that it is much easier to travel by car as he does not like to be dependent on help.

To take a conceptual step back, it seems that disabling barriers and performances, and the emotional responses to these barriers/performances, set the limits on what (dis)abled people can both *do* and *be* in the context of Oslo's green transformation. Returning to my informant's everyday accounts presented above, I find that the constant encounters with disabling barriers make it challenging or impossible for several of the informants to perform as 'green citizens'. In other words, the green performances encouraged by Oslo's climate strategy seems to be barred for many (dis)abled people. For example, several informants explain that they are not using the bus when travelling in Oslo. Susan stated that she has 'broken up with the bus' because taking the bus has become such 'a big thing', something complicated and stressful. Hence, the various performances that await my informants when taking the bus/accessing CFCL are oftentimes consciously avoided. This point was also discussed by Thunem (2021) in a blog written earlier this year:

Living in an environmentally friendly and sustainable way does not have to be very demanding. The small choices are often talked about. One of the challenges people with disabilities face when it comes to being environmentally friendly is inadequate universal design. When the newspapers constantly report that bus companies drive away from people in wheelchairs, it becomes easier to take the car [...] But many wheelchair users and other people with disabilities experience systematic discrimination when they use public transportation. This type of discrimination can affect you mentally and affect your mood. It is therefore easier to take the car instead of facing the everyday discrimination that often occurs when using public transportation.

Thus, despite wanting to perform as 'green citizens', many of my informants feel that disabling barriers, and related disabled performances, have effectively pushed them into 'polluting modes of traveling'. This leaves my informants feeling excluded, frustrated, and sad. They stress that they

would like to take an active part in Oslo's green transformation and have the choice to steer away from the polluting dimensions of using TT/taxi/private cars. Several informants explicitly stress that they are keen to take the bus on a regular basis and 'leave the polluting car behind'. This finding is also addressed by Ipsos (2018, p. 34) in its study on how (dis)abled people experience using public transportation in Oslo:

What applies to all the people we have met in this survey is that everyone has a clear desire to be able to manage on their own. They want to use public transport without being dependent on manual assistance or having to rely on the kindness of their fellow passengers. They do not want to be bothered. They want to master the journey themselves. The more that is arranged for public transport to be carried out without the need for help, the better experience people with disabilities will have. There is a strong desire to be able to use public transport to the greatest possible extent for several reasons.

My informant's experiences of being forced into polluting modes of travelling by Oslo's climate strategy is ironic given Oslo's bold climate ambitions. Moreover, these experiences also expose the ways that discursive fields and disabling barriers operate to systematically (re)produce inequalities by denying (dis)abled people access to public transportation on equal basis with people with norm-functioning bodies. Further, the everyday accounts presented here highlight that (dis)abled people are not necessarily voluntarily 'choosing away' green lifestyles, but are rather *prevented* from having such lifestyles by ableist discursive fields. These findings are illustrative of the contradictory and unpredictable outcomes of Oslo's climate strategy.

Below I present selected quotes from the OSSI/OFGD that illustrate the disabled performance staged by OCS that I have labelled 'disabled polluters'.

5.6.1.1 Disabled polluters: «it is difficult to be environmentally friendly when using a wheelchair»

I'm part of a social circle in Oslo where having a car is seen as a big no-no. You should preferably not have a car, but I did not have a choice and I talked my friends, who are

mostly environmental activists, about it. I asked them to join me in the adventure of taking the bus and they soon they realized it was necessary for me to use a car to get around. (Susan)

I have not yet met anyone who is against a greener city, I think it is awesome! I want to use public transportation, I do not want to use the diesel car that I can smell from a long distance. I want to use public transportation, I want to use more public transportation, I really want to only use public transportation, but I know it's not realistic today. In some cases, public transportation is not an option for me and then I have to have another option. But it is not worth using public transportation if it drains my energy levels and prevents me from doing my job or prevents me from participating in conferences. (Karoline)

Being able to cycle to the city is very important for me. I have an arm bike, but it is very large and wide, and I do not dare to ride down to the centre because I take up so much space on the road and the cars do not keep distance from me. So even though I am able to ride a bike, I cannot do it because the physical environment is not suitable for using an arm bike. (Ellen)

5.6.2 Exclusion form Oslo city centre

The overall objective of CFCL is to “create a greener and warmer city with room for everyone” (Oslo kommune, 2018, para. 1). Yet, from my analysis I find that CFCL has turned Oslo city centre into a ‘gated community’ — a community denying entrance to some groups of (dis)abled people who do not (or cannot) conform to the expected green performances postulated by OCS. This is not to say that all the informants feel excluded from Oslo city centre. Wei-chen, for example, explains that she ‘basically lives in the city centre’. Yet, several informants contend that many (dis)able people experience that Oslo city centre is an area that has become more challenging or impossible to access since CFCL was implemented in 2016:

