TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
WIEN
Vienna | Austria

DIPLOMARBEIT

Privatization of public housing in Botkyrka Municipality, Sweden

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades
eines Diplom-Ingenieurs / Diplom-Ingenieurin
unter der Leitung von

Associate Prof. Dipl.-Ing.(FH) Dr.phil.
Sabine Knierbein

E 285-05
Forschungsbereich Stadtkultur und Öffentlicher Raum SKuOR

Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung

von
Bernadette Dannerer
01340878

Wien, am 14. 09. 2020

Abstract

This here master thesis takes the case of privatization of municipal housing in Botkyrka Municipality in the metropolitan area of Stockholm, Sweden as a case study to gain a better understanding of how housing policy has been shaped by neoliberalization processes in Sweden. In 2012 the political leadership of Botkyrka Municipality decided to sell around 1.300 housing units built in the 1970s and owned by the municipality's housing company to a private investor. The inhabitants voiced their opposition to the sale through a petition and peaceful protests in the streets, which were however ignored by the political leadership. The municipal housing company sold the housing in 2013 to a private investor.

The main research question that is answered through this master thesis is the following:
How has Swedish housing policy changed over the last decades?
The following sub-questions help further focus the research:
- *How can these changes be characterized?*
- *How are these changes translated in the housing policy of Botkyrka municipality?*
- *Which other processes influence housing-questions in Stockholm region?*

The hypothesis guiding this master thesis is following Christophers' (2013) argumentation that while Sweden in leftist imagination has a more egalitarian political-economic model, in reality housing policy in Sweden has gone through a process of neoliberalization. The privatization of municipal housing in Botkyrka is taken as an expression of said neoliberalization.

Methodologically this case study is built on literature research and newspaper content analysis to better understand how the sale and the ensuing protests were received in the media. Semi-structured expert interviews help gaining additional insights into the situation of municipal housing companies in Sweden as well as the intersection of racial discrimination with displacement in stigmatized suburbs in Sweden.

The results of this master thesis confirm that Swedish housing policy has gone through a process of neoliberalization since the 1990s. Housing subsidies from the national state to the municipalities, who are responsible for the production of housing, were cut. This left municipalities with a double burden of having to finance renovations of housing built during the 1960s and 70s while at the same time having to build new housing as the need for affordable housing is rising again. Insurgent practices - of which the protests in Botkyrka municipality can be seen as an example - offer differing views in the discourse on housing in stigmatized neighborhoods and the lived realities of their inhabitants.

Abstract

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit setzt sich mit der Fallstudie zur Privatisierung von öffentlichem Wohnbau in der Gemeinde Botkyrka im Umland von Stockholm (Schweden) auseinander. Ziel der Arbeit ist ein besseres Verständnis von den Einflüssen der Neoliberalisierung auf die schwedische Wohnbaupolitik. Die politische Führung der Gemeinde Botkyrka beschloss im Jahr 2012, rund 1.300 Wohnungen, die aus den 1970er Jahren stammen und im Eigentum der gemeindeeigenen Wohnbaugesellschaft waren, an einen privaten Investor zu verkaufen. Die Bewohner*innen brachten ihre Ablehnung des Verkaufes durch eine Petition sowie friedliche Proteste im öffentlichen Raum zum Ausdruck. Dies wurde allerdings von der politischen Führung ignoriert und die gemeindeeigene Wohnbaugesellschaft verkaufte die Wohnungen im Jahr 2013 an einen privaten Investor.

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit widmet sich folgender leitenden Forschungsfrage:
Wie hat sich die schwedische Wohnbaupolitik in den letzten Jahren geändert?
Die folgenden untergeordneten Fragestellungen helfen dabei, die Diplomarbeit zu strukturieren
- *Wie können diese Änderungen kategorisiert werden?*
- *Wie wurden diese Änderungen in der Wohnbaupolitik der Gemeinde Botkyrka umgesetzt?*
- *Welche anderen Prozesse beeinflussen den Wohnbau in der Region Stockholm?*

Die Hypothese, die die vorliegende Diplomarbeit leitet, beruht auf Christophers (2013) Argumentation, dass Schweden, während es in der Vorstellung der politischen Linken eine egalitäre politische und wirtschaftliche Organisation behalten hat, in Wirklichkeit einen Prozess der Neoliberalisierung erlebt hat. Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit stuft die Privatisierung des öffentlichen Wohnbaus in Botkyrka als Ausdruck dieser Neoliberalisierung ein.

Die Methodik dieser Fallstudie basiert auf Literaturrecherche und Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungsartikeln, die ein besseres Verständnis der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung des Verkaufs und der darauf folgenden Proteste ermöglicht. Teilstrukturierte Expert*inneninterviews vermitteln zusätzliches Wissen zur Lage von öffentlichen Wohnbaugesellschaften in Schweden sowie zur Querschnittsmaterie von rassistischer Diskriminierung und Verdrängung in stigmatisierten Vororten in Schweden.

Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit bestätigen die Hypothese, dass die schwedische Wohnbaupolitik seit den 1990er Jahren einen Prozess der Neoliberalisierung durchlaufen hat. Der Staat hat den Gemeinden, die in Schweden für den Wohnbau verantwortlich sind, die Fördermittel für leistbaren Wohnbau gekürzt. Dadurch kämpfen Gemeinden mit der doppelten finanziellen Belastung Wohnbauten aus den 1960er und 70er Jahren renovieren zu müssen, während gleichzeitig der Bedarf an leistbarem Wohnraum wieder steigt. Die Proteste in Botkyrka und ähnliche Praktiken in ganz Schweden eröffnen von etablierten Sichtweisen abweichende Einblicke in die Diskussionen um Wohnraum in stigmatisierten Vororten und die Lebensrealitäten ihrer Bewohner*innen.

Note of thanks

First of all my thanks to Sabine, whose constructive feedback and support helped me grow as a researcher and writer throughout this journey. Your guidance made this thesis possible and enabled me to get through the difficult stages of the writing process.
I want to thank Maria und Jenny at KTH who helped me through the very early stages of this projects and gave me valuable insights into the Swedish planning system.

I want to thank my parents without who's support I couldn't have done any of my studies, who always encouraged me to go further and when I needed it, helped me with any difficulty I came across.
I am extremely grateful to my grandparents who were always there for me.
I want to thank my wonderful friends who all supported me in their way.

Danksagung

Als Erstes vielen Dank an Sabine, deren konstruktives Feedback mir geholfen hat eine bessere Forscherin und Autorin zu werden. Deine Betreuung hat diese Diplomarbeit ermöglicht und mir dabei geholfen die schwierigen Phasen im Schreibprozess zu meistern.
Danke auch an Maria und Jenny an der KTH, die sehr frühe Schritte dieser Arbeit begleitet haben und mir geholfen haben das schwedische Planungssystem besser zu verstehen.

Mein größter Dank geht an meine Eltern, ohne deren Hilfe ich nicht studiert hätte, die mich immer ermutigt haben, die nächsten Schritte zu machen und die mich unterstützt haben, wenn ich sie gebraucht habe.
Besonders dankbar bin ich meinen Großeltern, die immer für mich da waren.
Ich möchte allen meinen wunderbaren Freund*innen danken, die mich alle auf ihre Art unterstützt haben.

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

This master thesis is concerned with processes of neoliberalization in Swedish housing policies. Point of departure for my research was reading a paper on participation processes under pressure in Botkyrka municipality, Sweden. When the political leadership of the municipality decided in 2012 to sell about 1/3 of the municipally owned housing which was located in the neighborhood of Alby, the long fostered participatory channels of communication were not consulted (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015). The inhabitants voiced their opposition to the sale through a petition and peaceful protests in the streets, which were however ignored by the political leadership (ibid.). The municipal housing company sold the housing in 2013 to a private investor (ibid.).

When I first approached the topic, I was interested in aspects of justice linked to the decision making process during the sale. The resulting paper influenced sections of this master thesis.

For this master thesis I was initially interested in how the protests had changed the perception of lived space in the neighborhood and whether there had been lasting impacts for the inhabitants. However the outbreak of the Corona Virus in March of 2020 made it impossible to travel to Sweden and do grounded research in Alby. The focus of my work has therefore shifted in order to implore why the decision to sell municipal housing was taken in the first place and which are the wider issues concerning housing policy in Sweden that are underlying this particular sales process.

The main research question that will be answered through this master thesis is the following:
How has Swedish housing policy changed over the last decades?
The following sub-questions help further focus the research:
- *Which other processes influence housing-questions in Stockholm region?*
- *How are these changes translated in the housing policy of Botkyrka municipality?*
- *How can these changes be characterized?*

The hypothesis guiding my work throughout this master thesis is following Christophers' (2013) argumentation that while Sweden in leftist imagination has a more egalitarian political-economic model, in reality housing policy in Sweden has gone through a process of neoliberalization, which is manifested in the privatization of formerly public housing in Botkyrka municipality. Housing affordability is a pressing issue in Sweden. The lack of affordable housing disproportionally affects the poor, housing costs amount to 45% of the income of people at the risk of poverty as compared to a 20% national average. The European average is at 22.5% of income for housing costs as compared to 41% for the poor (Pittini 2012).

Methodologically this extreme case study is built on literature research, newspaper content analysis as well as semi-structured expert interviews, which were conducted online due to the health situation in the spring of 2020.

Structurally this master thesis is organized as follows: The first part is concerned with laying the theoretical groundwork, the second part presents the empirical case, going from the general, which is housing policy in Sweden via an introduction to Botkyrka municipality and its housing policy to the particular, which is a detailed presentation of the sales process of municipal housing in the neighborhood of Alby in 2012-13. Following the methodology, the analysis ties together the previous parts of the master thesis.

2 Critical views on neoliberalization

"[N]eoliberalization denotes a politically guided intensification of market rule and commodification" (Brenner et al. 2010. 184). Neoliberalism first emerged in the 1970s when geo-economic restructuring, geopolitical crisis and failing regulation met unevenly developed institutional landscapes (ibid.). As the fordist economic growth of the post-war era experienced a crisis in the late 1960s and the simultaneous high inflation due to the oil shocks of the 1970s, economic policy worldwide started to shift in order to battle inflation and restore profits (Dardot and Laval 2013). Neoliberalism was at the time of its emergence coined as being a response to a situation, which was deemed 'unmanageable' (ibid.). Neoliberal theoreticians saw the rise of demands of political participation and egalitarian demands during the 1960s as expanding beyond the desirable limits of political democracy (ibid.).

While the process of neoliberalization is and has been discontinuous and uneven it always facilitates "marketization and commodification […] across places, territories and scales" (Brenner et al. 2010. 184). This means that commodifying and market-constraining logics evolve simultaneously (ibid.). "The global imposition of neoliberalism has, of course, been highly uneven, both socially and geographically, and its institutional forms and sociopolitical consequences have varied significantly across spatial scales" (Brenner and Theodore 2002. 350). While within neoliberal argumentation market forces are viewed as being the same all over the world, the authors underline their 'embeddedness' (ibid.). Being produced within specific contexts, which are characterized "by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles" (ibid. 351) the emerging neoliberal restructuring projects are necessarily specific as well (ibid.). Different inherited urban landscapes are the reason for geographically uneven development (ibid.). Patterns of core-periphery polarization emerge on all spatial scales, resulting in socio-spatial inequality (ibid.). Neoliberal processes are not to be seen as linear but equate rather to regulatory experimentation that has to be seen in context of previous rounds of restructuring driven by both local and external influences (Brenner et al. 2010). Citing Gill (1998) Brenner et al. (2010) stipulate that neoliberalism, as any other formation of world order is based on a specific form of constitutionalism, which in the case of neoliberalism "entails the construction of supranational institutional forms and the reconfiguration of existing state apparatuses in ways that 'lock in' the market-disciplinary agendas of globalized neoliberalism" (ibid. 193). This 'lock-in' is characterized by promoting capital mobility, commodifying previously decommodified realms and decoupling economic relations from democratic control (Brenner et al. 2010). By intensifying competition via creating favorable fiscal and social conditions for the attraction of ever growing shares of foreign investment, states themselves have "contributed to the creation of an order that subjected them to new constraints, prompting them to compress wages and public expenditure, to reduce 'traditional rights' deemed unduly expensive, and to weaken mechanisms of solidarity which escaped the logic of private insurance" (Dardot and Laval 2013. 154). In search for growing shares in the transnational flows of labor and capital, states dismantle "regulations and institutions that once provided necessary protection and stability for societies, as well as opportunities for democratic participation and political accountability" (Hou and Knierbein 2017. 5). Supranational institutions as well as international actors are given power without responsibility while local institutions see a reverse rising of responsibilities without corresponding powers (Peck and Tickell 2002). The power given to supranational institutions however supersedes institutions and places, as it inhabits the spaces in between (ibid.). Neoliberalism shapes the rules of inter-local competition and therefore represents its own form of regulation (ibid.). Cities and city-regions are especially affected by inter-local competition as their geo-economic environment is "characterized by monetary chaos, speculative movements of financial capital [and] global location strategies by major transnational corporations" (Brenner and Theodore 2002. 367). Fiscal constraints are being placed upon cities by the respective national governments during times of local social problems and conflicts (ibid.). At the same time, many cities are 'internalizing' neoliberal programs into their policies, such as place-marketing, public-private partnerships and other forms of deregulation and privatization

(ibid.). Such processes are inherently place-specific as they are characterized by national as well as local contexts, national and local context have therefore to be analyzed in order to understand the specific developments in any given city (ibid.).

David Harvey focuses more on questions of wealth distribution, characterizing neoliberalism as a class project to channel fortune from poorer countries and parts of society towards richer ones (Harvey 2007). This happened according to the author as an answer to social-democratic projects after World War II (ibid.). Neoliberalism is shaped by political and economic practices aimed at maximizing "entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2007. 22). The state's role is reduced to creating and preserving the institutional frameworks necessary to maintain private property rights and free markets (ibid.). In addition to that markets have to be created if they do not exist yet, if necessary by state intervention (ibid.). However, once markets are created, state intervention should be kept at a minimum (ibid.). Reducing neoliberalism to the withdrawal of the state however would be insufficient, it is much rather that the state works towards maintaining the neoliberal system (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). While neoliberalism portraits itself as against state intervention, it relies on the state to pursue its goals of downsizing the state's role, financial politics characterized by austerity and 'reforming' public services (Peck and Tickell 2002). In order to realize neoliberal ideals, the antithetical authoritarian state is a crucial tool (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). Aalbers even goes so far as to say that neoliberalism has "little affinity with political or cultural liberalism" (Aalbers 2013. 1053). While the theory of neoliberalism is applied differently in different countries (Harvey 2007, Fine and Saad-Filho 2017), the theoretical grounds it stands on have become - according to Harvey - a hegemonic mode of discourse, influencing how we understand the world (Harvey 2007). Part of the reason why neoliberalism could achieve such a hegemonic status was its foundations in individual liberty and freedom (ibid.). Those are coined as being endangered by any kind of state intervention (ibid.). Neoliberal theory argues that enabling private capital accumulation outside of any state interventions is the necessary foundation for the creation of wealth, which in turn is supposed to improve individual well being (ibid.). This argumentation, according to Dardot and Laval (2013), has lead to changes in the way subjects think about themselves. The marketization of everyday life changes the way we understand ourselves and therefore the way we live our lifes (Listerborn et al. 2020). We are lead to think of ourselves as holders of capital to be valorized (Dardot and Laval 2013). The individual therefore becomes an entrepreneur of the self, managing its own manpower as a business (Reckwitz 2004). This 'highly modern individual' has to rely on its permanent self-monitoring, discipline and entrepreneurial activism (ibid.). The individual becomes market player who, in a rationalizing way, constantly 'chooses' calculatedly between different available items or options (ibid.). In order to make this choice all potential objects are seemingly equalized and therefore comparable (ibid.). The normative strategy of the 'freedom to choose' is constructed in an institutional, regulatory and relational framework which pushes the individual to choose 'freely' what is in his or her own interest (Dardot and Laval 2013). Individual choice is in this system guided through a system of incentives and sanctions, which makes market sanctions obsolete (ibid.). This 'capitalization of individual existence' erodes solidaristic rationales step by step (ibid.). As the discourse becomes more and more focused on the individual and its role, the responsibilities of the wider society are being diminished (ibid.). The citizen who has a collective responsibility is gradually reduced to being an entrepreneurial and consuming individual, who is self-enterprising and to whom society owes nothing (ibid.). Harvey, following Marx's work, points out that neoliberalism does not lead to general improvement of liberties and living conditions but much rather leads to rising social inequality (Harvey 2003).

Other scholars understand neoliberalism "as a material structure of social, economic and political reproduction underpinned by financialization" (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017. 686). Said financialization is characterized by the accumulation of interest-bearing capital, which in turn strongly influences the organization of social and economic reproduction (ibid.). The stagnation of the real economy has lead to an increasing importance of finance to capitalism in order to enlarge money capital, benefiting actors within financial markets, such as investors (Aalbers 2008). It is important to note the change in scale and scope of financial activity in pursuit of interest-bearing capital over production, which distinguishes neoliberalism (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). The importance of globalized finance for financial and social life is rising also due to the power of the state to impose internationalization of production and finance (ibid.).

When analyzing the rise of neoliberalism, Harvey (2007) states that the financial crisis in the early 1970s was a sign of global capitalism falling into disarray. The balance between financial and labor forces was guaranteed by an interventionist state implementing amongst other measures welfare policies (ibid.). When in the late 1960s and early 70s leftist social movements and parties gained widespread support, the ruling class perceived this as a political threat (ibid.). In addition to that the economic crisis provided an economic threat (ibid.). The neoliberal turn achieved the ruling class' aims of securing their financial assets (Harvey 2007). Differently put "the vectors of these changes were less new elites than old elites who often successfully sought to entrench their influence even if it meant altering its orientations" (Jobert 1994 cited in Dardot and Laval 2013. 182).

When aiming at implementing neoliberal policies, Harvey (2007) points out the importance of financial institutions. Taking the city of New York as an example, the author outlines how financial institutions forced the government to reduce spending and impose user fees (ibid.). This in turn led to a destruction of social infrastructure by lack of investment and maintenance (ibid.). The destruction of social infrastructure can be broadened to include not only physical infrastructure but also structures for debate and institutional channels from which alternatives to neoliberalism could arise (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). Institutional shifts and changes in the structure of political representation bring about a reduction of expression of collective interests and mute aspirations to change society beyond neoliberalism (ibid.). The often-implicit practice of 'There is no alternative' blocks expressions of dissent while feeding apathy, populism and the far right (ibid.). These aspects are what make neoliberalism so resilient to change in practice (ibid.).

While neoliberalism does not seem successful from the viewpoint of economic growth, it successfully established the myth that economic failure could only be met with more neoliberal reform leading to a vicious circle (Harvey 2007). Many states have become agents as well as objects of global competition, building and supporting financial capitalism. Thereby globalization is coined as a 'fate' states are met with, while it is much rather continuously produced by them (Dardot and Laval 2013).