If we don’t do anything about Car-Free City Life, then Oslo city centre risks becoming inaccessible for disabled people. I’m never in the city centre anymore. I think that if I had

not had such a nice house as I have now, I would have moved to the countryside. I do not use the city anymore because I think it is so difficult to get there. I am not the only one thinking like this, others also say that the city centre has been closed off and difficult to get to. (Inger)

To me, Car-Free City Life has zero value. To put it like this, how can I access Oslo city centre if I am denied access to public transportation and denied the disabled parking permit? What am I supposed to do? Should I just sit at home? The question then becomes; should I live my life or should I be at home? What do they want? Sometimes I think that I might move out of the city centre to a different part of Oslo, or that I should I move to back to my hometown. (Tarjei)

From the OSSI/OFGD it is evident that accessing and enjoying Oslo city centre is considered problematic by many of my informants. Firstly, accessing Oslo city centre by bus (or other modes of public transportation) is for some not possible, for others it is not desirable. Secondly, limited access to the discursive fields of the DPS and/or OPS makes Oslo city centre hard to access by private car and/or taxi. Combined, these discursive fields/disabling barriers has made Oslo city centre either inaccessible or very challenging and potentially time consuming to enter. Karoline, for example, says that the task of accessing CFCL has become daunting:

I can manage to get there [to the City Hall], but if they are busy [DPS] then you have to go around the city twice to get out again, well god damn, it takes an eternity [...] Once, I spent so much time trying to park my car and then I thought 'I don't bother doing this anymore'. So here you have a potential challenge for many that are more dependent on using a car than me, they might disappear from the city.

As Karoline, other informants state that Oslo city centre is accessible, but they choose not to travel there because it drains too much energy and time. For instance, Tarjei expressed: *So, what to do? How should one go from A to B if the public transport is not good enough? Then you have to use a car or taxi, and taxis are damn expensive.* More specifically, the cumulative effects of the removal of OPS, denial of DPC, and all the disabling barriers related to taking the bus, mean that

several informants have chosen to stay clear of Oslo city centre. As one of my key informants from NHF stated:

I know that there are members of NHF who do not travel to the city centre anymore because it is so difficult to get there. They rather travel to Lillestrøm, Sandvika or to shopping centres outside of the area covered by Car-Free City Life.

This finding is echoed by SWECO (2019) in its study on the consequences of Oslo kommune removing OPS in the city centre:

46% of people with disabled parking permit say that they visit the city centre less frequently today than two years ago. They state that this is due to new and difficult driving patterns in the city centre, because it is difficult to find a free parking space, and because they experience that parking spaces have been removed.

In sum, I find that the disabling barriers and performances produced/reinforced by OCS, together with the emotional dimensions of disability, have constructed 'landscapes of exclusion'. This finding echoes the complaint that Blindeforbundet filed against Oslo kommune and CFCL. Indeed, many of my informants feel that they today are denied access to Oslo city centre and the many services and social arenas that are located there. Moreover, several informants experience that democratic institutions located in CFCL, such as Stortinget, as well as office buildings and conference halls have become more challenging to access since 2016. Consequently, the assumption that the interventions promoted by OCS will automatically improve the quality of life of all people in Oslo reflects a misguided understanding of the social dimensions of green transformations. Hence, it is vital to further research the social consequences of CFCL and analyse if the landscapes of exclusion produced/reinforced by OCS violate the human rights of (dis)abled people.

5.7 Performative politics: The (dis)ableisation of environmental governance

The preceding two sections discussed how OCS produces/reinforces disabling barriers, and how these barriers produce/cement social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people in Oslo. This finding challenges Oslo kommune's assertion that its climate strategy will reduce both GHG emissions and social inequalities, as well as the notion that Oslo's green transformation will leave no one behind.

I assert that my study brings to view a trend that I coin the '(dis)ableisation environmental governance'. I mean two things by '(dis)ableisation environmental governance'. Firstly, Oslo's climate strategy is found guilty of moulding climate interventions which favour people with certain types of bodies. Many informants believe that Oslo kommune has had people with norm-functioning bodies in mind when designing and implementing its climate strategy. In other words, while bodies are different, some types of bodies and some kinds of differences have been the subject of preference in Oslo's climate strategy (Hirschmann, 2016). This is the 'ableisation' of Oslo's climate strategy. Indeed, beyond feeling excluded from Oslo city centre, many informants feel that they are excluded from the climate strategy itself. They experience that their everyday lives are not taken into consideration when the OCS have been designed and implemented, even though all the informants participating in this study are keen to actively take part in Oslo's green transformation. While Oslo kommune states that they are, for example, working with NHF in allocating disabled parking spots in Oslo city centre, most of my informants find this collaboration to be superficial and not always productive. On the contrary, many informants feel that they are forced into an ableist climate strategy and that Oslo kommune has 'added the disabled and stirred' when they have planned for its green transformation. As a result of this, several informants feel that the climate strategy is not universally designed nor reflective of pre-existing inequalities faced by (dis)abled people:

I experience that the politicians tell me 'Karoline, the climate strategy is not for you. You are exempt'. That does not feel right. Why should I not be seen as someone who can

contribute to Oslo's green transformation on an equal footing with others? Why should we [(dis)abled people] be seen as exceptions to the rule? (Karoline)

The urban space is built for an A4 white man who has two working arms and legs and ears and eyes. Sometimes I ask myself why we create such a hostile urban space. Why do not we make more pleasant travel routes and seats and streets that everyone can use? (Ellen)

I think disabled people are an afterthought in the climate strategy, and then it becomes a bit like 'what are we going to do with them? We must also include them in the strategy'. But then they have not had reference groups or looked at what types of challenges we face. Nor have they been interested in including us from the beginning, but they are rather making exceptions for us after the strategy has been finalized. Car-Free City Life bears the mark of it. It feels kind of like 'We will not look at how we can make the city better for wheelchair users, but rather make exceptions'. (Susan)

I feel that they don't see me at all. I feel like they do not see me at all or my needs. They try as best they can to get the car away from the city centre, and for people to use more public transportation. But, for me the public transportation is no good. I sometimes wonder who the climate strategy is for... is it for those people who can go to and from work, and who are 'normal'? (Tarjei).

Secondly, and resulting from the 'ableisation' just mentioned, OCS is found guilty of producing/reinforcing disabling barriers and performances which effectively disable, and thus discriminate, people with bodies that are defined in contrast to the constructed normal. This is the 'disableisation' of environmental governance, a trend that has been thoroughly accounted for in this thesis. As summarized by Ellen:

Disabled people constantly experience attitudes that justifies that it is OK to refuse disabled people to get on the bus. This is strange, because people had not tolerated if, say, women or queer people, were denied access to public transportation. Why do people not react? It is because we are seen with a different focus, we are seen as deviations and medical diagnoses, not as equal people.

Indeed, at the start of the start of the 21st century it is unthinkable to deny women and/or queer people access to the bus or to Oslo city centre. Yet, this denial is repeatedly encountered by many (dis)abled people as they move through their everyday lives. Being forced to wait at bus stop or being denied access to services located in Oslo city centre reinforces the feeling that (dis)abled people are second-class citizens who are being *added to OCS*, but only just. Thus, and as stated above, I find that the (dis)ableisation of Oslo's climate strategy has created/reinforced 'landscapes of exclusion', which effectively produces and reinforces social divides between the constructed 'disabled' and 'abled'.

The trend coined the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance demonstrates the importance of interrogating and rendering visible the disabling effects of OCS. By bringing to view the discursive fields, disabling barriers and disabled performances that are reinforced/produced by OCS, we begin to uncover the potential of Butler's performative politics.

5.7.1 An agenda for troubling the (dis)ableisation of Oslo's climate strategy

By drawing inspiration from Butler's performative politics, this last section of my discussion moves beyond a sole focus on oppression and exclusion. Here I seek to trouble the discursive fields and disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS that define who is in place/out of place, who belongs and who does not. By exposing the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo's climate strategy it becomes possible to articulate their marginalizing effects and to identify ways to break the citational chain of the above-mentioned disabling performances.

Specifically, what follows is an agenda for troubling the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance. The agenda proposes six entry points for the troubling of the disabling barriers produced/reinforced by Oslo's climate strategy. As such, the agenda opens up for identifying, addressing and challenging discursively mediated performances that effectively turns difference into disability and disadvantage. In essence, through the below agenda I make the case for future research on the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance with the following argument: any attempt to tackle climate change that excludes (dis)abled people will be insufficient, unsustainable and unjust. Moreover, the agenda is set to capacitate activists, researchers, NGOs, policymakers

and others to challenge the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance. Hence, the agenda is platform for the transformation of problematic subjectivities. The premise of the agenda is that when ableist discourses shift in environmental governance, and when practices linked to these discourses transform, CCMAPs have the potential to alter disabling barriers and disabled performances.