A similar vicious cycle can be observed when it comes to rising social inequalities: these are blamed on an individual or cultural unwillingness or inability to enhance human capital (Harvey 2007). The division between 'successful' workers, who succeed in the neoliberal system and those who 'fail' to get by, enables an interpretation where the 'unsuccessful' individual is living off the collective (Dardot and Laval 2013). As neoliberal society is no longer viewed to be responsible for the fate of the individual, it becomes easier for a society to accept the lowering of welfare and the weakening of welfare-providing institutions (ibid.). Fine and Saad-Filho (2017) point out, that the focus on the individual and their self-responsibility has also to be understood in the context of weakening collective capacities and agency. The emphasis placed on the individual is therefore not only a means to enhance consumption but also suggests within neoliberal logic that, since the individual carries the merit of success and the burden of failure, the resolution to social problems is "further individualization and financialization of social provision and intercourse" (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017. 697).

2.1 Neoliberalism and the privatization of housing

"The corporatization, commodification, and privatization of hitherto public assets have been signal features of the neoliberal project" (Harvey 2007. 35). The privatization of housing and other formerly public undertakings is part of the aforementioned financialization occurring under neoliberal regimes (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). The expansion of the mortgage-market is intended as a means to further the neo-liberal agenda (Aalbers 2008). As a result, homeowners become more dependent on financial markets (ibid.). Through the expansion of mortgage provision more households are eligible to homeownership but especially low-income groups face higher risks through mortgages due to changes in the labor-market and the welfare state (Aalbers 2008, United Nations 2012). In the light of the financial crisis of 2008, which started out as a housing crisis, there was hope that the visible collapse of the mortgaging system would lead to changes in housing policy and states would readdress housing needs (United Nations 2017). The 'growth first' approach of neoliberalism entails that social-welfare concerns are only being addressed after growth, jobs and investments are secured, as they are coined as being anticompetitive (Peck and Tickell 2002). In the logic of neoliberalism, "urban policy measures should anticipate, complement, and in some cases mimic the operation of competitive markets" (Peck and Tickell 2002. 394) justified by arguments of 'efficiency' and 'fairness' (ibid.). Said competition can be interpreted as strategies aiming at promoting a 'freedom of choice' (Dardot and Laval 2013). By (partly) privatizing formerly public assets such as housing, a maximum number of market situations is created and the individual is disciplined to choose 'freely' between those newly created options in his or her own interest (ibid.). However this obligation to choose is a means by which neoliberal strategy imposes a new 'reality', which forces individuals to calculate individual interests in order to enhance personal capital (ibid.). While neoliberal argumentation for reforms, where the state is left with a managerial role in welfare provision, rather than providing welfare itself, coins this as being neutral, in reality it erodes the logic of social citizenship (ibid.). Social inequalities are being reinforced through unequal service provision and access to resources (ibid.). Such logics of exclusion "manufacture a growing number of 'sub -citizens' and 'non -citizens'" (Dardot and Laval 2013. 304).

By privatizing more and more formerly publicly organized provisions such as housing, more interest-bearing capital becomes available for financialization, which in turn heightens finance's influence over resource allocation (Fine and Saad-Filho 2017). Social rights and guarantees, which were formerly provided by the state, are being transferred to the financial markets and households become dependent on them for their social security (Aalbers 2008). At the same time Harvey (2003) diagnoses an over accumulation of capital and privatizations opening up new fields to seize upon. In what he has coined as the 'spatial fix' the capital surplus will be invested in new territories (Harvey 2001). Excess liquidity can be 'stored' in housing, which becomes a convenient way of parking money for shell companies (United Nations 2017). Due to the fact that in many countries the taxes on housing and real estate are low, this provides tax advantages for the rich (ibid.). Using the term 'fix' metaphorically as a temporary alleviation of a craving, Harvey (2001) refers to "capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring" (Harvey 2001. 24). Brenner et al. (2010) similarly underline the instable quality of this 'fix', while neoliberalization is repeatedly propelled by the search for an answer to crisis pressures. Neoliberal regulatory transformation is a spiraling crisis process of crisis induction, crisis management and more crisis induction (ibid.). The spatial fix is also to be understood more literally in the sense that urban development and/or restructuring fix capital in place as a physical form (Jessop 2006). When crisis-tendencies are to be overcome, investments in the built environment absorb surplus capital and increase its future profitability (ibid.). As such investments are typically large and long lived, a major tranche of capital is bound up while at the same time providing the basis for further accumulation of capital (Schoenberger 2004). Privatization of formerly state held built environment (mainly urban or industrial) can be viewed as a special form of the spatial fix (ibid.). Expanding the market provides a potential to escape crisis as well as an "*ex post* validation of these investments as productive forces are upgraded, relative surplus-value is increased, or effective demand

grows" (Jessop 2006. 148, emphasis in the original). However such a spatial fix is only a temporal displacement of the crisis inherent to neoliberal capitalism (ibid.).

> "[C]apital […] has to build a fixed space (or "landscape") necessary for its own functioning at a certain point in its history only to have to destroy that space (and devalue much of the capital invested therein) at a later point in order to make way for a new "spatial fix" (openings for fresh accumulation in new spaces and territories)" (Harvey 2001. 25).

The temporal displacement of crisis is as much a spatial one (Jessop 2006). Reinvesting surplus capital elsewhere spreads capitalism's crisis tendencies and thereby reinforces them (ibid.).

Neoliberal argumentation presents the budget as an instrument for disciplining conduct (Dardot and Laval 2013). By lowering taxes on the highest incomes as well as private enterprises, deficits in the budget are created (ibid.). Reducing public expenditure, social welfare programs and encouraging privatizations is reducing those deficits, which were created in the logic of neoliberalism in the first place (ibid.). Public services degraded in such a way in turn create discontent amongst users and beneficiaries and the allegations of inefficiency made by neoliberal governments find growing support (ibid.). The privatization of public housing and other measures to bring public housing provision closer to the private market is aimed at transferring assets to class-privileged domains (Harvey 2007). While housing privatization might appear initially as beneficial for low-income households who can afford to buy their apartments at relatively low costs (ibid.). However in the long run speculation and gentrification force the same households to move to peripheral locations (ibid.). So overall it can be said that neoliberal measures even if initially seeming to be directed towards improving living conditions of lower economic classes end up enriching the ruling class (ibid.). The in this way enriched ruling class will have over accumulated capital, which in turn will need new fields of investment for capital accumulation - be it new markets made available through globalization or renewed privatizations - constituting the aforementioned cycle of spatial fixes (ibid.).

3 Housing as a commodity or Right to Housing

The shift away from welfare models towards the private sector in the housing market leads to a treatment of housing as a commodity (United Nations 2013). The fact that housing has become an asset to be traded on financial markets is in direct opposition to its social functions (United Nations 2017). Rather than providing a place to live in security, housing is being treated as a security for financial instruments (ibid.). Privatization of formerly public housing supply along with the view that homeownership was the best tenure option can be observed around the globe (United Nations 2012). This view is underpinned by stigmatization of public housing as "centres of extreme poverty, crime and segregation" (United Nations 2012. 4) The promotion of homeownership under the reliance on private property changed housing policies, which are now expressed through demand-side housing policies rather than former supply-side ones (United Nations 2013). The private housing market is encouraging households to take credit and buy housing while public housing supply is now allocating housing and supply-side incentives are declining (ibid.). The encouragement of mortgage financed housing led for example in Spain to mass indebtedness (García-Lamarca 2017). What was praised as an increase of wealth was in reality a real-estate bubble waiting to burst (ibid.). The production of housing was neither demand nor supply driven but rather owed to "unprecedented amounts of credit flowing into the country as a result of the progressive liberalization of housing finance and land regulation, as well as the nested structural reconfiguration through EU integration" (ibid. 44). That capital flowing into the country needed a spatial fix, deferring the crisis to a later point and after the crash of the real-estate market was devalued (for details on the spatial fix see chapter 2 Critical views on neoliberalization). With the availability of (public) rental housing lowering, households that would have rented are pushed towards homeownership based on mortgages (United Nations 2013). The lack of affordable housing disproportionally affects the poor, housing costs amount to 41% of the income of people at the risk of poverty[1] in Europe (as compared to 22.5% in the overall European average). The differences are even higher in Sweden with housing costs for people at risk of poverty at almost 45% compared to a 20% average[2]. In 2012 33.8% of households in the EU viewed housing costs as a burden (Pittini 2012 based on Eurostat, EU statistics on income and living conditions n. y.). This development is highly problematic as, from a human right's perspective, it is the government's responsibility to use available resources to ensure that the right to adequate housing[3] is realized, with prioritizing the poorest (United Nations 2013). This responsibility has been further underlined by the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as well as the New Urban Agenda, both adopted in 2016 (United Nations 2017). There is a direct contradiction between the neoliberal assumption that markets should be allowed to work according to their own rules as long as they do not harm individual's rights and the government's obligation to fulfill the right to adequate housing "by all appropriate means, including legislative measures" (United Nations 2017. 5). A state's obligations vis-a-vis the right to housing include not only provision of adequate housing and assistance but also to respect and protect – by preventing third party interference – the rights of members of the public (United Nations 2018).

---

[1] People at the risk of poverty were defined for that study as those with an income below 60% of the national average (Pittini 2012). This is one of the standardized measures for being at the risk of poverty in the EU, as well as being used most commonly for national statistics (Bradshaw and Mayhew 2010). Such relative income measures are criticized for being arbitrary and not portraying any understanding of the actual needs (ibid.). The comparability between different EU countries is therefore limited, as the 60% threshold does not signal purchasing power or deprivation (ibid.).

[2] The calculation of housing costs includes utilities but deducts housing allowances (Pittini 2012).

[3] Having signed and ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1971, Sweden has committed to ensuring the right to adequate housing (OHCHR n. y.). However this commitment is not legally binding.

However, as responsibilities of housing provision are moved towards local and other sub-national levels of government, national governments increasingly loose steering capabilities in this respect (United Nations 2014). "There is a general concern that responsibilities may be transferred away from national level governments without a concomitant transfer of resources, knowledge, capacity and accountability for human rights obligations with respect to the right to adequate housing (United Nations 2014. 3). At the same time with the financialization of housing, more and more residential rental properties are owned by funds, stockholders or corporate shells, which makes holding anyone accountable for human rights to adequate housing even more difficult (United Nations 2017). Adequate housing is not to be reduced to having a roof over one's head but includes broader aspects of habitability, location, availability of services and infrastructure and non-discrimination (United Nations 2013). Therefore local and sub-national governments have comprehensive obligations as well as opportunities as it comes to land-use planning and infrastructure developments (United Nations 2014).

While decentralization of housing has been promoted by the United Nation's Habitat Agenda adopted in 1996 as it was seen as a means to local participation and promoting sensitivity to local needs, the experiences with decentralization have been mixed as guidelines and incentives to decentralization largely ignore the right to adequate housing (United Nations 2014). The challenges local governments face as the right to adequate housing is concerned are multiple: First and foremost funding the transfer of responsibilities was not accompanied by an equal transfer of (financial) resources (ibid.). While insufficient knowledge or conflicting responsibilities are not as applicable for Sweden, protectionism and discrimination are an issue (ibid.). These lead to discriminatory barriers in accessing affordable housing and housing programs (ibid.). Marginalized groups are disproportionately affected by these challenges (ibid.).

In light of these developments the United Nation's Special rapporteur on adequate housing proposes the implementation of housing strategies, which are expressly based on human rights and therefore become more effective from a human rights standpoint (United Nations 2018). Amongst the factors is a call for addressing human rights problems (e.g. inadequate housing) as such rather than viewing them as program failures (ibid.). Those who live in inadequate housing are to be recognized as right holders and therefore subjects, rather than 'objects' receiving benefits from the government (ibid.). They are experts for their living situations as well as housing programs that affect them and therefore to be empowered to be engaged in decision-making processes as well as the evaluation of housing programs and strategies that affect their living situations (ibid.). Enabling and encouraging meaningful participation challenges excluding and silencing practices (ibid.). Consultation is not part of human rights based participation, which emerges from community action (ibid.). In order to ensure the participation of vulnerable groups special attention has to be paid to their needs (ibid.).

Housing strategies, which are based on human rights "must map a process through which the right to housing will be fulfilled within a reasonable time frame" (United Nations 2018. 5). Moreover structural problems underlying the need for housing have to be addressed in an inclusive way (ibid.). They have to be coupled with 'positive measures' (cf. United Nations 2018) in order to undo the effects of discrimination and exclusion, especially intersectional and compound discrimination (ibid.).

4 Gentrification

Differences in income and wealth leading to social polarization and driving out of poorer and marginalized inhabitants of a certain neighborhood are not a new phenomenon. Sociologist Ruth Glass in 1960s London was the first one to frame gentrification as follows:

> "One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period—which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation—have been upgraded once again … Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass 1964 as cited in Smith 2002. 438).

She describes the process where an urban gentry - derived from landed gentry[4] - discretely transforms formerly working-class neighborhoods. Today gentrification is closely tied together with urban renewal policies (Smith 2002). The term renewal in itself implies this being a natural process, when it is much rather a project of social urban change (ibid.). The wordings of such renewal policies often involve allusions to 'social balance' or 'bringing people back' into cities (ibid. but also e. g. Atkinson 2006). However, it becomes clear that this is a self-interested project of class-politics for white middle- and upper classes[5] to "retake control of the political and cultural economies as well as the geography of the largest cities" (Smith 2002. 445).

Since the 1980s an intensification of privatization of inner-city land and housing can be observed, which in Europe led to "a generalization of gentrification in the urban landscape" (Smith 2002. 439), which by the 1990s had become a global urban strategy. While for Glass the actors in gentrification processes were still individuals, today governmental or corporate actors, or a combination of the two, characterize this increasingly systematized process (Smith 2002). However, even if governmental actors are involved in this new wave of gentrification, it is distinguished by its independence from public financing (ibid.). While urban renewal between the 1950s and 70s was dependent on public financing and therefore addressed issues of societal needs, this has been decoupled since the 1990s (ibid.). In this latest phase of gentrification, an outward diffusion of the phenomenon started to arise (ibid.). At an uneven rate, gentrification expands to districts and neighborhoods increasingly away from the city center (ibid.).

> "Financialized housing markets create and thrive on gentrification and the appropriation of public value for private wealth. Improved services, schools or parks in an impoverished neighbourhood attract investment, which then drives residents out" (United Nations 2017. 12).

New gentrified complexes in city centers are justified by appeals to jobs, taxes and tourism, which in turn are capital accumulation strategies in themselves (Smith 2002). As urban economies are competing against each other, city and local governments are trying to attract the mixture of "large- and medium-sized real-estate developers, local merchants, and property agents with brand-name retailers" (Smith 2002. 443) who integrate housing with shopping, restaurants and culture facilities. The generalization of gentrification is expressed in policies of 'urban regeneration', which have become coordinated across national boundaries in a Europe-wide scale (ibid.).

---

[4] People of high social class, owning land (Cambridge 2008).

[5] For a more detailed discussion of othering and stigmatization of place in Swedish suburbs see chapter 6.4 Discourses on Race in Sweden

4.1 'Soft' Urban Renewal

So called 'soft' urban renewal strategies aim at renovating housing rather than demolishing and rebuilding it (Hatz 2019). The intention behind it is to enable low-income inhabitants to stay in their homes rather than being replaced by new inhabitants with higher income and status after housing is rebuilt (ibid.). However as the example of Vienna shows, gentrification in such cases happens just the same, only with less force and quieter (ibid.). As Vienna has – especially in the inner city districts – a high rate of housing built before 1919, where in many cases sanitation is substandard[6] the city of Vienna established a system of grants aiming at enabling private house-owners to refurbish housing rather than tearing it down and rebuilding instead (ibid.). The idea was that by lowering the financial burden of renovation for the owner, costs would not be relayed to the tenants (ibid.). However as cost-neutrality is not a sufficient incentive for owners to renovate housing, the owners expected rising rates of returns when renovations were started (ibid). Rents were not raised immediately but when leases expired the new rents asked were adjusted to current market prices and therefore often too high for sitting tenants (ibid.). As inhabitants of better-equipped apartments have higher median incomes per household, they were more likely to stay in renovated apartments as well as accepting renovations to the apartments when it was optional (ibid.). Lower income households were more likely to be driven out of their homes (ibid.). Overall processes of selection and replacement of low-income households can be observed (ibid.). Therefore it can be said that there is nothing 'soft' about this version of urban renewal but rather gentrification becomes less visible (ibid.).

For housing companies in Sweden, public as well as private ones, displacement through renovations has become a regularized profit strategy (Baeten et al. 2017). Housing built during the Million Homes Program has become an attractive site of investment for private investors (ibid.). Displacing low-income inhabitants who in the eyes of the investor lower the value of the property is being framed as 'social measures' (ibid.). Social sustainability and social mixing are the terms of choice to make gentrifying projects seem more appealing (Interviewee B 2020). Through such 'soft' urban renewal processes, legal tenant protections are being evaded (Baeten et al. 2017). Profit driven renovations are justified by 'technical necessity' including the need for measures reducing energy consumption and emissions (ibid.). Following renovations the rent is in many cases increased gradually (ibid.). This tactic only prolongs the pressure of displacement of inhabitants as they have to relocate during the renovations and then find a new apartment altogether a few years after the renovations as rent levels rise above their financial scope (ibid.). Baeten et al. (2017) find based on a 2014 study that one of the results of renovations is an almost twofold higher likelihood of tenants moving, for low-income tenants the likelihood of moving is even higher and research suggests that they find only temporary solutions to their housing problems (ibid.). Segregation is reinforced by low-income tenants moving to neighborhoods with lower average income levels and worse schools even if rents there are higher than in their previous home before the renovations (ibid.). In the control group of not renovated flats, tenants who do change apartment usually move to neighborhoods with higher average incomes and better school results (ibid.).

---

[6] The city of Vienna distinguishes between so-called living categories ranging from A to D, which describe the furnishing of an apartment (Hatz 2019); in the 1980s 20% of apartments were rated at category D (no running water or toilet in the apartment), which was lowered to 6% in 2011 (Hatz 2019 citing Statistik Austria 2011).

5 Justice and the city

This chapter outlines a number of different traditions and framings of thought in debates on justice. They are by no means exhaustive but much rather reflect my considerations when thinking about justice as it applies to the sale of housing in Alby.

Political Liberalism
Debates on Justice in the tradition of political liberalism have been dominated by Rawls' liberal conception of justice, prioritizing individual liberties, equal opportunities and egalitarian wealth and income distribution (Bell and Davoudi 2016). Key debates over the last years focused on the aspects of 'currency', 'principles' and 'scope' of justice (ibid.). The currency debate is critical of liberal justice theories' focus on resource distribution (ibid.). It is argued that the currency of justice should much rather be focused on what people can actually do, their capabilities or equal opportunities of accessing welfare (ibid.). The debate on principles asks how resources or capabilities should be distributed (ibid.). Rawls argued that differences in income should be permitted, when they are to the advantage of those least well off and the basic institutions of society should be organized in a way to maximize their wealth and income (Rawls 1972 cited in Bell and Davoudi 2016). Others criticize that approach of either not being egalitarian enough while still other critics argue that as long as everyone has enough resources and capabilities, claims for egalitarian distribution of wealth and income could be softened (Bell and Davoudi 2016). The third debate focuses on the scope of justice, i.e. whom do we owe duties of justice to (ibid.). While Rawls framed justice on the national level, cosmopolitans argue for justice on a global level, while others again discuss justice on the city level[7] (in terms of administrative and jurisdictional authority, rather than geographical boundaries) (ibid.).