5.7.1.1 Awareness

The first entry point is for policymakers, and others, to become aware of the disabling barriers that are produced/reinforced by OCS, and how these barriers intersects in the lives of (dis)abled people. Indeed, my informants state that they don't believe that Oslo kommune actively seeks to exclude them from the city centre. Rather, my informants believe that the politicians, and people designing and implementing Oslo's climate strategy, are just not aware of their everyday challenges related to taking the bus/accessing CFCL:

I do not think that politicians mean to exclude us. However, they have not personally experienced sitting in a wheelchair, so they don't know what that entails. So yes, lack of universal design leads to exclusion, but that is probably due to lack of knowledge (Ellen).

From a policy point of view, recognising the multitude of ways that OCS produces the disabled subject is key for devising climate interventions that empowers rather than discriminate against (dis)abled people. Policymakers need to broaden their understanding of who the 'green citizen' in Oslo is (and who it is not) to ensure that no one is 'left behind' as Oslo moves towards becoming a 'climate robust' city. Differently put, it is imperative for Oslo kommune to acknowledge and take into consideration the socio-spatial inequalities that have been produced/reinforced in the planning, implementation and monitoring of its green transformation. In this thesis I demonstrate that the assumption that OCS will benefit all and reduce social inequalities is not only false, but also masks plural notions about what is considered appropriate mitigation and adaption measures in Oslo. As stated by Haase et al., (2017, p. 45):

[...] decisionmakers need to be aware of the difference between “open and inclusive eco-urbanism” and “exclusive eco-urban settlements” (Chatterton, 2010, p. 241). Strong ideas are needed to foster the former and regulate the latter. These inequalities will not disappear once greening strategies will be implemented.

5.7.1.2 Listening to the embodied experiences of (dis)abled people

Awareness of the disabling effects of Oslo’s climate strategy starts by listening to and legitimizing the voices and experiences of (dis)abled people. I contend that inclusive CCMAPs entails more than just physical ‘access’ to the bus and to Oslo city centre. Inclusive CCMAPs, I argue, must recognize (dis)abled people’s views and demands, even if they oppose dominant and mainstream notions of what constitutes a ‘green transformation’. The failure to engage with (dis)abled people’s experiences in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of OCS means ignoring that (dis)abled people are knowledgeable and powerful agents of change. I contend that by foregrounding analyses of the social dimensions of OCS in the everyday lives of (dis)abled allows for a just and productive vantage point for articulating and promoting socially inclusive CCMAPs, both in Oslo and beyond:

As Harding (2008) reminds us, people typically excluded from Western science—women, people of color, [people with disabilities] and people of the global South—have their own ways of knowing about the natural world. Feminists must insist upon the value of these multiple knowledges for effective action concerning climate change (Israel and Sachs 2012, p. 47).

Indeed, listening to the voices and experiences of (dis)abled people, and others, helps to uncover which subjects that are promoted as green citizens and which subjects that are side-lined and rendered invisible in Oslo’s green transformation.

5.7.1.3 Avoid essentializing the disabled experience

The third entry point is for the OCS to move away from notions of the ‘universal disabled subject’. As I have made clear above, my informants represent a diverse group of people with different needs and lived realities. Yet, my informants state that the OCS lacks a focus on diversity among (dis)abled people. While the OCS refers to ‘people with disabilities’, it is not clear who these disabled people are or what ‘disability’ entails. Many informants therefore feel that OCS groups them together with people that live very different lives from themselves. In other words, Oslo’s climate strategy is found to homogenize and mainstream the ‘disabled’ experience and is thus guilty of rendering invisible the diversity in lived experiences among (dis)abled people. An example of the homogenisation of the disabled experience is how CFCL sets out to secure (dis)abled people access to Oslo city centre by increasing the number of disabled parking spots (DPS). Yet, the increase in DPS is a measure that only benefits a small number of (dis)abled people. The assumption that the increase in DPS is a measure that benefits all who are ‘disabled’ risks becoming a potent disabling barrier with unknown and obscure impacts in the lives of (dis)abled people. This way of ‘slotting’ (dis)abled people into the climate strategy not only masks differences in lived realities, it also obfuscates non-homogenous and intersectional injustices.

By producing uncritical, and naturalizing accounts of ‘the disabled’, OCS risks treading into dangerous essentialist territory by (re)producing simplistic and stereotypical narratives that dichotomize ‘abled’ versus ‘disabled’. For example, Hanne, Olaug and Henry are subjected as disabled in their encounters with disabling barriers that are not encountered by Karoline, Tarjei and Wei-chen. Moreover, Olaug’s experiences using the bus differ from Henry’s, and Henry’s experiences accessing CFCL differ from those of Hanne. My thesis illustrates that categorising people as ‘abled’ or ‘disabled’ effectively divides and constrains societies in ways that may produce unequal and insubordinate subject positions. As stated by Olaug:

People often talks about ‘the disabled’. But there is no diversity in that term... it is not an inclusive term, but rather a term that is used to talk about people that are bothersome and costly. It feels as disabled people are seen as a group that exists outside normal society, but we are part of society. I think that as long as people think along the lines of 'us and them',

we will not become a natural part of society. We will then always be a group outside society that people perceive as demanding and costly.

I would like to briefly note that it is not my intention to erase the category of ‘disability’ altogether. This might be a rallying category, a category that gives a voice to people that are otherwise voiceless in environmental governance. My point is, however, that the term ‘disability’ should be used with caution – it should be used without homogenising and essentializing effects.

5.7.1.4 A focus on the social and political

Throughout this thesis I have illustrated, theoretically and empirically, how discursive fields and disabling barriers (produced/reinforced by Oslo’s climate strategy) are instrumental in mapping ways of life that are ‘*disabled*’. Specifically, I have drawn attention to how disabling barriers, as situated accomplishments, set the stage for the enactment/resistance of the disabled performance, as well as the fluctuating emotional responses that accompany these performances.

I maintain that it is paramount to continue to bring to view how and why the social construction of disability matters for environmental governance. Hirschmann (2016, p. 101) asserts that the social model of disability prevents people “from forgetting that things that are invisible to nondisabled persons, that seem like “normal background conditions,” look very different from a disability perspective, and there is in many cases no logical reason why those conditions cannot be changed”. Put differently, it is imperative that policymakers view and understand these facets of the world as barriers and not as something inevitable or natural.

The social model of disability links well to feminist concerns centred around the differentiating effects of environmental governance. Together, insights from critical disability studies and feminist political ecology can support researchers and practitioners to better understand how and why CCMAPs can have dramatically different consequences for various groups or individuals. For example, the social model of disability is well placed to critique the assumption that the benefits of green transformations are universal and available to all. To counter the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance it is necessary to situate CCMAPs as “part of socio-political processes

involving relations, contestations, negotiations, and cooperation at multiple scales” (Eriksen et al., 2015, p. 526). The OCS is much more than a technical adjustment to biophysical change by Oslo kommune; it intersects and entwines in the lives of (dis)abled people with unpredictable and obscure outcomes. It is therefore necessary, always, to ask a series of questions about the contested nature of environmental governance, such as: who gains and who loses from the implementation of CCMAPs? What are the trade-offs between social and ecological objectives and outcomes of a green transformation?

5.7.1.5 A focus on the emotional and embodied (situated knowledge)

Keeping in mind the shortcomings of the social model of disability, I have demonstrated that taking a route through the routine, taken-for-granted performances of everyday life tells us much about how emotions shape what (dis)abled people can *do* and who they can *be* in the context of Oslo’s green transformation. It is important to acknowledge how and why emotions play an important role as internal barriers to processing or reacting to disabling barriers, as well as in motivating subversive action. Oslo kommune needs to acknowledge that its climate strategy is closely intertwined with the emotional and intimate aspects of everyday life of different groups of people. Throughout this thesis I clearly prove that it is necessary to move beyond a sole focus on the technical merits of a given climate intervention. Without attention to the embodied and emotional, CCMAPs in Oslo and beyond risk being caught in technical language, which effectively render invisible issues of inequality and injustice. As stated by Wilson and Chu (2020, p. 1098): “An embodied politics of climate change ultimately allows us to consider the true intersectional costs and benefits of climate solutions, particularly as they are experienced in the everyday lives of the most marginalised sectors of society”.

5.7.1.6 Legal barriers and universal design

My thesis has not engaged with the legal ramifications of Oslo’s climate strategy. Hence, I have not explored the extent to which Oslo’s climate strategy is violating laws and regulations pertaining to, for example, the rights of people with disabilities and universal design. That said, holding Oslo kommune accountable to legal commitments is necessary to ensure that (dis)abled

people are not discriminated against by OCS. My informants state that it is especially important that the climate strategy adheres to laws and regulations related to universal design. Oslo kommune is obliged to ensure, for example, that everyone can use public transportation without the need for adaptations or specialized design. However, I find that Oslo's climate strategy does not secure that (dis)abled people are able access buses and CFCL on an equal basis with others. This condition is a direct breach of the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD).

5.7.2 A barrier-free utopia?

The proposed agenda for the troubling of the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance is both radical and liberatory in function. Yet, a world in which (dis)abled people are free from the shackles of disabling barriers is hard to operationalise. Despite the promises of the agenda above, many parts of the natural world will remain inaccessible to many (dis)abled people. Moreover, historic buildings often cannot easily be adapted, and already built infrastructure is costly and difficult to make universally designed, such as the metro stop at Nationaltheatret. Both practicality and resource constraints make it extremely challenging to overcome every disabling barrier accounted for in this thesis. Nonetheless, I contend that it is imperative to acknowledge how more persistent disabling barriers, such as old metro stops, intersect with Oslo's climate strategy in mediating problematic disabled performances. Awareness of the consequences of these disabling barriers in the lives of (dis)abled people should enable policymakers and others to avoid reproducing similar disabling barriers in the future.