Multiculturalism and Right to difference
Multiculturalism adds the layer of recognition to the discussion within political liberalism (Bell and Davoudi 2016). Respect for group differences, such as culture, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, social background or values, ensures that we recognize others as equals (ibid.). This school of thought criticizes political liberalism's understanding of social processes, which is being judged as being to naïve (ibid.). Particularly because "distributive inequality is an inevitable outcome of unequal recognition and a lack of parity of participation in society" (Bell and Davoudi 2016. 5). The 'right to difference' discussion argues in a similar way. It stresses the importance that differences not be categorized by homogenizing powers, since otherwise accepting such solidarities would mean to accept marginalization through entrapment in established categories (Speak and Kumar 2016). Much rather the right to difference can be understood as a right to create differential spaces to represent one's identity by resisting the imposition of prescribed behaviors and lifestyles (ibid.). However within the 'right to difference' discourse multiculturalism is criticized as not being transformational enough (ibid.).

Marxism
In the tradition of a Marxist framing of Justice, David Harvey (2019) states unequal spatial development as fundamental to the functioning of capitalism[8]. He points out that in the capitalist conception of rights, the right to property trumps all other rights within our current society (ibid.). He contrasts those capitalist rights with Lefebvre's conception of the Right to the City as giving us the rights to remake the city according to our wishes (Harvey with Potter 2009). Through the Right to the City, capitalist society -and the unjust, unequal, and alienated city it produces- is challenged by the mobilization and struggle of social movements (ibid.). Harvey thus calls on civil society to mobilize and challenge the current capitalist system in order to arrive at a more just society and therefore a more just city (ibid.). Dikeç

---

[7] For more on discussions on justice on the city or municipality level see below.
[8] More on the spatial expression of neoliberalism and the 'spatial fix' can be read in chapter 2 Critical views on neoliberalization

(2009) makes similar claims, citing Balibar's concept of égaliberté - the combination of equality and freedom. Centered on the individual and their right to politics, Dikeç (2009) calls for emancipation through the collectivization of action. Speak and Kumar (2016) citing Lefebvre (1996), interpret social struggles as being struggles for 'centrality' which constitutes the urban as a socio-spatial form, thereby challenging primary doctrine and incumbent political authority. Neoliberal forms of domination e.g. through the dismantlement of unions is aimed at destroying a vehicle of solidarity, through which communities could make claims upon government to access 'centrality' (ibid.).

Democratic Proceduralism
Democratic proceduralism is concerned with how decision-making processes are organized. According to that school of thought, "Justice requires nothing more or less than fair procedures for making decisions" (Bell and Davoudi 2016. 4). In the tradition of deliberative democracy, a fair procedure would be a deliberative one, which is inclusive. Collective decisions on how society should be organized should not be taken following unequal political or economic power but rather following the force of the better argument (ibid.).

Spatial Justice
Spatial Justice is concerned with including the spatial dimension of injustice (Bell and Davoudi 2016). The 'spatiality of injustice' considers an absolute or Euclidian framing of space (ibid.). Unequal access to the fixed resource of space is a matter of injustice (ibid.). This includes for example unequal distribution of land ownership, or exclusion of specific groups such as youth from certain areas (ibid.). The 'injustice of spatiality' conceives of space as relational or socially and culturally produced (ibid.). "The social construction of spatial relations among persons and between persons and physical objects (such as houses and workplaces) and natural environment (such as green spaces) plays a major part in creation and entrenchment of injustices" (Bell and Davoudi 2016. 6). It "shifts the focus from spatial manifestations of injustice to structural dynamics that produce and reproduce injustice through space" (Speak and Kumar 2016. 117). The attention of this school of thought is placed on specific injustices such as locational discrimination and directing poorer communities to lower quality services such as housing, education or health care (Bell and Davoudi 2016).

Social Justice and the City
Several other authors take municipalities into accountability when trying to arrive at a more just outcome. Connolly and Steil (2009) illustrate that rescaling of governance in recent years has brought renewed importance to municipalities "in struggles over neoliberalism and social justice" (Connolly and Steil 2009. 6). Since municipalities are responsible for some policy areas affecting justice and the relation between city-dwellers, they should promote justice among city dwellers (Bell and Davoudi 2016). Buser and Koch (2014) point out that the current focus on economic, environmental and architectural solutions neglects social concerns and that renewal projects should therefore focus more on aspects of social justice such as reducing segregation or increasing community cohesion.

> "[F]ocusing on the functional provisions of employment, social infrastructure, and leisure facilities has not proved so far to be enough for rehabilitating deprived neighborhoods" (Buser and Koch 2014. 914).

Fainstein (2009b) based on Rawls as well as multiculturalist approaches, similarly calls on a shift of attention of public policy towards fair distribution of benefits and mitigating disadvantages. Fainstein (2014) however underlines that under the current governing principle of neoliberalism policies aiming at reducing inequalities are viewed as hindering to the market and therefore are reduced in order for the market to perform at an optimal level. Neoliberalistic emphasis on economic competitiveness "serves developer interests at the expense of everyone else" (Fainstein 2009a. 19).

6 Context: Sweden

6.1 Transition from the welfare state

Post-war Swedish fiscal policy was characterized by the so called Rehn-Meidner model, where countercyclical fine tuned interventions aimed at finding a balance between unemployment and wage drifts (Ryner 2004). The solidaristic wage policy took burdens off the social system, which in turn could "offer universalist programs with high entitlement levels" (Ryner 2004. 99). As Ryner (2004) points out, Sweden's welfare state came to experience re-commodification after 1985. The first policy to be affected was wage settlements in the late 1980s other policies were to follow (Schierup and Ålund 2011). Amongst them were integration policies, which changed in the 1990s (ibid.). While post-war policy aimed at distributive justice and therefore equal outcome, policies adopted since the 1990s are driven by market incentives and work towards equal opportunities (ibid.). "But the new directives were introduced alongside the gradual demise of the welfare state's protective framework of social citizenship" (Schierup and Ålund 2011. 50). This combination in policy changes led to structural forms of social polarization, poverty and racialized exclusion (ibid.). This includes a push of rising numbers of immigrants towards the edges of the social welfare system and into precarious employment situations (ibid.). Social polarization is spatially expressed in the stigmatization of the inhabitants of suburban and peripheral municipal housing projects (ibid.).

> "Hence, the adverse social consequences resulting from the transformation of the Swedish welfare state into a workfare state, a progressively more polarised dual labour market and racial discrimination, combined with the most rapid growth in social inequality in the OECD, have all become concentrated in the poorer satellite towns of the larger cities" (Schierup and Ålund 2011. 51).

Baeten et al. (2015) diagnose a post-welfare phase overall in the Nordic countries which does not signal a complete break with former policies, but a shift away from the Nordic Welfare State Model. As part of this process, the responsibilities of welfare provision are shifted to more localized levels of government or the private market and the organization of welfare provision follows market principles (ibid.). Following this interpretation, the nordic countries did not fully experience an explicit phase of 'destruction and discretization' of welfarist and social-collectivist institutions referred to as "roll-back Neoliberalism" as Peck and Tickell (2002) identify for the North Atlantic Zone but much rather experience a deepened version of the "Roll-out Neoliberalism" phase which is influenced by construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, new modes of governance and regulatory relations while welfare policies are reduced in scope (Peck and Tickell 2002). Which is not to say that the welfare state was not at least partly dismantled but that there was not *one* distinct phase or timeframe but rather a gradual demise with a somewhat simultaneous construction of neoliberal policies (ibid.). The authors identify the Scandinavian welfare state as a 'progressive localism' which could not take on neoliberalism as the inter-local relations of neoliberalization meant that Scandinavia was embedded in a network of social and spatial relations that were in themselves neoliberalized (Peck and Tickell 2002). How this is put into practice for housing policy is described in more detail in the chapter 6.3 Swedish housing Market.

6.2 Housing: Explanation of terms and mechanisms

In order to understand the dynamics of the Swedish housing market, especially as related to rental housing this chapter sets out to clarify a few terms and mechanisms that are specific to the Swedish context.

6.2.1 Social housing

"There is no social housing in Sweden!" (Lind 2014. 91). At least no social housing in the traditional sense where builders or owners receive government subsidies for renting out apartments to low-income households (Lind 2014). There is however 'affordable' housing, colloquially also referred to as 'queue' housing (ibid.). Rental housing is accessed through waiting lists where the interested parties that have been waiting the longest get to choose first if they want an apartment when it becomes available (ibid.). These waiting lists can be specific to individual landlords such as municipal housing companies or in some municipalities including Stockholm the municipality coordinates the waiting list covering all housing companies, public and private (ibid.).

6.2.2 Municipally-owned housing companies

Municipally owned housing companies (MHCs) were originally founded in the 1930s (Hedman 2008). Their rise started with the Million Homes Program between 1965-1974[9], where they became an important tool for the state to implement the intense building program proposed (ibid.). As MHCs were initially focused on building as many housing units as possible in a short amount of time, they struggled with managing estates and were widely criticized for being inefficient in handling maintenance and rising costs (ibid.). In the 1980s the transition from construction to management as the main point of focus for MHCs took place (ibid.). This went hand-in-hand with a decentralization process as well as a more varied approach to building and financing (ibid.).

The way MHCs were set-up originally meant that even though the municipalities owned them, the national state used them as a tool to enforce social welfare policy (ibid.). Since the 1990s however the state has reduced financial support, leaving the municipalities with higher risks (ibid.).

MHCs today are largely constituted as joint-stock companies with the municipalities being sole owners (Lind 2014). This entails having their own boards and day-to-day business being out of direct political control (ibid.). Decisions such as selling (parts of) the housing stock owned by the MHC are however taken by the municipality's political leadership (ibid.). Legally, MHCs are characterized by one or several municipalities holding the majority of shares in any public limited housing company (Regeringskansliets rättsdatabaser 2010). Their purpose is to manage properties with residential apartments and promote housing security in the municipality in question (ibid.). The legal provision -which came into effect in 2011- to work according to 'business-like principles' (ibid.) takes precedence over a provision that municipalities and counties cannot make a profit when providing public utilities (Regeringskansliets rättsdatabaser 2017).

In 2010 MHCs owned almost 20% of the total housing stock in Sweden (Lind 2014). MHCs house over one and a half million people (Sveriges Allmännytta 2019). However, the share of rental apartments has been falling over the last few years and the number of cooperative apartments has been rising (Lind 2014).

---

[9] For more detailed information on the Million Homes Program see chapter 6.3.1 The Million Homes Program 1965-1974

6.2.3 Public Housing Sweden

Public Housing Sweden[10] is an organization representing the interests of municipal housing companies[11]. Their over 300 member companies own overall over 850.000 housing units throughout Sweden (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. d.). Some so called associated members are privately run housing companies, which work in the same spirit as municipal housing companies (Sveriges Allmännytta 2019). Public Housing Sweden's board of directors represents the overall political majority of the member companies (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. e.). Voted in for a four year period by the congress, the highest decision making body of the organization, the board of director's role is to promote the interests of its member companies (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. d.)

Public Housing Sweden is focused on gathering and sharing knowledge for and with their member companies as well as the public in order for them to be able to tackle challenges faced in the housing market (Sveriges Allmännytta 2019). The aims and focus points set for the current period of office of the board of directors (2019-2023) includes amongst others to strengthen their member companies so that their work becomes a more precise tool for municipalities to shape housing policy and enable housing security (ibid.). Public Housing Sweden outlines a range of issues that need to be addressed when it comes to affordable housing over the next years and decades (Sabo n. y.). For one there is an overall shortage of housing in Sweden, as housing production has been low over the last decades and large parts of the existing housing stock is in need of renovations, due to its being built in the 1960s and 70s (ibid.). In addition to that it has become more difficult to build at low costs, which makes newly built housing less affordable (ibid.). The shortage of housing is especially pronounced in growing cities and regions, which can in part be related to an increasingly urban dwelling population as well as the rising number of one-person households (Sabo 2017). Social problems include rising segregation as well as overcrowding in areas with high proportions of immigrants (ibid.). Public Housing Sweden works towards lowering building costs for their member companies, one tool amongst others in order to achieve that is Kombohus (see chapter 6.2.6 Kombohus) (Sveriges Allmännytta 2019).

---

[10] The organization was recently renamed Sveriges Allmännytta from SABO

[11] As Public Housing Sweden represents a large number of Municipal Housing Companies and therefore have expertise on a Sweden-wide perspective on housing questions, they were contacted for an expert interview for this thesis. This interview informed several aspects of this master thesis. The outline for the interview can be found in Appendix I - Interview Outline   I
Public Housing Sweden

6.2.4 Cooperative apartments

The Swedish housing market has a property form "that does not quite 'fit' conventional tenure categorizations" (Christophers 2013. 889). The *bostadsrätt* sector is characterized by being neither rental nor owner-occupied but rather the tenant is a member and shareholder of a cooperative that owns a number of apartments usually in a housing block[12] (Christophers 2013). By buying a share in the cooperative the tenants get the right to occupy a specific dwelling unit for an unlimited amount of time and can transfer such rights to a new resident or stakeholder (ibid.). Originally the tenant could not sell the dwelling rights for more than the value of their own share in the cooperation, which was to be calculated on the basis of the property's taxation value rather than market prices (ibid.). However, already by the late 1960s this was changed and market prices became the basis for transfer values for cooperative apartments (ibid.). Even though the prices for cooperative apartments have been rising since the deregulation, especially during the 1980s and then again in the first decade of the 21st century, the share of such apartments on the Swedish housing markets has continuously been rising, with the most pronounced growth between 1990 and 2010 (ibid.). Part of this growth can be attributed to MHCs selling their housing stock directly to the sitting tenants (ibid.).

6.2.5 Rent setting

Since the 1950s rents in apartments owned by MHCs are set by a system of negotiations, which was extended to the private sector in the 1970s (Christophers 2013). The parties involved in the negotiations are the landlords and tenants represented by their tenants' associations (ibid.). The tenants associations are to the most part affiliated with the Swedish Tenants' Union (ibid.). For tenants, membership in the tenants' association is optional (ibid.). Public Housing Sweden represents MHCs in their role as landlords (ibid.). Until 2010 MHCs had a price-leadership role, which is to say that negotiated rents in the private sector were based on the rents in the public sector (Christophers 2013, Lundqvist and Magnusson Turner 2014) With the removal of the price-leadership role, municipalities have lost a soft tool for price regulation on the housing market (Lundqvist and Magnusson Turner 2014).

Rent negotiations usually take place once a year (Christophers 2013). The value of the apartment and changes to the rent are calculated based on the utility value of the apartment as well as changes to costs for management and upkeep (ibid.). However there are limits to how much the rent can increase per year (ibid.). Independent of the individual negotiations, regional rent tribunals conduct utility value reviews (ibid.). This entails comparing the rent set for similar apartments i.e. with similar location, standard, equipment, upkeep etc. (ibid.). The highest rent-levels set for a similar apartment plus five percent is the level to which landlords could increase rents per year (ibid.). This applies to private and public landlords alike, meaning that changes in ownership to an apartment complex will not raise costs immediately (ibid.). However since the comparison for privately owned now is no longer only based on the public sector, prices will probably start to rise faster.

6.2.6 Kombohus

Kombohus is an instrument introduced by Public Housing Sweden in order to enable member companies to build housing, which is more affordable to them, and where therefore rents can be lower too (Interviewee A, 2020, Public Housing Sweden, n. y.). As many municipalities are struggling with the double financial burden of having to renovate housing from the Million Homes Program while at the same time facing the need for additional housing, the interest organization for MHCs developed a series of standardized housing (ibid.). The different versions of *Kombohus* are tailored to different environments, such as an addition to existing housing, in connection to urban centers or especially tailored to smaller

---

[12] *Bostadsrätt* is sometimes translated as cooperative apartment, sometimes as tenant-owned. Both terms will be used interchangedly throughout this work.

apartments (Public Housing Sweden, n. y.). The images below show a number of representations of how different versions of the *Kombohus* could look like as well as some, which have already been built.

Image 1: Kombohus Bas in the southwest of Sweden (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. a)

Image 2: Kombohus Punkt, representation (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. b)

Image 3: Kombohus Småhus, representation (Sveriges Allmännytta n. y. c)

Due to the fact that a large number of such apartments are to be built, the building costs could be lowered by up to 25% (Interviewee A, 2020, Public Housing Sweden, n. y.). Public Housing Sweden negotiates a framework agreement with the building companies and the member companies can in turn make the contracts under these agreements (ibid.). In addition to the lower building costs, municipalities value the fact that the building process is shorter and less complicated (Heller and Winnberg 2016). A 2016 study among municipalities who have built a certain type of *Kombohuses* shows that over 40% of the municipalities needed this option in order to be able to build new housing at all (ibid.).

6.3 Swedish housing Market

6.3.1 The Million Homes Program 1965-1974

The post-war Swedish housing market was characterized by rapid urbanization, which coupled with rising prosperity and demands for higher housing standards lead to a general housing shortage (Hall and Vidén 2006). In comparison to other European countries, the urbanization rate in Sweden was rising much later (ibid.). If compared to England, where the urbanization rate was at 50% in the mid-nineteenth century, Sweden reached that number only about 100 years later (ibid.). Rising demands for housing standards were especially pronounced when regarding the question of space available but also furnishing as in 1960 45% of all dwellings did not have a bathroom (ibid.). High regulations of rent levels in existing housing as compared to newly built dwellings led to higher prices for new housing (ibid). As a consequence people were less eager to move into the newly built apartments and the lower priced existing dwellings did not become available for those who could not afford to move into newly built apartments such as young couples or families (ibid).

All of these reasons contributed to the decision of launching the Million Homes Program (*miljonprogrammet*) in 1965, which set the goal of building one million dwellings in the course of ten years (1965-1974) (Hedman 2008). This was quite an ambitious target considering that this was more than threefold the existing housing stock (ibid.). Generous loans by the national state enabled the financing of this project (ibid.). Technical practicability was facilitated by standardization of the building process and prefabrication of materials, which was as well supported by subsidies by the national government (ibid.). The Million Homes Program was an integrated part of the social welfare policy aiming at the overall population rather than specific target groups (ibid.). By not singling out specific target groups but rather introducing policy measures that were aimed at the overall population, it was expected that it would make everyone more willing to share the cost of welfare programs (ibid.). For the Million Homes program this also meant that not only MHCs were able to build but also cooperative building societies and privately owned housing companies (Hedman 2008).

Half of the multi-family housing was produced by MHCs, 30% by cooperative building societies, which were owned by the future tenants, and only 20% by privately owned rental-housing companies (Hall and Vidén 2006). While the Million Homes Program is generally associated with large-scale housing complexes, the building types were more diverse, with about 66% of the apartments built in multi-family blocks and 34% in single-family houses (ibid.). The urban form however was much more uniform and strongly characterized by the separation of functions. As tenure forms were also separated between different projects (one project could either consist of e.g. public housing or cooperative apartments) the foundation for later segregation was laid (ibid.). The reason for this separation of tenure forms was the fact that the state subsidies were different depending on the tenure form (subsidies for rental housing were highest, followed by tenant owned housing and privately owned housing). State subsidies could only be claimed if developers restricted themselves to one tenure form per project (Grundström and Molina 2016).

The initial occupants of the newly built housing came from a mixed social background (Hedman 2008). They consisted of those who moved to the larger cities from the countryside after the war, young families as well as those who moved to Sweden from abroad (ibid.). The social structure of the big housing blocks began to change already by the early 1970s, when the economic climate allowed many of the young families who had moved into large building blocks in the initial years of the Million Homes Program to build single family houses with the help of state subsidies (ibid.). As public opinion towards the newly built housing began to turn by the late 1960s and stigmatization commenced those who could afford it moved away (Grundström and Molina 2016). Amongst the criticized features were the monotony, alienation and isolation (Hall and Vidén 2006). A result of the intensive building activity as well as the aforementioned surge in families moving from multi-family blocks to single-family houses was a surplus of dwellings and some of the newly built housing areas remained half empty (ibid.). Those who lived in the newly built up areas took issue with the lack of services as well as the external environment but less with the program itself (ibid.).

During the 1980s a number of municipalities started so-called 'turn-around' projects (ibid.). By making the areas built-up during the Million Homes Program more physically attractive, municipalities aimed at making them more attractive for more well off groups and thereby changing the social structure of the inhabitants (ibid.). Such changes could include changes to the exterior, including balconies, windows and facades overall as well as redesign of the outdoor areas (ibid.). Changes to the interior varied, in many cases the common areas were redesigned to become more attractive, sometimes there were even changes to the layout of the apartments in order to have a greater variety in sizes or number of rooms (ibid.). Due to the high costs of such 'turn-around' projects, housing costs usually rose considerably after the renovations are carried out (ibid.).

Other MHCs - Botkyrka's housing company being amongst them - started from the 1990s onwards to base changes to the municipal housing blocks on the wishes of the inhabitants rather than trying to replace low-income households (ibid.). In such cases renovations are carried out when they are necessary from a technical standpoint and in the course of such renovations, the inhabitant's whishes are being considered (ibid.). Overall renovations are carried out in order to address technical deficiency as well as to adapt to changed user needs or official building standards, especially concerning energy efficiency (ibid.).

6.3.2 Million Homes Program in Greater Stockholm Region

Already before the Million Homes Program was set in place, Stockholm municipality decided to build an underground system in 1941, which was realized and expanded over the following years and decades (Gullberg and Kaijser 2004). As Stockholm at the time was comparatively small, the building of the underground system was closely linked with intense building activity of multi-family housing in order to achieve the necessary passenger loads to make the underground feasible (ibid.). In order to obtain the land necessary for such building activities, the municipality of Stockholm bought land in neighboring municipalities, which was only later incorporated with Stockholm municipality, this was practiced from the 1920s onwards up until as late as the 1970s (ibid.). The integration of underground system and suburbs lead to master plan for the layout of those new suburbs (ibid.).

> "According to this plan each suburb, ideally with about 10,000 inhabitants, should be centered around an underground station, with a commercial center, a school, and multi-family houses closest to the station, with terraced houses and single-family houses in the periphery, but still within walking distance from the station" (Gullberg and Kaijser 2004. 22).

With the center of the suburb being built up more densely, the planners visualized extensive green and blue infrastructure at the edges of each suburb (ibid.). These so called ABC-suburbs not only supplied housing (*bostäder)* and a commercial center (*centrum)*, but also workspaces (*arbeter)* (ibid.). These workspaces were an important part of the master plan so that the subway would be used more evenly, as some of the inhabitants of the suburbs would travel to work from the suburb, while others came from somewhere else, utilizing the subways capacity in both directions during morning- and evening rush hours (ibid.). As the ABC suburbs evolved along the metro lines, the municipality aimed at completing each suburb at the same time as corresponding subway station (ibid.). The development of the subway system can be seen in the image below.
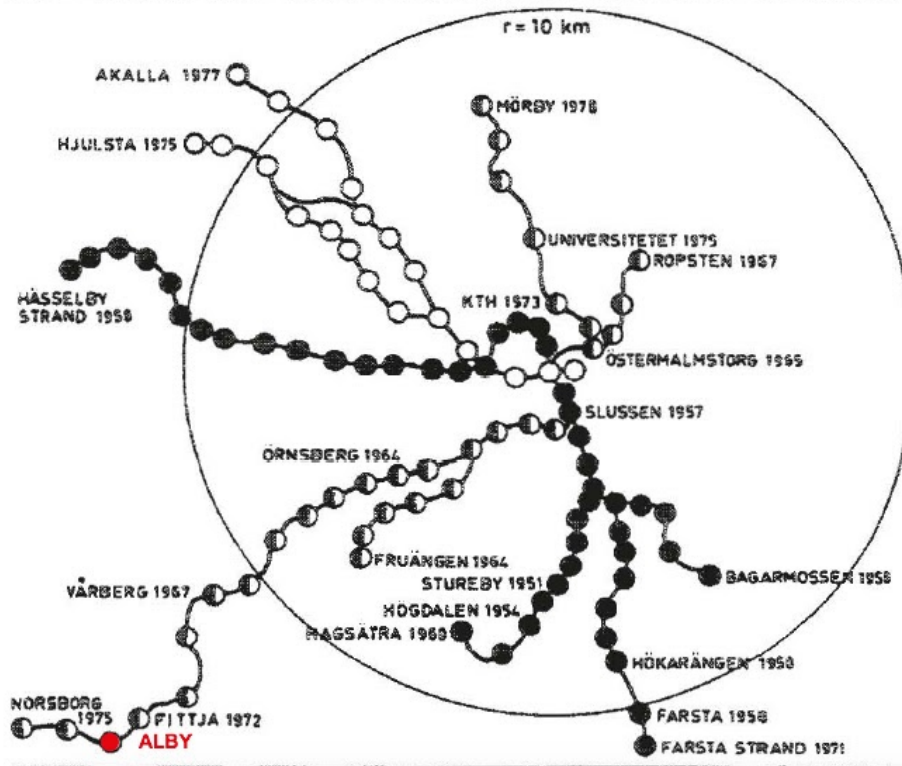
Figure 1: Building of the Stockholm underground 1950.1978 (Guillberg and Kaijser 2004. p. 23 adapted by the author)

The intensive coordination necessary for this alignment of developments to happen was made possible by the role of Stockholm's municipality (ibid.). As Stockholm municipality was the owner of the tramway company, extensive plots of land even outside the own municipality's borders and the MHC building the housing, all the instruments necessary for the coordination were at the municipality's disposal (ibid.). In order to finance these intense building activities, the municipality of Stockholm closely cooperated with private actors (ibid.). An important milestone for the extension of building activities into the surrounding municipalities was the integration of public transport systems in the Greater Stockholm region in 1964 (ibid.). In Greater Stockholm Region the intense building activity of multi-family housing declined in the early 1970s - already before it declined on a national level (ibid.). The reasons behind it were the same as on the national level a few years later: the income level had risen and in combination with extensive loans by the national government building individual housing had become affordable to large numbers of families (ibid.). The majority of single-family houses in that time were built in Stockholm's neighboring municipalities (ibid.).

6.3.3 Neoliberalization of the Swedish Housing Market

From the 1990s onwards, the Swedish housing market has gone through a number of changes, which the then government aimed at reducing the national state's own financial risk by relaying costs to housing companies or home owners (Hedman 2008). After a center-right government took over power from the formerly leading social democrats in 1991, substantial changes to the housing system were implemented (Hedin et al. 2012). The first step was to discontinue the housing department with the argumentation that housing was to be treated as any other commodity[13] (ibid.). State housing loans were eliminated and subsidies reduced (Hedman 2008). MHCs lost the advantages they had over privately run companies regarding tax regulations, subsidies and finances (ibid.). For MHCs especially difficult were the rise of taxation on building activities from 4% to 25%, the cut of financing from the state and the fact that taxation on rental apartments is higher than on housing ownership, all implemented by the center-right coalition government between 1991 and 1994 (Interviewee A, 2020). The citizen was reframed as a customer and co-producer (Sernhede et al. 2016). However after Social Democrats came back into power in 1994, these measures were not reverted but rather tacitly endorsed (Hedin et al. 2012). Amongst the consequences for housing production in Sweden were a decline in production and a simultaneous rise in vacancies, which however were not caused by a drop in demand but rather led to a rise in overcrowding (Hedin et al. 2012). The cut of housing subsidies introduced from 1991 onwards meant that relative housing costs rose quickly (Clark and Johnson 2009). This in turn led to a significant drop in housing production (ibid.). During the same time a rise in vacancies, especially in municipally owned housing had been observed (ibid.).

> "Sweden's population rose by over 250,000 during this period, so the vacancies do not reflect a decline in need, but rather a decline in effective demand and (as we have seen) increasing overcrowding, with considerable regional variation" (Clark and Johnson 2009. 185).

Since the 1980s an apartment is counted as overcrowded when it houses more than one person per room, excluding the kitchen and living room (ibid.). While the percentage of overcrowded apartments has stayed consistently at 15% over the last decades, the absolute number has risen to an estimate 1,5 million people living in overcrowded living situations in 2006 (ibid.). In Stockholm the percentage is even higher with one in five Stockholmers living in overcrowded conditions (Stockholm Stad 2018). Gentrification[14] on the one end of the scale is rising as well as low-income filtering on the other end, leading to a polarization of the population in the largest Swedish cities (Hedin et al. 2012).

While subsidies for rental housing were cut in the 1990s, interest payments on home loans remain subsidized (Clark and Johnson 2009). Due to this reason the difference in prices between homeownership and rental are rising (ibid.). "Between 1986 and 2005, rents increased by 122 per cent, costs of living in owner-occupancy increased by 41 per cent, while general inflation was 49 per cent" (Cark and Johnson 2009. 187 citing Bergenstråle 2006). The tenure neutrality - a cornerstone of former Swedish housing policy - has therefore given way to rising segmentation (Clark and Johnson 2009). This is expressed through a gap in welfare, especially income, housing standard and material resources between residents of different tenancy forms (Clark and Johnson 2009 citing Bergenstråle 2006). This overall push of the Swedish governments favoring homeownership over rental housing can be viewed as successful when looking at the percentages of tenancy types. As can be seen in Figure 2 below the share of owner occupied apartments has been rising, while the percentage of rental apartments has dropped by 10% over approximately 15 years (Statistics Sweden n. y. h and j).

---

[13] For a critical view on Housing as a commodity see chapter 3 Housing as a commodity or Right to Housing
[14] For a critical view on gentrification see chapter 4 Gentrification

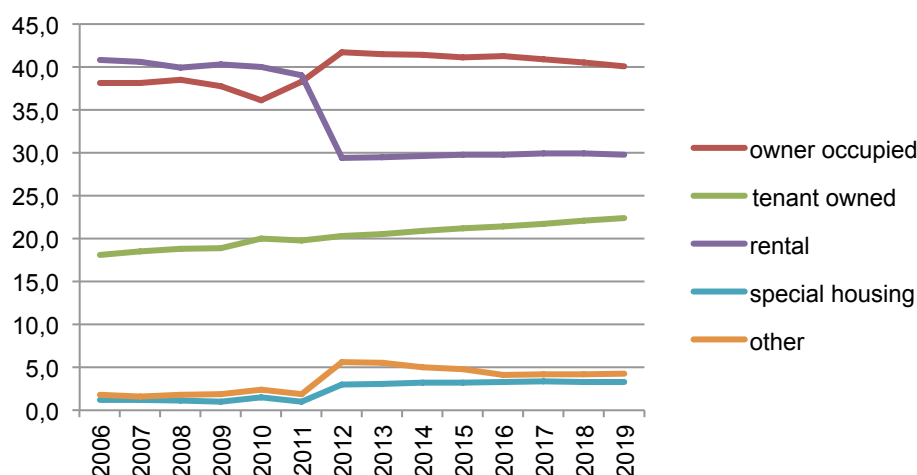## Type of tenancy (%) Sweden 2006-2019

Figure 2: Type of Tenancy (%) in Sweden 2006-2019 (Statistics Sweden n. y. h and j)

An especially pronounced change to Swedish housing policy came in 2005 when the European Commission (prompted by a complaint launched by the federation representing the interest of private landlords in Sweden) ruled that since MHCs were to be treated as any other company, the MHCs in form of limited liability companies could no longer receive financial support from the government, be it on national or municipal level (Christophers 2013). Financial support received (apart from national subsidies for housing) in the last decades (especially during the 1990s) was aimed at keeping MHCs from going bankrupt (Interviewee A, 2020). Cross financing of affordable housing by the municipalities through revenues made from taxation is not an option in the Swedish system (ibid.). Especially controversial was the fact that MHCs still were not forced to generate market-based returns (Christophers 2013). This led to a change in legislation, stating that henceforth these companies had to conduct their activities according to commercial or businesslike (*affärsmässiga*) principles, targeting 'normal' rates of return (Regeringskansliet 2009 cited in Christophers 2013). However as many MHCs were organized as corporate companies even before, the new legislation did not have an extensive impact on MHCs in this regard (Interviewee A, 2020).

The role of the European Commission in Neoliberalization
Competition policy is at the heart of the construction of the European Union (Dardot and Laval 2013). The Commission's Directorate General for 'Competition' monitors and sanctions abuses of dominant position and concentration (ibid.). This includes state aid and public capital grants, which can be interpreted as subsidies distorting competition (ibid.). Its power comes from being higher ranking than national governments (ibid.). In line with ordo-liberal logic, power is conferred to a 'technical' body establishing and monitoring the rules of the game (ibid.). European authorities thereby get "power of oversight and control of the structures of the economy" (Dardot and Laval 2013. 209). Said power is on the one hand administrative (investigation, file, application of penalties) and on the other legal, since the character of an aid is judged to be either legitimate or illegitimate (ibid.).

Through the Commission's judgments, competition law is placed above any political or social considerations (ibid.). This extends as far as services of general interest, which are – in line with ordo-liberalism – to be subjected to the 'supreme' rule of competition (ibid.). Competition is even established between institutional services such as education or social protection (ibid.). Dardot and Laval detect a new ordo-liberalism in the making, more extreme than theorized before (ibid.). The market should no longer be supervised by laws made by states or European bodies, but "the market itself [becomes] the principle of selection of the laws made by states. In this perspective, the role of the European Commission is reduced to sanctioning the judgement [sic] rendered by the market in legislative matters" (Dardot and Laval 2013. 212).

In 2007 (a new center-right coalition government was formed in 2006) the department of built environment was subsumed under the finance ministry and restrictions on sales of municipal housing were eliminated the same year (Hedin et al. 2012). A year later the budget proposition states as the goal for housing that consumer demands were met, while standards of equality, living conditions or affordability were no longer mentioned (ibid.). Liberal/conservative governments over the last decades have overall been conductive to home ownership (Holmqvist and Magnusson Turner 2014). These changes over time lead to a number of municipalities selling all or parts of their housing stocks since the 1990s (Hedman 2008). Since the municipalities now have the financial risk, the national government no longer has a handle over the rental market and it is up to the municipalities to shape their own housing companies (ibid.). Whether they are intended to earn dividends for the municipality or whether they preserve the MHC's role as an instrument for social and economic policies within the changed framework is up to the municipalities to decide (ibid.). The reasons for selling (parts of) municipal housing are diverse (Interviewee A, 2020). It might be political reasoning, if homeownership in a neoliberal reasoning is valued higher than renting (ibid.). In some areas MHCs own (almost) all of the housing stock and a higher variety in actors is desired (ibid.). Other municipalities struggle with the double financial burden of having to build new housing due to a rising need while at the same time having to renovate housing built in earlier periods, especially during the Million Homes Program (ibid.). In such cases sale of (parts of) municipal housing is used in order to get additional funds while at the same time indirectly reducing costs for renovations (ibid.). The sale of parts of the housing stock - be it for political reasons, budgetary considerations or some of both - usually leaves the municipalities with the most unattractive parts of the housing stock (Turner 1999 cited in Christophers 2013). In many cases the municipalities sell to the sitting tenants and the ownership model is transformed to cooperative ownership (Holmqvist and Magnusson Turner 2014). Overall converted housing becomes less accessible and affordable (ibid.). At the same time, in order to achieve the aforementioned rates of return, the exclusion of poorer parts of the population from municipal housing is on the rise (Hedin et al. 2012). The changes over the last decades have undoubtedly changed the Swedish housing market - Hedin et al. (2012) even go so far as stating that the Swedish housing market is less regulated than in traditionally liberal markets such as Great Britain or the United States (Lind and Lunström 2007 as cited by Hedin et al. 2012). Overall it can be said that the welfare provision (see chapter 2.1 Neoliberalism and the privatization of housing) as it relates to housing has not been shifted to more localized levels of government as it was already the municipalities' responsibility to produce housing, however the burden of financing has been shifted towards the municipalities. The process could therefore be characterized as 'fiscal decentralization' (United Nations 2014).