I should also carefully recognize that while disabling barriers should be dismantled wherever possible, "there remains disadvantage associated with having many impairments which no amount of environmental change could entirely eliminate" (Shakespeare, 2017, para. 11). Yet, as I have accounted for earlier, this thesis is an exercise in addressing and challenging the social construction of 'disabled subjects'. I therefore invite other scholars to add nuance to all the findings presented above and to add insights into how the agenda for troubling the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance can better reflect key insights from different strands of literature.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored, both theoretically and empirically, how and why Oslo's climate strategy produces/reinforces social difference and inequality in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. This exploration was guided by the following research questions:

- How do people that are blind and wheelchair users experience Oslo's climate interventions related to 'Car-Free City Life' and the use of public transportation?
- Does Oslo's climate strategy entrench existing, or produce new, subjectivities in relation to (dis)abled bodies?
- What are the consequences of this subjectification in the everyday lives of blind people/wheelchair users in Oslo?

To answer the above research questions, I combined theoretical insights from poststructural feminist political ecology and critical disability studies with the everyday lived experiences of 10 blind people and wheelchair users living in Oslo.

Throughout this thesis I have demonstrated that Oslo's climate strategy (OCS) is a part of the dynamics of society through the production/reinforcement of discursive fields, disabling barriers and disabled performances. More concretely, I have illustrated that OCS produces/reinforces a multitude of fleeting discursive fields that are present in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people as they use the bus or access Oslo city centre. Examples of such discursive fields are 'the bus stop', 'the moving bus' and 'the ordinary parking spot'. I have demonstrated that each of these discursive fields contain a myriad of disabling barriers, ranging from the lack of auditive announcements, 'the gap', 'the gaze' to 'the disabled parking permit'. These barriers are socially constructed circumstances and conditions preventing some groups of (dis)abled people from fully participating in Oslo's green transformation, i.e. by denying wheelchair users access to the bus or by forcing people that are blind into polluting modes of transportation.

I utilized the theory of performativity to analyse how discursive fields and disabling barriers produced/reinforced by OCS both construct and regulate 'disabled subjects'. I have zoomed in on

(dis)abled people's everyday encounters with selected disabling barriers and demonstrated how and why disabling barriers stage disabled performances which effectively turn *difference* into *disability* and *disadvantage*. Thus, I have demonstrated that 'disabled subjects' emerge out of the performative (re)materialization of ableist social environments. In other words, I have illustrated that 'disability' is naturalized by and within discursive fields that are produced/reinforced by OCS.

Drawing on feminist political ecology, I introduced the lenses of space, intersectionality and embodiment with the intention to add theoretical and empirical depth to the exploration of the disabled performance and its consequences. By looking through these lenses I have discussed and nuanced how disabled performances are invoked, enacted, subverted and resisted as individuals navigate the discursive terrain of their everyday lives. Indeed, attention to the everyday, seemingly mundane, spatial performances enabled me to explain the different ways that my informants experience Oslo's climate interventions related to Car-Free City Life (CFCL) and the use of public transportation (taking the bus) in quite different ways. I have brought the manifold and sometimes contrasting everyday lived experiences of my informants to the fore and exemplified that there is a need to deconstruct the myth of the 'universal disabled subject'.

My objective here has not been to deny the material or the corporal conditions of (dis)ability. However, in the context of this thesis, I deliberately chose to emphasise the social at the expense of the medical. As such, I am cognizant of the fact that my thesis has brought to view only certain characteristics of (dis)ability whilst downplaying others. Nonetheless, my overall purpose has been to bring to view the social construction of 'disability' and the ways in which 'disabled subjects' are discursively established, regulated and maintained by Oslo's climate strategy. In other words, I have used poststructural theorizations to evidence that Oslo's climate strategy is very capable of mediating processes of *becoming* disabled. Specifically, I have brought to view how disabling barriers and disabled performances stage the discrimination/exclusion of (dis)abled people and bound the possibilities for agency as well as inclusion in Oslo's green transformation.