While the subsidies for existing housing have been reduced, also subsidies for the construction of new housing have been diminishing (Holmqvist and Magnusson Turner 2014). Developers have stated high building costs and rents that are not adjusted to the market as a reason for a decline in construction (ibid.). That decline can be seen overall but is most pronounced in the rental sector (ibid.). Low housing production leads to fast-rising property prices, which are especially pronounced in large cities such as Stockholm (ibid.). High property costs in combination with incentives to owning housing rather than renting lead to rising household indebtedness (European Commission 2013). Overall housing production

has been low in Sweden as compared to other Nordic countries with investments in construction being only half in relation to GDP and population (Swedish Construction Federation 2012 cited in European Commission 2013). Figure 3 below gives an overview of housing construction and the housing stock since the 1960s. The rate of construction slowed down quickly after the end of the Million Homes Program and stayed low until the second half of the 1980s. A new but short-lived building boom characterized the years until the early 1990s. The construction rate had only very slowly begun to pick up again after the 2000s only to be interrupted by the financial crisis of 2008 (Boverket 2012).
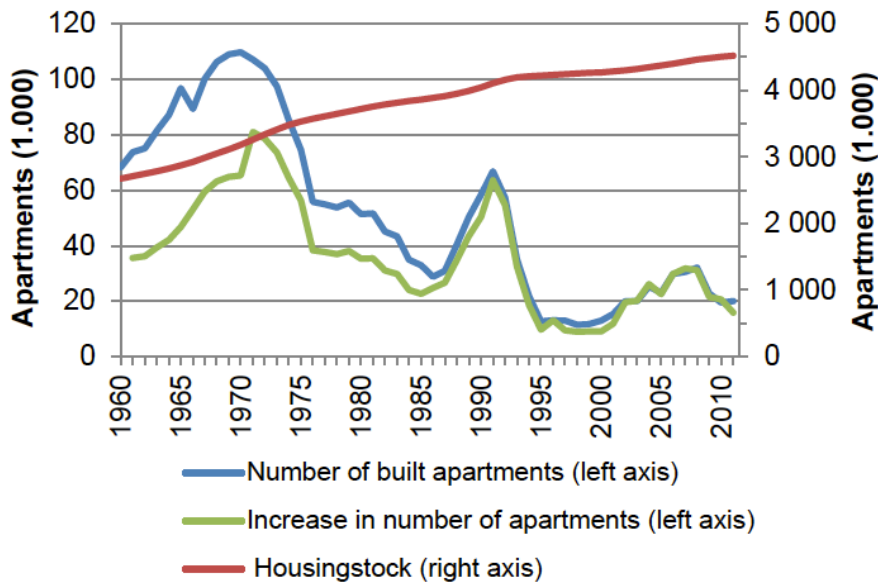
Figure 3: Construction and housing stock developments (Boverket 2012. 15 translated by the author)

Sweden faces an overall estimated need for 400.000 new dwellings until 2025, while construction remains low, especially for affordable homes (Grundström and Molina 2016). The housing shortage becomes a veritable crisis for young people and vulnerable groups who face rising difficulties entering the housing market (ibid.). The authors even compare the 2010s to the 1930s before the first nationally subsidized housing surge had started (ibid.).

> "[W]e can also see a number of similarities: housing provision is, again, governed by market principles; there is a deficit of affordable rental housing; the construction market consists of numerous small developers and construction companies; and new construction rates are down to 20,000 units per year on the level of the 1930s (Grundström and Molina 2016. 327).

While the need to build more and more affordable housing was also underlined by my interview partner from Public Housing Sweden, it is important to note the difference in living standard. While the standard of housing in Sweden in the 1930s was very low and occupancy in the individual apartments was very high, leading to low standards in sanitation, this is not the case anymore (Interviewee A, 2020).

6.3.4 Neoliberalization in Stockholm's context

The Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm Region (RUFS 2050) addresses a number of challenges Stockholm Region faces over the next decades (Stockholm Region 2018). Amongst them are population growth and linked need for housing, social inclusion as well as "become[ing] an internationally leading metropolitan region in a growing global competitive landscape" (Stockholm Region 2018 p. 6). The ambitious aim of becoming Europe's most attractive metropolitan area is in line with rising inter-local competition within neoliberal logics (Brenner and Theodore 2002[15]). Stockholm Region positions itself as a leading region in knowledge, aiming at attracting highly educated new inhabitants (Stockholm Region 2018).

Stockholm City currently experiences a number of large-scale building projects mainly high-end housing projects and infrastructure projects such as the renewal of transport nodes and the building of arenas (Cele 2015). Stockholm's current development projects are characterized by a shift towards building a more cosmopolitan city in light of current globalization trends (ibid.). The gentrifying effects of those large-scale development projects lead to a polarization, dividing the city in two (ibid.). Hedin et al. (2012) found that gentrification in and around the cities of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö between 1986 and 2001 mainly occurred in already high-income areas and can therefore not be as much attributed to changes to low-income areas (ibid.)[16].

However 'soft' urban renewal might still become a problem in Sweden. As housing built during the Million Homes Program is being renovated throughout the country, in an effort to keep the changes to the rents due to renovations low, municipal housing companies have come up with a new system (Interviewee A, 2020). While the costs for changes to the building overall are shared between the tenants, renovations carried out in the individual apartments will be translated in rent increases (ibid.). Therefore tenants are now able to choose to what extent their apartments are to be renovated (ibid.). Usually a choice between three different models is available (mini, midi and max) and the amount by which the rent will rise during the next rent negotiation corresponds to the model chosen by the tenant (ibid.). In order to keep the raise in rents due to overall renovations to the building low, some MHCs choose to do only basic renovations while at the same time reusing as much building material as possible (ibid.). Such tiered renovations might help tenants shoulder the costs more easily. However the fact that less well-off tenants have to remain in apartments in need of renovations or at least more extensive renovations is to be viewed very critically.

Current debates seem to be contradictory: while on the one hand there are calls for more affordable housing on the other hand the debate focuses on making Stockholm more 'urban' and having more intense city marketing (Cele 2015). These last arguments lead to more influence of public-private partnerships and calls for speeding up planning processes by limiting democratic participation processes (ibid.). The city's strategy for 2030 published in 2007 is characterized by neoliberal influences such as a focus on global actors and marketing towards potential investors (ibid.). It is feared that by focusing on investors, tourists and the attraction of new inhabitants, the needs of the existing population will be neglected (ibid.). At the same time the plan is very critical of modernist suburban structures as well as of 'nature' in the city as being a sign of lacking 'urbanity' (ibid.). The city plan of 2010, which is focused on how the aims of the vision for 2030 should be implemented, also focuses on regeneration and building projects (ibid.). In order to implement such building projects, the city council drew upon a 2001 study identifying 'empty' space, which could be used for development, amongst them brownfield sites, but also school playgrounds, small parks and woodlands (ibid.). At the same time there are ambitious plans on how to "become "world-leading" in being a beautiful, green and sustainable city" (Cele 2015. 239). The

---

[15] For details see chapter 2 Critical views on neoliberalization

[16] In this study gentrification was measured in 'neighborhood' units (squares of 300m x 300m) where the real average income has risen due to in- or outmigration. Reinvestment in the neighborhood was not considered during the study (Hedin et al. 2012).

provision of a socially inclusive living environment is another one of the ambitions goals, however there are no concrete plans on how to realize it (ibid.).

The current city plan adopted in 2018 still heavily relies on neoliberal mechanisms such as creating value as the main aim of urban planning or supporting public private partnerships (Stockholm Stad 2018). Overall urban development is seen as an aspect of adding value and assets (ibid.). While issues such as segregation between neighborhoods are acknowledged quite prominently already in the introduction the goals to reduce social differences are very wide and non-specific (ibid.). The need to build more and especially more affordable housing with varying tenure forms is acknowledged, how this can be achieved however is not detailed (ibid.). Overall the city is aiming at building 140.000 new housing units between 2010 and 2030 (ibid.). The focus areas of the housing development are mainly in suburban areas (ibid.). Public and green spaces are mainly valued as making the city more attractive "in [a] competition for skills and capital in the global economy" (Stockholm Stad 2018. 20). The role of green walking corridors in linking segregated neighborhoods is underlined (ibid.). The city is aiming at strengthening local centers in order to improve "access to fundamental urban features such as services, culture, public transport, shops, jobs, venues for clubs and organisations, good public spaces and parks" (ibid. 24). Spatially the aim of improving and diversifying neighborhoods is focused on suburban neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city (ibid.).

6.4 Discourses on Race in Sweden

Sweden's social model was for a long time based on "merging extended rights of citizenship with a politics freed from nativist obsession" (Schierup et al. 2018. 1838). The reformist politics with its origins in the 1970s offered substantial rights of citizenship for all independently from ethnic identity or national origin (ibid.). Grounded in fast access to full formal citizenship and solidaristic policies of asylum and refugee reception it was supposed to empower migrants and ethnic minorities with migration background (ibid.). But the politics of deregulation and privatization implemented since the mid-1990s (see also chapters 6.1 Transition from the welfare state and 6.3.3 Neoliberalization of the Swedish Housing Market) produce deepening inequalities and dismantle the social fabric (ibid.). While the concept of race has been removed from the public discourse in Sweden following the Holocaust and the decolonization- and civil-rights movements of the 1960s, it has lingered unspokenly resurfacing most recently in the racialization of discourses on migration and refugees in the past decade (ibid.).

The extreme right party *Sweden Democrats* entered parliament in 2010 enlarging the number of seats held there with each election since, being the party with the third largest number of seats in parliament since the 2018 election[17] (Statistics Sweden n. y. s). They are running on a racist platform revolving around a perceived threatening of Swedes "by culturally incompatible "Muslims" portrayed in quasi-biological attributes" (Schierup et al. 2018. 1842). The dismantling of the welfare system[18] is in this rhetoric directly attributed to immigration (ibid.). Idealizing an imagined racially 'pure' national welfare state, anyone politically left is framed by the *Sweden Democrats* as betraying ideals of the nation and the family (ibid.). The party's answer to the crisis of the welfare state is to protect the claims of the deserving 'natives' by restricting the access of 'culturally deviant foreigners' to welfare measures (ibid.) The rationality behind this is a narrative where since ethnic Swedes built the welfare state they do not owe anything to people with immigrant background or people of color and can therefore abolish welfare measures for them (Interviewee B 2020). This argumentation is picked up – not in these specific terms, but the underlying sentiments – by broader ranges of society (ibid.). Due to this public opinion is negative, when youths with immigrant backgrounds make claims on public space or for improved housing conditions (ibid.). While distancing itself from overt biological signifiers of 'race' the *Sweden Democrats* communicate their racism through subtler metaphors of 'culture' (Schierup et al. 2018). The in such ways cleaned public image is counteracted by representatives and high ranking party-members expressing openly racist opinions mainly on social-media (ibid.). Due to this ambiguous stance the party can mobilize supporters just like a social movement does. Schierup et al. (2018) therefore interpret the *Sweden Democrats* "as the central organization in a wider social movement in which racism is the key issue" (ibid. 1845).

Counteracting such racially connoted and divisive politics are youths of mainly migrant background living in socially stigmatized suburbs (*förorter* in Swedish) (ibid.). These disadvantaged spaces are the sites where "financialization, commodification of welfare provision, a grabbing of the commons and extensive gentrification" (ibid. 1846) create racialized inequality (ibid.). Othering coupled with stigmatization of place characterizes everyday experiences of the inhabitants of poorer suburbs (Sernhede et al. 2016). Building on Dikeç (2007) Schierup et al. (2018) read such suburbs as being negatively portrayed in public discourse while at the same time being exposed to repressive state interventions. Lived reality of people with immigrant background includes experiences of "institutional racism, social disadvantage, securitisation and police repression" (Schierup et al. 2014. 2). "These neighbourhoods have become security hot-spots with their inhabitants under continuous police surveillance, and subject to multiple identity checks and stop-and-search raids" (ibid. 7). In spite or maybe because of this, in such suburbs autonomous and

---

[17] The *Sweden Democrats* were first elected to the Stockholm regional council in 2014, expanding the number of seats held in the last election in 2018 (Statistics Sweden n. y. r).

[18] For details on the dismantling of the welfare state see chapter 6.1 Transition from the welfare state

embedded justice movements evolve "contesting urban degradation and reclaiming Sweden in terms of inclusive citizenship, social welfare and democracy" (Schierup et al. 2018. 1846 f.). One central subject of these movements lead by local youths is the question of housing justice (Listerborn et al. 2020). The 2013 uprisings in the socially stigmatized suburbs, which started in northern Stockholm, were portrayed by the media (international as well as local) as being caused by tensions due to migration (Sernhede et al. 2016). Similarly to riots in 2009 the public framing blamed the riots on 'cultural deviancy' and lacking socialization of particularly Muslim youth (Schierup et al. 2014). Responses from politics – a center-right government was in power at the time – picked up this reasoning (Sernhede et al. 2016). The minister of integration being the first minister commenting publicly called for harsher disciplinary measures and more police presence in the area (ibid.). The prime minister commenting at a later point underscored that the problem was a local one and referred the responsibility of solving the issue back to the local community (ibid.). However urban youth movements from stigmatized neighborhoods offered alternative readings of the riots, writing on how the media-coverage of a police shooting evoked post-colonial exoticism (Schierup et al. 2014). Urban justice movements in several Swedish cities draw on notions of the suburbs (*förorten*) to raise a common identity and influence politics and public discourses through a better understanding of the marginalization, inequality and racism they experience (ibid.).

On the one hand the public debate on racism in Sweden is characterized by "people of immigrant background voicing experiences of everyday racism in the education system, the labor market, culture and the urban landscape" (Sernhede et al. 2016. 161). While on the other hand people narrow racism to nationalist movements such as the *Sweden Democrats* and therefore minimize the role of racism in Sweden, denying the existence of structural racism all together (ibid.). So while Sweden presents itself as a humanistic superpower, tolerant and democratic, the lived reality of people with immigrant background is quite different but any protest is being silenced (Interviewee B 2020). As expressing dissent through protests is not the norm in Sweden, societal auto-control mechanisms tend to prevent those (ibid.). Racist practices of racial profiling and suppression are often reinforced as an answer to protests in marginalized suburbs (ibid.). These protests can therefore be characterized as insurgent practices, as García-Lamarca (2017) characterizes them.

> "I define insurgent practice as a collective socio-spatial and political nexus of actions, consisting of both doings and sayings that enact equality and disrupt the dominant production of space, creating possibilities to generate new urban meanings and relations contrary to institutionalized ones and against the interests of dominant powers" (ibid. 41).

As modes of oppression are made visible by challenging the normative production of space, new identities are created (ibid.). Through insurgent practices the fundamental discrepancies of the existing order are made visible and equality is actively taken (ibid.). As paths and possibilities previously not foreseen are made visible, insurgent practices actively propose a different future, rather than being reactive (ibid.).
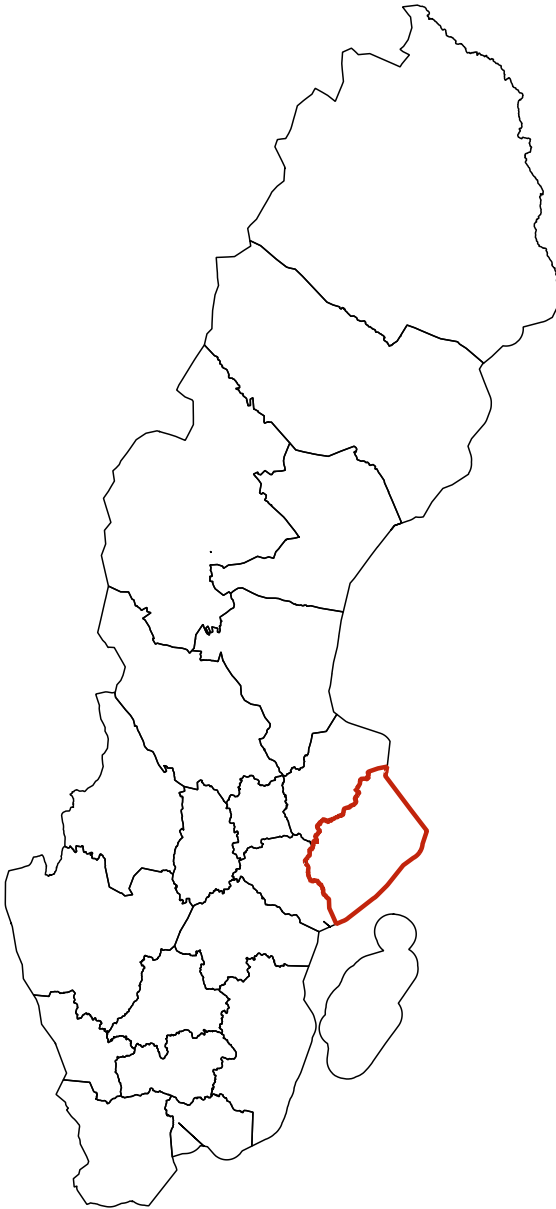
7 Botkyrka Municipality

In the following chapter the municipality of Botkyrka will be introduced and several programs and strategies analyzed with a focus on the built environment. Special attention will be paid to the neighborhood of Alby.

## 7.1 Overview

7.1.1 Location

Botkyrka municipality lies in the southwest of Stockholm County. The maps below show the location of Stockholm County within Sweden, Botkyrka and Stockholm Municipalities within the County, built-up areas within Botkyrka and neighboring municipalities as well as the location of Alby neighborhood within Botkyrka Municipality and the built environment in Alby to give an understanding of geographical relations.