My qualitative feminist poststructural exploration has therefore demonstrated why and how (dis)ability is at stake in environmental governance. Importantly, my thesis identified a trend that I have coined the '(dis)ableisation environmental governance'. I mean two things by the

‘(dis)ableisation environmental governance’. Firstly, Oslo’s climate strategy is guilty of moulding climate interventions which favour people with certain types of bodies. Indeed, several informants contended that they have been ‘massaged into’ an ableist climate strategy and that Oslo kommune has ‘added the disabled and stirred’ when they have planned for their green transformation. As a result of this, my informants asserted that the OCS is not universally designed nor reflective of pre-existing inequalities faced by (dis)abled people. This is the ‘ableisation’ of Oslo’s climate strategy. Secondly, and as highlighted throughout the thesis, OCS is found guilty of producing/reinforcing disabling barriers and disabled performances which effectively disable, and thus marginalize, (dis)abled people. I have argued that Oslo’s climate strategy to various degrees excludes (dis)abled people from Oslo city centre, drains (dis)abled people of time and energy and forces (dis)abled people into polluting modes of travelling. These negative effects of ‘Oslo’s green transformation’ illustrate how OCS can be a conduit of social difference and exemplifies how OCS produces and cements social inequalities in the lives of (dis)abled people.

By analysing the trend of (dis)ableisation in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people, I have demonstrated the importance of interrogating and rendering visible the disabling effects of environmental governance. For example, my analysis challenges Oslo kommune’s assertion that its climate strategy reduces both GHG emissions and social inequalities, and that Oslo’s green transformation will leave no one behind. My thesis has thus added important insights to existing analyses of how and why ‘socially blind’ CCAMPs run the risk of producing or reinforcing social inequalities, problematic subject positions and social hierarchies. My thesis adds to social scientific analyses, often spearheaded by feminist scholars, which explore questions of equity, informality, vulnerability and marginalisation in environmental governance. The findings postulated here therefore add to literature addressing the pervasive social blind spots of CCAMPs by bringing into view how the ‘disabled subject’ emerges in environmental governance, and what the consequences of this subjectification are in the everyday lives of (dis)abled people. As such, I have added crucial insights to feminist scholarship critiquing dominant approaches to environmental governance that are rendering the issue of climate change as both universal, technical, and distant, instead of differentiated, social and embodied. I have also contributed to critical disability studies by demonstrating how the SMD and literature on the ‘psycho-emotional

dimensions of disability' add to feminist concerns centred around the differentiating, discriminatory and potential disabling effects of environmental governance.

My findings, briefly summarized here, clearly evidence that more research is needed to investigate and challenge how CCMAPs might produce/reinforce disabling barriers that further the exclusion, marginalisation and oppression of (dis)abled people. Indeed, my findings illustrate that it is high time to add a 'disability lens' to critical discussions about the contested nature of environmental governance. This means acknowledging the everyday lived experiences and situated knowledges of (dis)abled people when asking questions such as: who gains and who loses from the implementation of CCMAPs? What are the trade-offs between social and ecological objectives and outcomes of a green transformation?

Lastly, and drawing inspiration from Butler's performative politics, my thesis moved beyond a sole focus on oppression and exclusion by proposing an agenda for troubling the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance. The agenda defined six entry points for identifying and challenging the discursive fields, disabling barriers and disabled performances produced/reinforced by CCMAPs, both in Oslo and elsewhere. The premise of the agenda is that by exposing disabling barriers produced/reinforced by CCMAPs it becomes possible to articulate their marginalizing effects and to identify ways to break the citational chain of problematic disabled performances. The agenda elaborated on how CCMAPs can support and create spaces for subjectivities that foster emancipatory action and thus contributes to debates on how "adaptation practices and processes can be a source of social transformation" (Eriksen et al., 2015, p. 531). In essence, by building on the theoretical and empirical insights set forth in this thesis, the agenda clearly demonstrated that any attempt to devise and implement CCMAPs that excludes or ignores the (dis)ableisation of environmental governance will be insufficient, unsustainable and unjust.

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Appendix A: Selected laws and regulations underpinning Oslo's climate strategy

- *Felles prinsipper for universell utforming i Oslo kommune* (Oslo kommune, 2019c): Everyone should be able to get to and from places in Oslo without special arrangements. Specifically, public transport should be accessible to as many people as possible, regardless of disability. The entire travel chain must be universally designed. Everyone should be able to use the municipality's buildings, facilities, and outdoor areas without special arrangements. In all plans and construction matters, the current requirements, rules, standards and guidelines on universal design and accessibility must be complied with.
- *Handlingsplan for mennesker med funksjonsnedsettelser* (Oslo kommune, 2017): To create the conditions for people with disabilities to live the most active and independent life possible with full participation in society.
- *Lov om likestilling og forbud mot diskriminering (likestillings- og diskrimineringsloven)* (Lovdata, 2020): Direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of disability is prohibited. Direct discrimination refers to an act or omission with the purpose or effect that persons due to disability are treated more poorly than others are or would have been treated in a similar situation. Indirect discrimination means any seemingly neutral provision, condition, practice, action or omission that results in conditions discriminates against people with disabilities.
- *CRPD article 9 (United Nations, n.d.-b, para 1.)*:

To enable persons with disabilities to live independently and participate fully in all aspects of life, States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure to persons with disabilities access, on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment, to transportation, to information and communications, including information and communications technologies and systems, and to other facilities and services open or provided to the public, both in urban and in rural areas.