Map 1: Location of Stockholm County within Sweden. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.) and Lantmäteriet (n. y.).
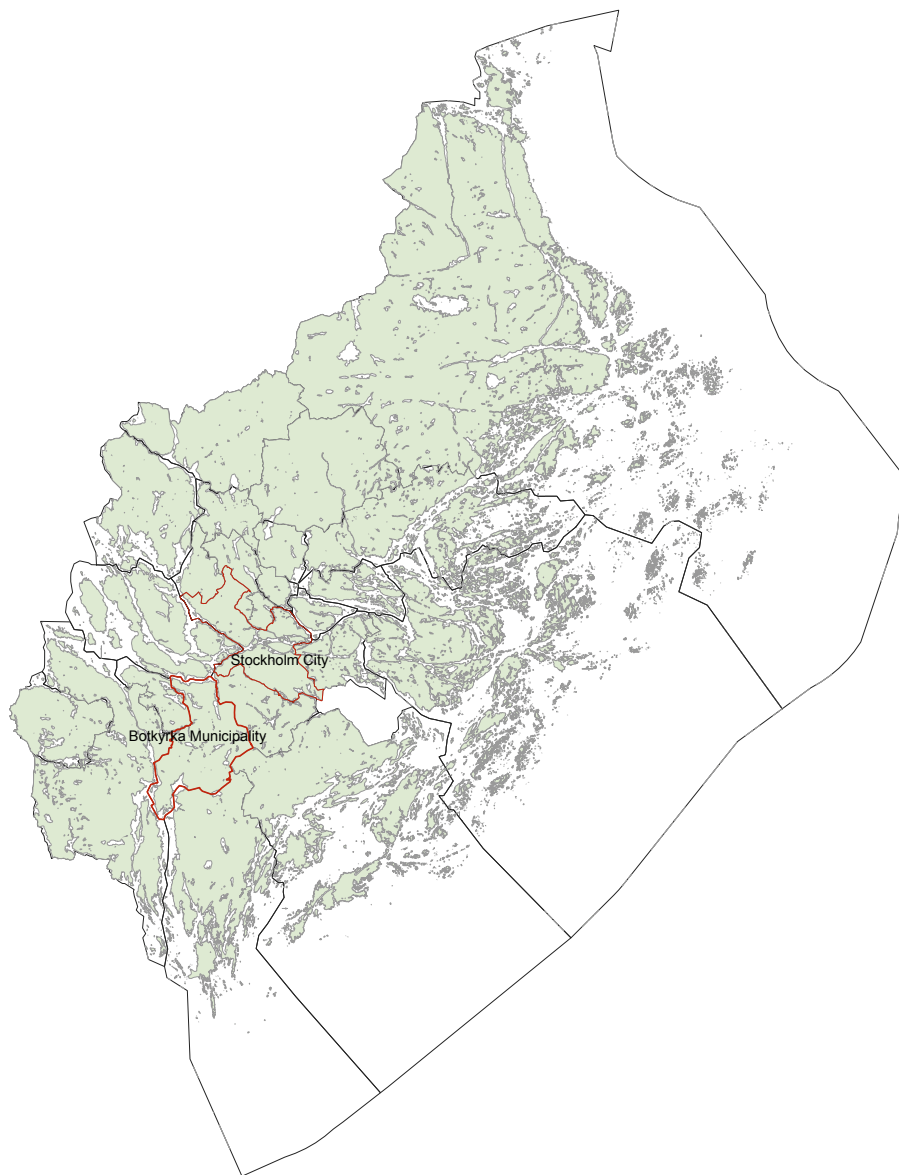
Map 2: Location of Botkyrka Municipality and Stockholm city within Stockholm County. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.)
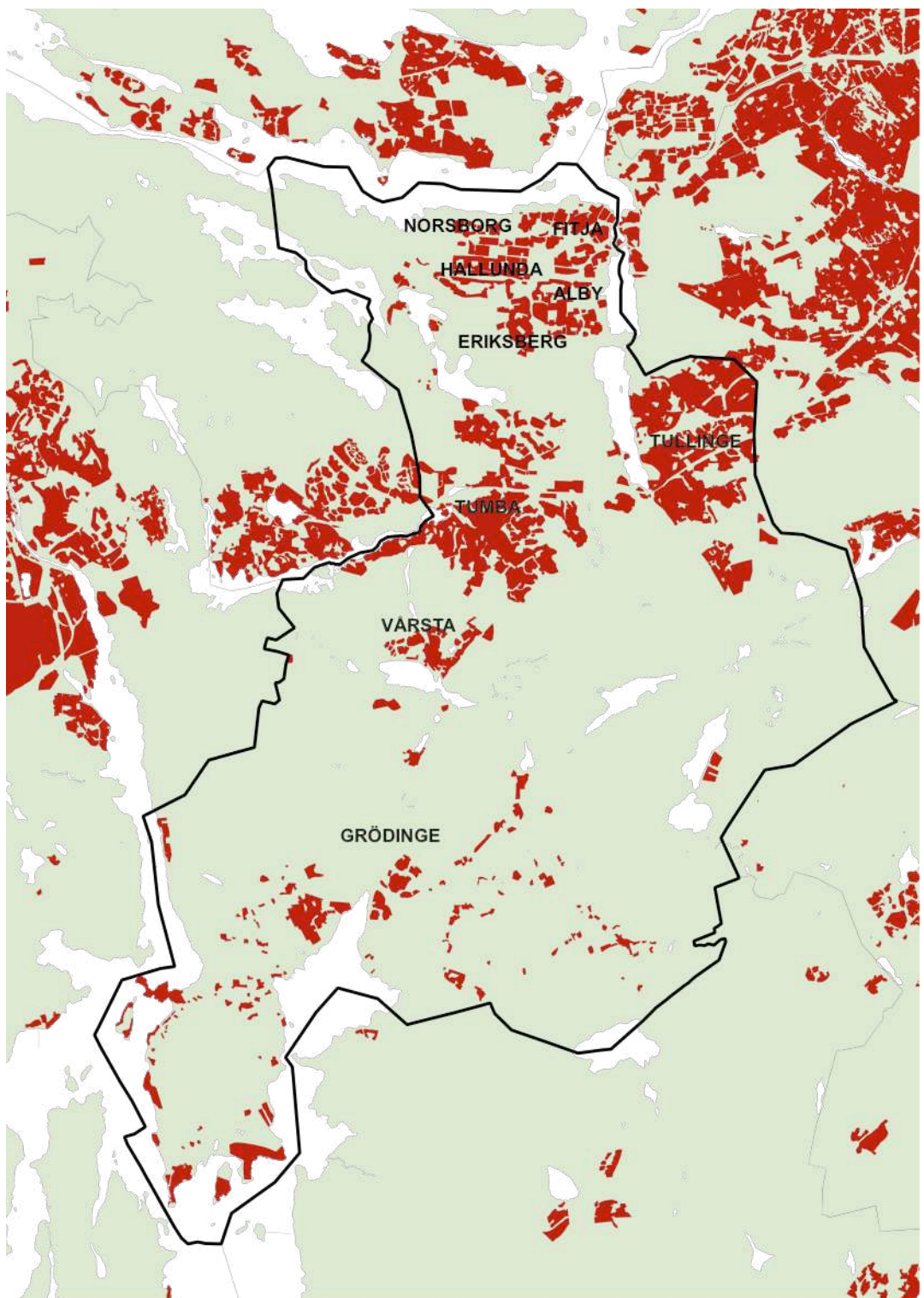
Map 3: Built-up area in Botkyrka Municipality and neighboring Municipalities. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.)
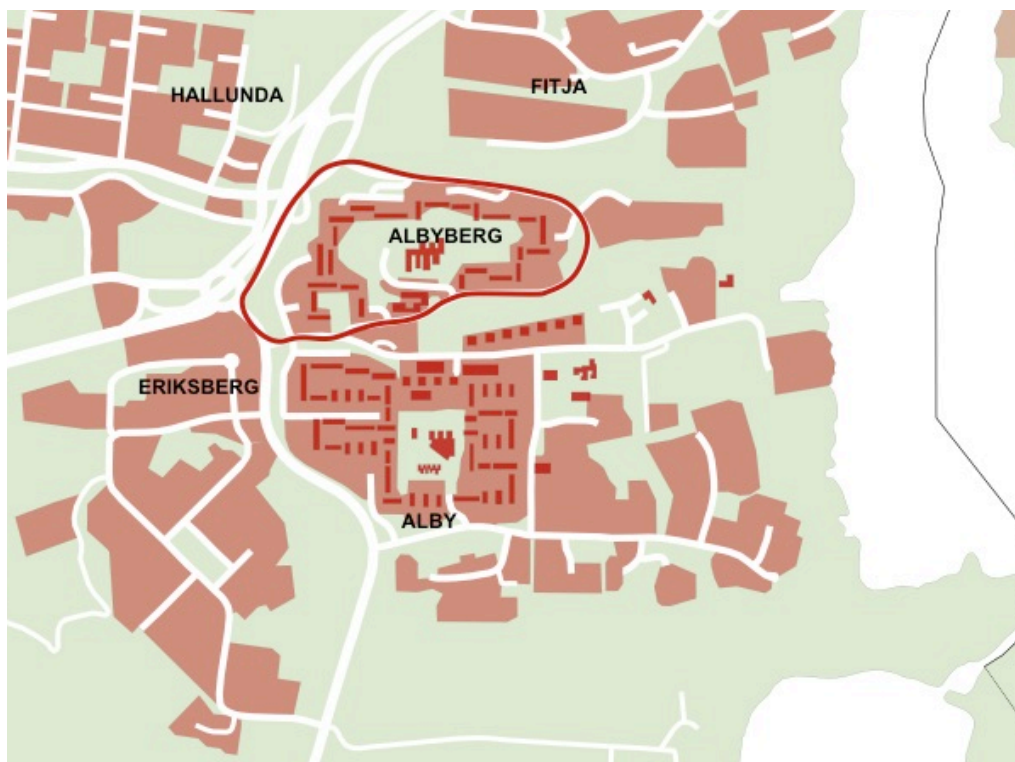
Map 4: Built environment in Alby and the location of Albyberg. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.) and Botkyrka Municipality (2009)

7.1.2 Population

The population in Botkyrka is relatively young when compared to Stockholm County and even more so to the whole country, as can be seen in the table below (Statistics Sweden n. y. a, l and m).

	Botkyrka Municipality	Stockholm County	Sweden
Average age	37,7	39,4	41,3
Population <18	25%	23%	22%
Population <25	34%	31%	30%

Table 1: Age structure in Botkyrka, Stockholm County and Sweden (Statistics Sweden n. y. a. land m)

Between the northern and southern parts of Botkyrka municipality ethnic polarization can be observed. The northern neighborhoods all have a large concentration of foreign-born[19] or ethnic-minority residents in comparison to the south but as well to other parts of Stockholm County (Andersson et al 2010).
Ethnic polarization and segregation has been an issue in Stockholm (and other large cities in Sweden) since the 1970s and is continually being reinforced (Dymén and Reardon 2013). While Swedes with non-immigrant background tend to live in areas of low ethnic diversity or with immigrants from western and central Europe, immigrants from Eastern Europe and non-European countries live concentrated in a small number of districts (Hårsman 2006 cited by Dymén and Reardon 2013). This can be partly attributed to the fact that new immigrants arriving - especially refugees - are placed in available housing which in the large cities as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö is mainly municipal housing built during the Million Homes Program (Rojas and de Torres Barderi 2018).

7.1.3 Housing

In the following several aspects of Botkyrka's housing market and related issues will be addressed in order to understand the impact of the sales process. However not all issues can be examined on municipality level due to data availability. In such cases the development in Stockholm County will be inquired into if comparable.

Botkyrka Municipality can be divided into a more rural and prosperous south where the built form is characterized by single-family and small multi family housing (Dymén, and Reardon 2013). A train provides a fast connection to central Stockholm (ibid.). The northern part however is characterized by dense modernist housing from the 1960s and '70s clustered in the neighborhoods of Alby, Fittja, Hallunda-Norsborg, Tullinge and Tumba (Council of Europe n. y.). The neighborhoods of northern Botkyrka were mainly built up during the 1970s when Stockholm and Botkyrka municipalities agreed on building housing for 45.000 new inhabitants (Botkyrka Municipality 2014).

---

[19] Swedish statistics since 1999 count people with "foreign background" rather than "immigrants". Anyone who is foreign born or has two parents who were born abroad falls into this category regardless of citizenship (Rojas and de Torres Barderi 2018).

Overall housing in Botkyrka Municipality is dominated by detached housing, the share of which has been slightly rising over the past few years (Statistics Sweden n. y. n). Multi-family housing only accounts for about 6% of housing (ibid.). The trends in Stockholm County overall are quite similar, however the percentage of detached housing is by ten percent higher and the other categories are closer together, each constituting around 10 percent (ibid.).

Residential Buildings by Type (%) 2010-2016 Botkyrka Municipality
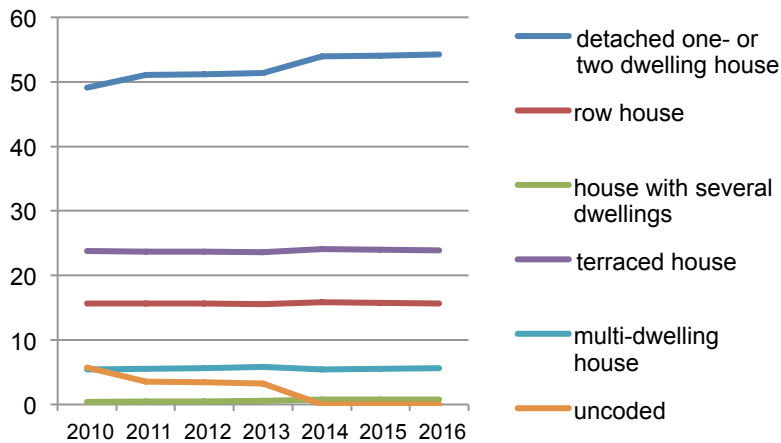
Figure 4: Residential Buildings by Type (%) 2010-2016 Botkyrka Municipality (Statistics Sweden n. y. n)

Residential Buildings by Building type (%) 2010-2016 Stockholm County
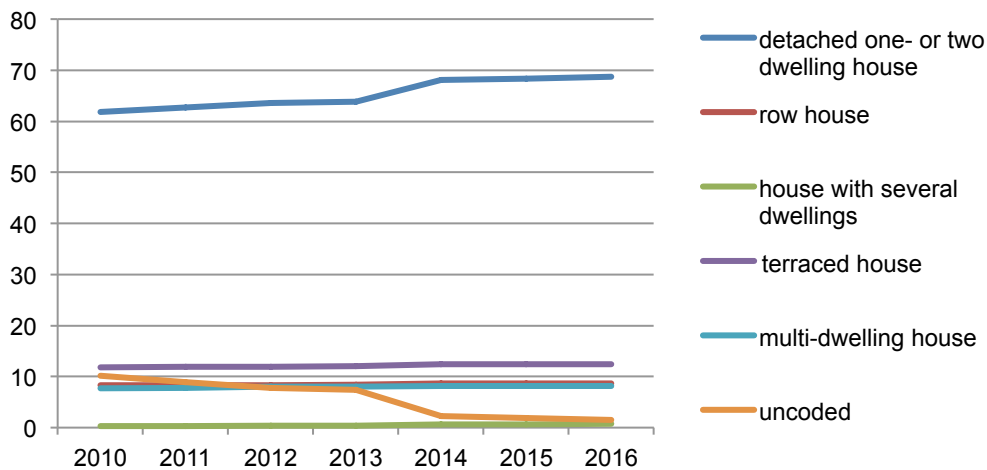
Figure 5: Residential Buildings by Type (%) 2010-2016 Stockholm County (Statistics Sweden n. y. n)

The ownership structure in Botkyrka municipality has changed over the last few years. While housing was still mainly owned by the municipal housing company in 2013 (35% of housing), by 2019 that rate had dropped to below 30% and is now surpassed by private ownership, which overall has stayed stable over that period of time at 30%. During the same time the percentage of housing cooperatives and joint stock companies has risen slightly. The picture in Stockholm County overall is quite different. The most common form of ownership is housing cooperatives, followed by private owners. Municipal housing companies own only 15% of housing, showing a downward tendency. Overall the ownership structure in Stockholm County shows only very slight variations over the last seven years (Statistics Sweden n. y. o).
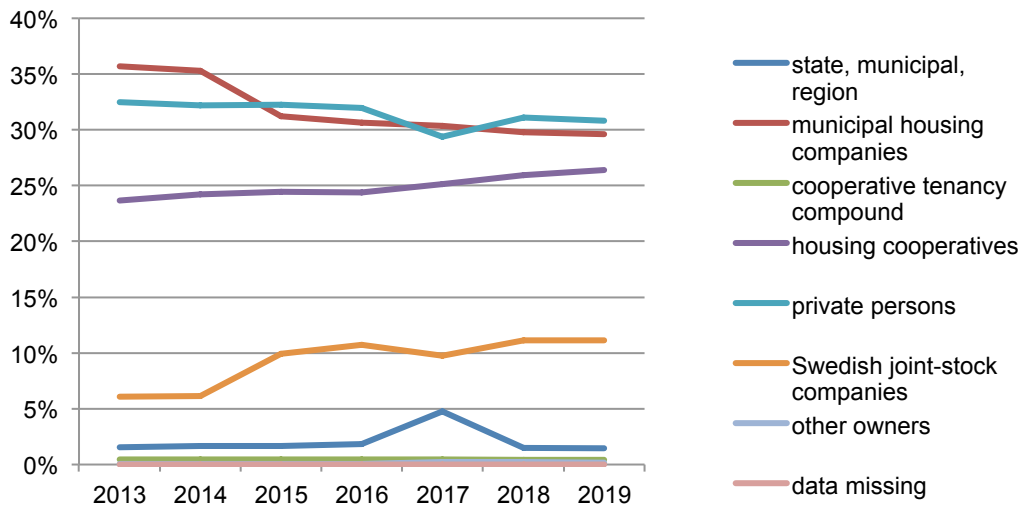
Figure 6: Residential Buildings by ownership. Botkyrka Municipality 2013-2019 (Statistics Sweden n. y. o)[20]
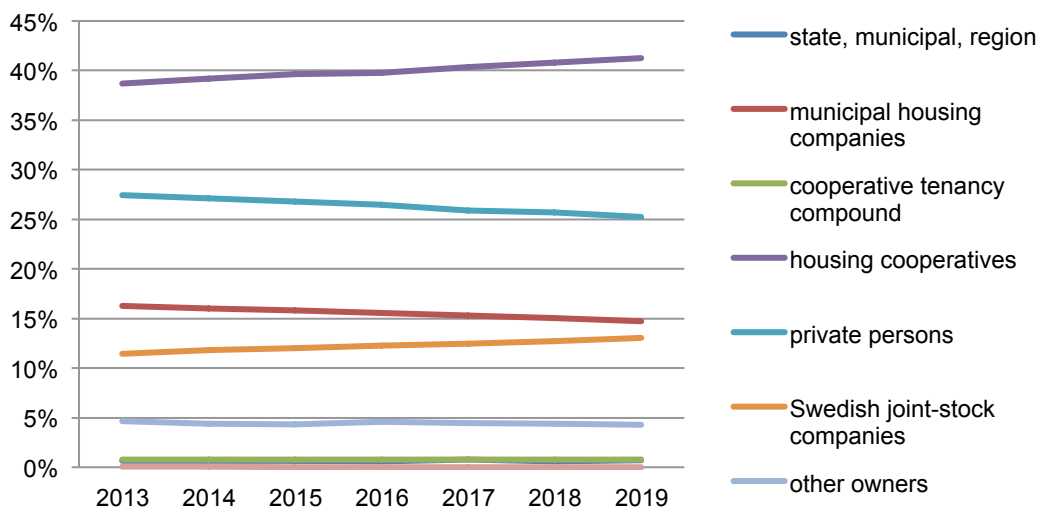
Figure 7: Residential Buildings by ownership. Stockholm County 2013-2019 (Statistics Sweden n. y. o)

---

[20] As the percentages for cooperative tenancy compound, other owners and data missing are so closely together, the lines cannot be easily distinguished.

While multi-family housing only constitutes six percent of the number of houses in Botkyrka municipality, more than half of Botkyrka's residents live in multi-family housing (Statistics Sweden n. y. p). As can be seen in Figure 8 below, multi-family housing in Botkyrka municipality is still dominated by housing built during the 1970s. Almost 75% of multi-family dwellings were built during the Million Homes Program (1965-1974), while in the last 4 decades overall only 20% of the total stock was built. However it can be seen that housing construction has slowly been increasing again since 2011. Figure 9 illustrates the same composition for the Stockholm County overall, which shows a more balanced distribution of construction periods. Multi-family housing, which was constructed during the decades when the Million Homes Program took place, constitutes almost 30% of multi-family housing while during the last four decades a similar amount was built. In the county overall a slight increase of housing production can also be observed over the last decade (Statistics Sweden n. y. h).

Multi-family dwellings by period of construction Botkyrka Municipality 2018

Legend:
- -1930
- 1931-1940
- 1941-1950
- 1951-1960
- 1961-1970
- 1971-1980
- 1981-1990
- 1991-2000
- 2001-2010
- 2011-
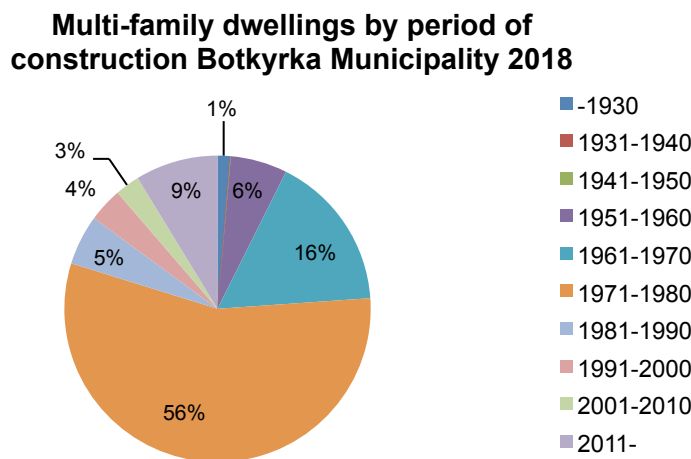
Figure 8: Multi-Family dwellings by period of construction, Botkyrka Municipality 2018 (Statistics Sweden n. y. h)

Multi-family dwellings by period of construction Stockholm County 2018

Legend:
- -1930
- 1931-1940
- 1941-1950
- 1951-1960
- 1961-1970
- 1971-1980
- 1981-1990
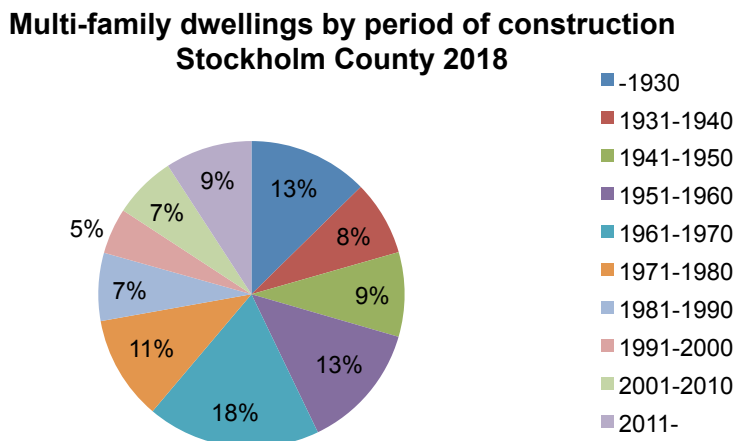- 1991-2000
- 2001-2010
- 2011-

Figure 9: Multi-Family dwellings by period of construction, Stockholm County 2018 (Statistics Sweden n. y. h)

7.1.4 Housing prices

The yearly rents for apartments built during the 1970s[21] have been rising continuously over the last years. While for larger apartments a reduction of yearly rent was observable in the wake of the financial crisis 2008, the rise of rents for smaller apartments was less pronounced but continuous during that time span. Overall housing prices have seen an even stronger increase over the decade between 2003 and 2014 (Statistics Sweden n. y. d). [Prices in SEK]

**yearly rent for appartments built between 1971-1980
Stockholm county**
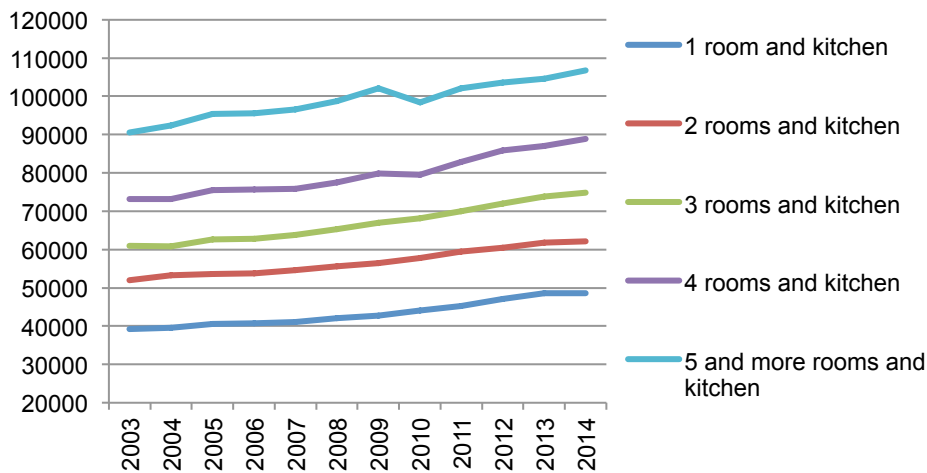
Figure 10: yearly rent for apartments built between 1971 and 1980, Stockholm County 2003 – 2014 (Statistics Sweden n. y. d)

**yearly rent
Stockholm County 2003-2014**
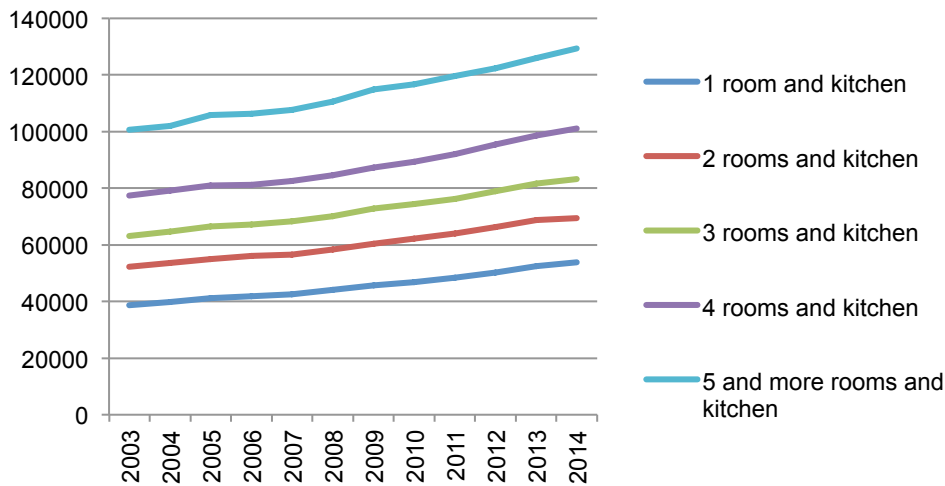
Figure 11: yearly rent Stockholm County 2003 – 2014 (Statistics Sweden (n. y. d)

---

[21] The 1970s were chosen here as that is the era that the majority of housing in Botkyrka was built.

Prices for homeownership have been rising as well, in Stockholm County by 162 percent between 1996 and 2011, which is approximately 11% per year (Leonhard et al. 2013). Even when compared to income growth, housing prices have still risen by 98% or 6,5% per year (ibid.). The factors contributing to that development are mainly raises in income (46%) and backwards-looking perspectives (30%) (see below), while the increase of population in relation to available housing only accounts for 21% of the price increase (ibid.).

**Factors contributing to rising
housing prices in Stockholm County**
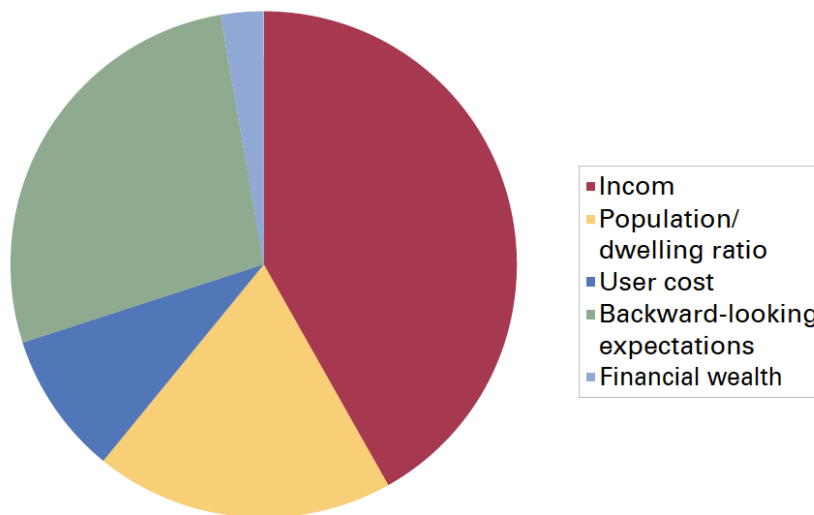
Figure 12: Factors contributing to rising housing prices in Stockholm County (Leonhard et al. 2013. 4).

If other costs stay similar the overall increase in incomes leads to a rising willingness to spend money on larger and better housing (ibid.). In combination with the population rising faster than the available housing stock (especially in metropolitan areas) this strongly contributes to the current housing shortage (ibid.). Figure 13 below shows that this was the case in the last three decades in Sweden overall as well as in Stockholm County and Botkyrka Municipality (Statistics Sweden n. y. i and m). While the population in the municipality was stagnating and even falling through the 1990s, it has been rising since the turn of the century, and especially fast in the last ten years, rising to 137% of the population of 1990. The number of dwellings in the municipality has been rising as well, slowly during the 1990s and 2000s, but building activity has picked up over the last five years and housing is now at 128% of its 1990 value. Population growth in Stockholm County was continuous throughout the last 30 years but especially pronounced in the last 15. While the rise in the number of dwellings in the county has also been rising, it could not keep pace with the population growth. The difference between population growth and rise in number of dwellings is similarly as in Botkyrka municipality at around 10%. The nation-wide trend is reverse from Stockholm County as well as Botkyrka Municipality. The number of dwellings nation-wide has risen slightly more than the population during the same period of time (Statistics Sweden, n. y. i and m).

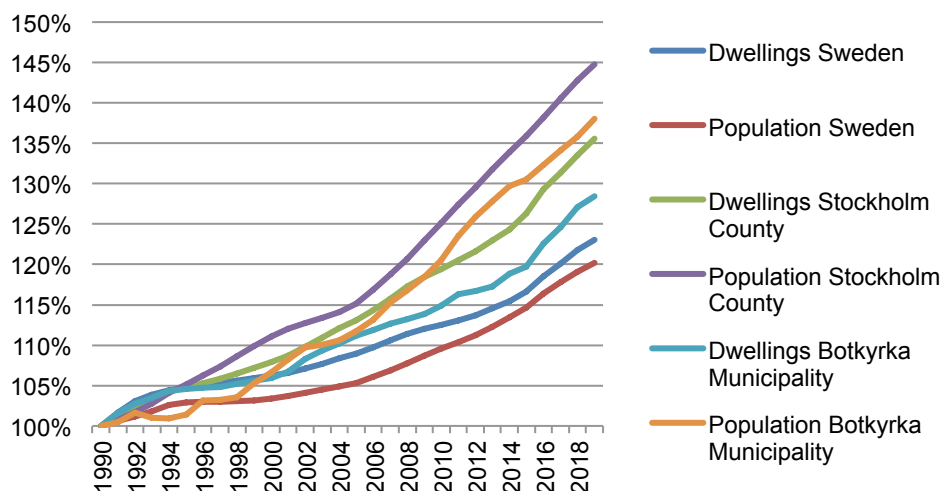**Population and Dwellings (%)**
1990-2019

Figure 13: Population and Dwellings (%) 1990-2019 Sweden, Stockholm County and Botkyrka Municipality (Statistics Sweden, n. y. i and m)

The general backwards-looking perspective observed by Leonhard et al. (2013) in the Swedish housing market means that since housing prices have been rising in the past, they are expected to rise in the future as well. People are therefore more likely to borrow money in order to be able to buy a house as fears of not being able to pay the loan back are minimized by the conviction that the rising worth of the home will amortize the interest rates (ibid.). The lender's risk is minimized by the same logic as the trust in rising prices for housing gives enough security to banks to give loans relatively easily (ibid.). This is further helped by the fact that at the mortgage approval the current market value is used as a base to determine its worth as opposed to a more long-term and sustainable value (ibid.). The backwards-looking perspective overall leads to self-perpetuation of rising prices (ibid.). With the market value of housing rising, the amount of money that can be borrowed against it also rises simultaneously (ibid.). The debt ratio is rising overall but that rise is especially pronounced with elderly people (ibid.). The reason for this is not clear, but the authors speculate, "that parents are helping their children to buy a house by increasing borrowing against their own house" (Leonhard et al 2013. 14).

Similar price developments also apply to tenant-owned apartments, however not to the same extent (ibid.). While Stockholm County was amongst those with the highest rises for prices of homeownership, the rise of prices for tenant-owned apartments is considerably lower than in all other municipalities Sweden wide (ibid.). When compared to income growth, the prices for tenant-owned apartments rose by around 70% while other Counties experienced increases of 300% and more (ibid.). The data available however only spans the time period between 2000 and 2011 (ibid.). The comparatively low price increase in Stockholm County is not to be downplayed. The development in Stockholm still meant that over the first decade of this century the value of a tenant-owned apartment rose by 1 million SEK (93.160 Euro)[22] per tenant-owned property (ibid.).

---

[22] The exchange rate applied (1:10,7338) was current on April 29, 2020 (OENB 2020) and will be applied throughout the text.

7.1.5 Landownership

When looking at landownership changes between 2010 and 2015 in Botkyrka municipality, the rise in landownership by joint stock companies is remarkable. It mirrors Baeten et al.'s (2017) analysis that housing, especially that built during the Million Homes Program has become a lucrative investment opportunity for private companies (for details see chapter 4.1 'Soft' Urban Renewal). However the municipality as well as private persons also experienced a gain in land but not as pronounced. As 'others' is not classified more clearly, it remains unclear who municipalities, physical persons and stock companies bought land from. The observable shift can therefore not be classified as privatization of land but rather a shift towards private companies. The slight losses of the municipal housing company can most likely be attributed to the sale of housing stock. However the municipal housing company does not play a significant role in the overall composition of landownership, as the municipal housing company owns and manages the housing and not the land itself, which is owned by the municipality. Changes in Stockholm County were far less pronounced over the same time period. The share of land owned by Joint Stock Companies has also risen but not to the same extent. Physical persons owned slightly less land in 2015 than 5 years earlier. The share of land owned by the State has fallen, while the municipality or county has gained land (Statistics Sweden n. y. f and g).
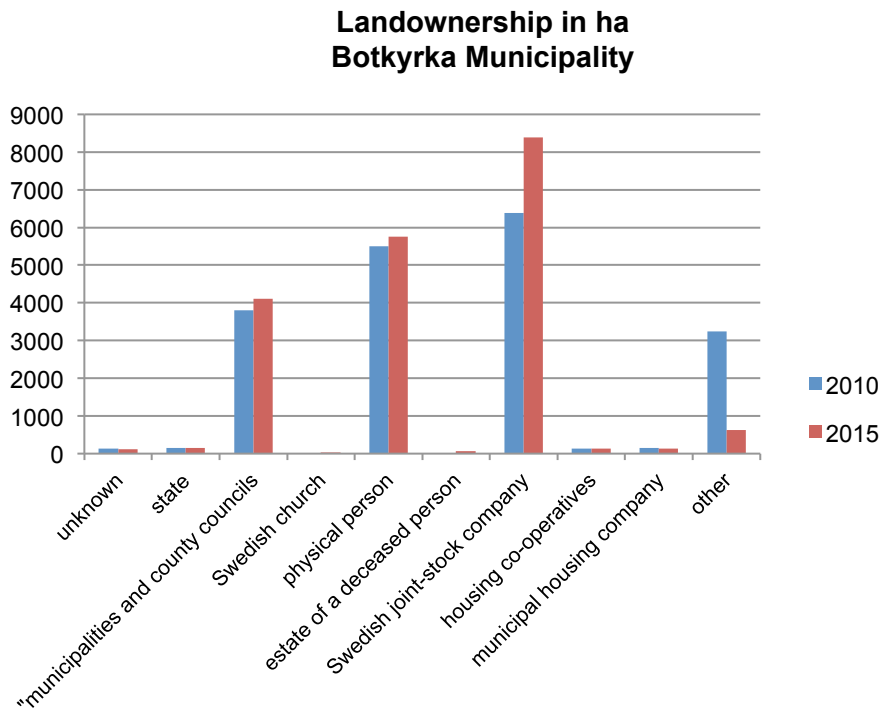

Figure 14: Landownership in ha, Botkyrka Municipality. Statistics Sweden (n. y. f and g)

42

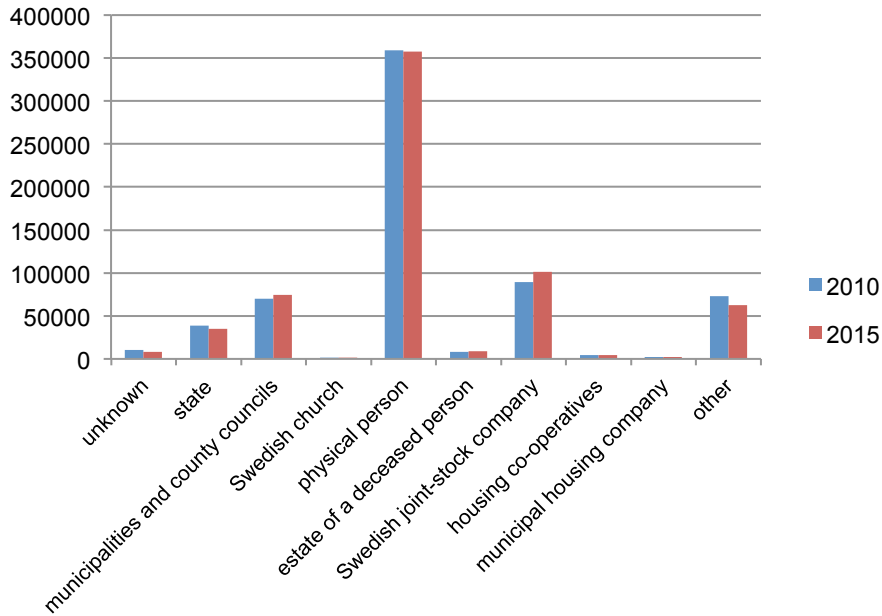**Landownership in ha
Stockholm County**

Figure 15: Landownership in ha, Stockholm County. (Statistics Sweden n. y. f and g).

7.1.6 Population per Dwelling

The average population per dwelling in Sweden overall has been stable since the 1990s at slightly over 2 persons per dwelling after falling over the decades before (Boverket 2012). The graph shows how the housing programs of the 1950s and early 60s already started to take effect. The impact of the Million Homes Program on the number of people living in a dwelling is especially pronounced. The decline becomes much less pronounced between 1975 and the 1980s and comes to a complete halt after 1990 (ibid.).

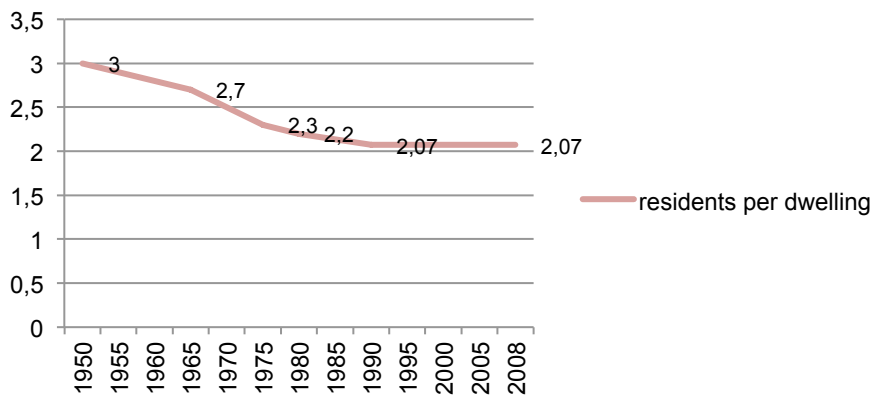**Residents per dwelling
Sweden 1950-2008**

Figure 16: Residents per dwelling - Swedish average 1950-2008 (Boverket 2012).