Appendix B: Photos used in the OSSI/OFGD



Figure 1: Photo 1 used in ‘Scenario 1’

Source: (Stenerud, 2019).

Alt text: Several people waiting at a bus stop in Oslo. It is winter and two buses are parked at the bus stop.

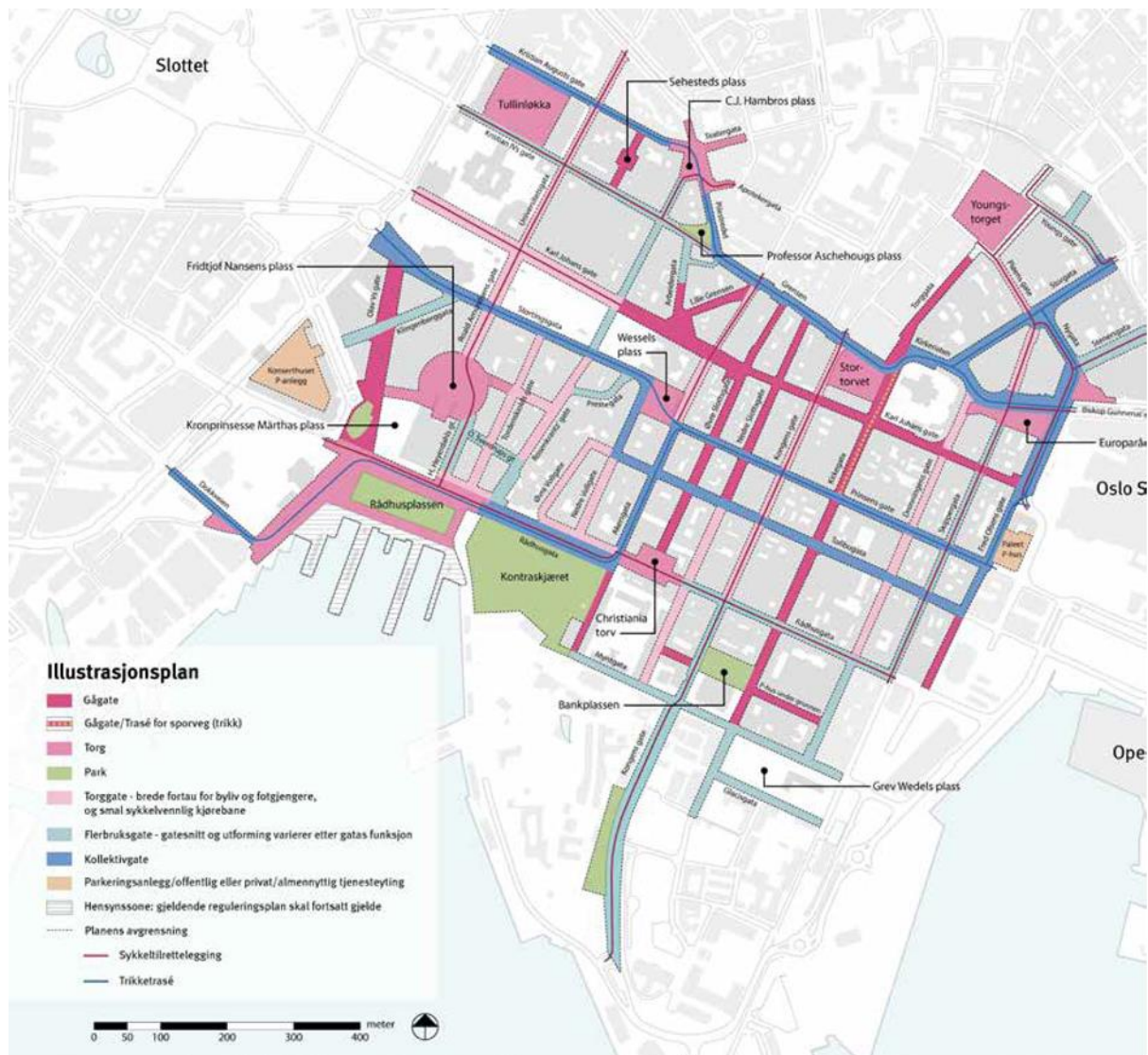


Figure 2: Photo 2 used for ‘Scenario 2’

Source: (Oslo kommune, 2019a).

Alt text: Map over the area that is covered by Car-Free City Life.