However population per dwelling has been rising again over the last few years but unevenly over the country, with higher densities especially pronounced in the Counties around large cities, such as Stockholm County (ibid.). So while the number of residents per apartment is falling in most of the country, the growth in metropolitan areas since 2005 has been so pronounced that the nationwide trend is going up again as well since 2007 (ibid.). In Figure 17 Botkyrka Municipality falls in the category of metropolitan areas.

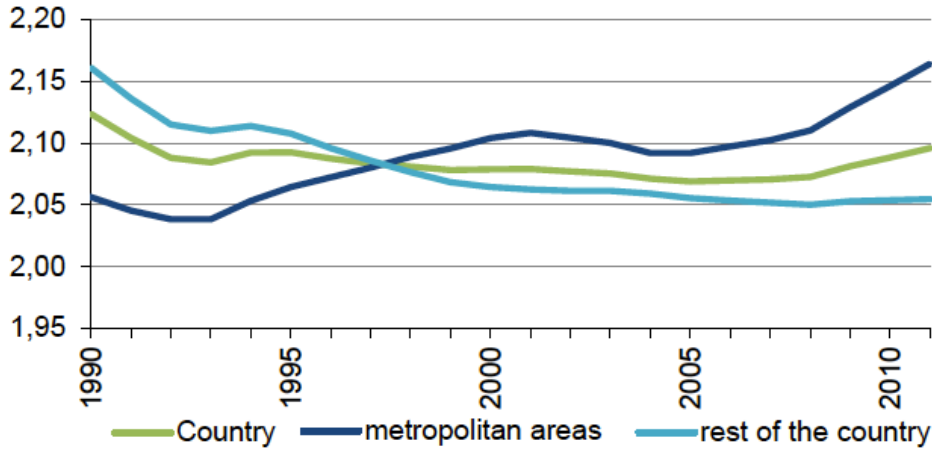**Residents per dwelling Sweden 1990-2011**

Figure 17: Residents per dwelling 1990-2011 Sweden, metropolitan areas and rest of the country (Boverket 2012. 62, edited by the author)

When looking more closely at the three metropolitan areas of Göteborg, Malmö and Stockholm in the timeframe of 1990 until 2011, it can be seen that the rise in residents per dwelling was especially pronounced in Stockholm after 2008, but already rising since 2003 after a short period of relaxation in the early 2000s. Rising housing prices are the reason assumed behind this development (Boverket 2012).

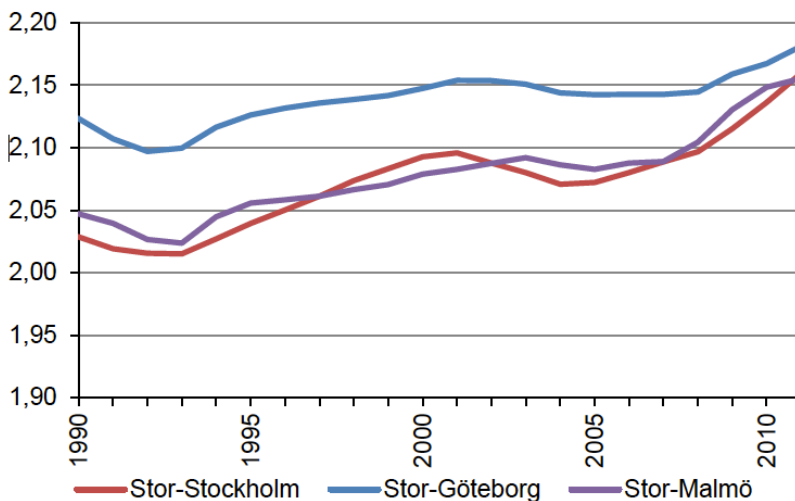**Residents per dwelling metropolitan areas
1990-2011**

Figure 18: Inhabitants per dwelling 1990-2011, metropolitan areas of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö (Boverket 2012. 63).

The density in Stockholm County was at 2,16 people per dwelling in 2011, slightly above the average between 1990 and 2011 with 2,07. If only the population over 19 years of age is considered, the numbers drop to 1,64 and 1,58 respectively. While the population over 19 has risen by 7,9% between 2001 and 2011, the available housing has only risen by 5,6% (Boverket 2012).

7.1.7 Botkyrkabyggen

Botkyrkabyggen is the municipal housing company, which is fully owned by Botykrka municipality (Botkyrkabyggen 2012), was founded in 1956 and has been building apartments in Botkyrka municipality ever since (Botkyrkabyggen 2016). The first large scale project took place between 1970 and 1975 when the company, along with two Stockholm based companies, developed 10.000 dwellings in the neighborhoods of northern Botkyrka (ibid.). While Botkyrkabyggen was responsible for the development of Alby, the company bought the housing in the other neighborhoods such as Fitja and Norsborg several years later (ibid.). Housing development continued on differently scaled projects until the 1990s (ibid.). In the late 1990s the company introduced a focus on self-management for the individual projects (ibid.). Since then caretakers are responsible for the upkeep of the housing (ibid.). No building activity took place until the mid 2000s (ibid.). Building activity has slowly taken up again over the last years (ibid.). However, the sale of 1.300 housing units in Alyberget reduced Botkyrkabyggen's housing stock while at the same time enabling funding of renovations for the remaining housing stock (ibid.). Overall more than 80% of Botkyrkabyggen's housing stock was built between 1965 and 1975 (Botkyrkabyggen 2013). The municipal housing company in turn owns several subsidiaries, which own housing as well as the local center in Alby (Botkyrkabygen 2012).

7.1.8 Public Transport

The connection between northern Botkyrka and the city center of Stockholm via subway is slower than the overland train connecting the south of the municipality to the city center (Dymén and Reardon 2013). Pedestrian, cycling and public transit connections between the northern and southern parts of the municipality are limited (ibid.). Map 5 below shows the public transport network in Stockholm County. Map 6 shows the subway connection (red) as well as the overland train (pink). While the metro line has its terminal stop in Norsborg neighborhood of Botkyrka municipality, the overland train continues further southwest.
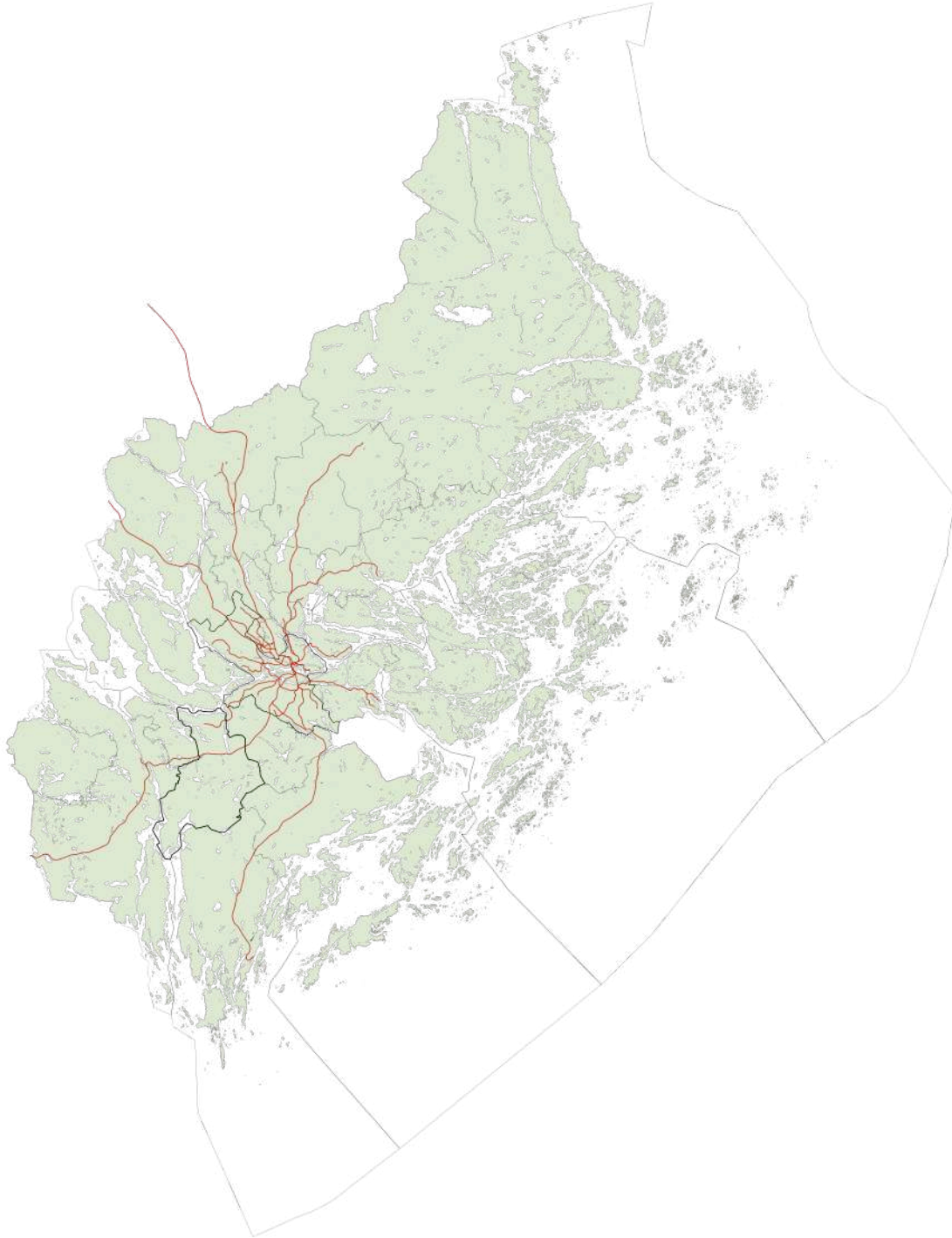
Map 5: Public transport lines in Stockholm County. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.) and Region Stockholm (2018 a and b).
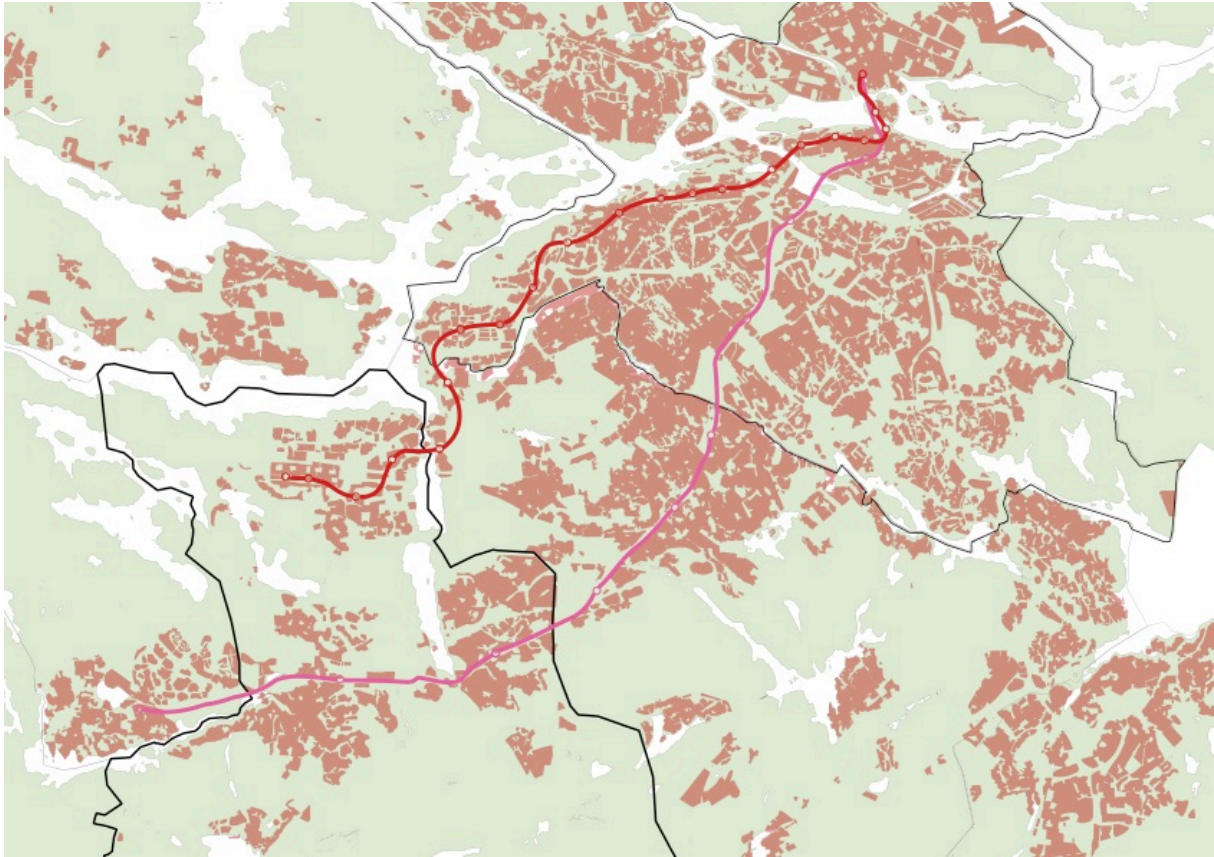
Map 6: Public transport from Botkyrka Municipality to Stockholm's city center. Own depiction based on Data retrieved from Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.) and SL (n. y. a and b).

Public transportation is quite expensive in Stockholm, prices for a monthly ticket currently are at 930 SEK (87 Euro) (620 SEK (58 Euro) for those under 20 or over 65) and an annual pass at 9770 SEK (910 Euro) (6550 SEK (610 Euro) at reduced rate) (SL 2020). When comparing the expenses for transport between metropolitan municipalities and suburban municipalities, a higher share of expanses for households in suburban municipalities is noticeable (Statistics Sweden n. y. c). While households in metropolitan municipalities spent on average 10% of their household income on transport between 2006 and 2009, the share for households in suburban municipalities was at around 14% during the same timeframe (ibid.). Due to the cost factor, public transport as well as owning a car is not an option for many low-income families and young people in Botkyrka municipality (Dymén and Reardon 2013). Walking and cycling are therefore the only feasible alternatives (ibid.). Distances however are very high in and between the modernist neighborhoods such as Alby (ibid.). This severely restricts abilities to participate in social activities outside a small radius (ibid.). Moreover the limited interaction between people of different neighborhoods leads to a 'lock-in effect' "where the physical separation reinforces tensions among certain ethnic groups and neighbourhoods" (Dymén and Reardon 2013. 24). A lack of mobility also leads to neighborhoods needing a high amount of infrastructure and services such as schools, which is not feasible, as the municipality has limited funds (ibid.).

Transport Poverty
Citing Lucas (2012) Palacin et al. (2016) build their conception of the interaction of social justice and lacking access to (public) transport. Transport poverty is characterized as the overlapping of social disadvantage with transport disadvantage (ibid.). This creates a 'lock-out' effect resulting in exclusion from planning and decision-making processes (ibid.). In turn social and transport inequalities are further deepened (ibid.). In case of Alby, the transport disadvantage is mostly economic, due to the high ticket prices in Stockholm but to a certain extent also locational, as the connection by subway from northern Botkyrka is slower than the fast train connecting the south of Botkyrka to Stockholm's center. The restricted access to social and economic activities due to transport poverty reinforces social exclusion and thereby lowers quality of life (ibid.).

7.1.9 Differences between northern and southern Botkyrka

Ethnic polarization between northern and southern Botkyrka as well as between central Stockholm and Botkyrka has contributed to a strong sense of identity for the inhabitants of each of the neighborhoods but as well to social stigmatization from outsiders[23] (Council of Europe n. y.).

Economic disparity between northern and southern Botkyrka as well as between Stockholm County and the municipality follow the same lines as ethnic polarization. In 2010 the median yearly income in Botkyrka was with 197.000 SEK (18.350 Euro) only at 80% of that in Stockholm County (Statistics Sweden n. y. b). The percentage of people at risk of poverty - their disposable income lies beneath 60% of the national median - was at 22% compared to 15% in Stockholm County with conditions worse at neighborhood levels (Dymén and Reardon 2013).

Differences in homeownership run along the same lines: while in southern Botkyrka owner occupied low-rise single- and multi-dwelling buildings prevail, rental apartments in high-rise buildings characterize northern Botkyrka (ibid.). Figure 19 and Figure 20 below illustrate homeownership in different building types[24] in Botkyrka municipality as well as Stockholm County for the year 2018 respectively. As can be seen it is fairly similar in all housing types except multi-dwelling housing. It can be seen that renting a flat within a multi-dwelling house is more common in Botkyrka municipality than in Stockholm County overall (Statistics Sweden n. y. j and k). This is in line with the fact that housing cooperatives are more common form of ownership in Stockholm County (see chapter 7.1.3 Housing).

---

[23] For details on social stigmatization in Swedish suburbs see chapter 6.4 Discourses on Race in Sweden

[24] Special housing refers to a range of housing such as student housing or housing for the elderly and people in need of special assistance (Boverket 2019). It remains unclear what is meant by other buildings.

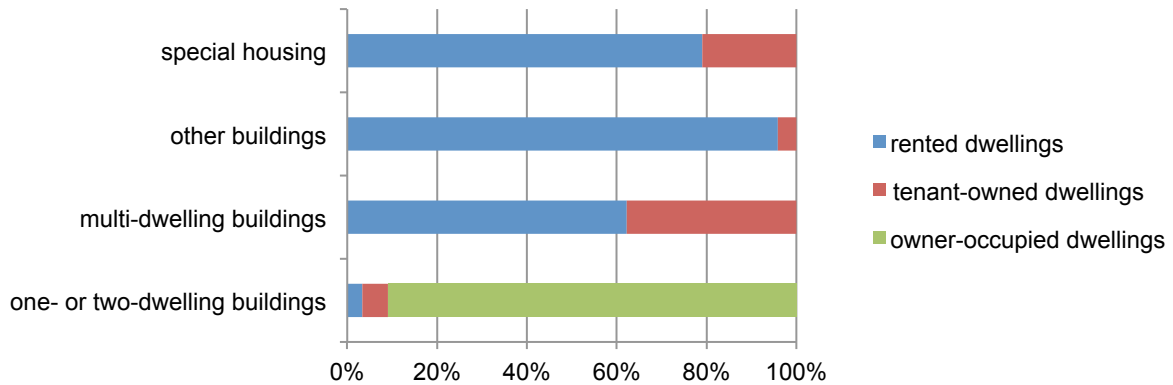## Tenure types by type of building
Botkyrka Municipality 2018

Figure 19: Tenure types by type of building Botkyrka Municipality 2018 (Statistics Sweden n. y. j and k)

Tenure types by type of building
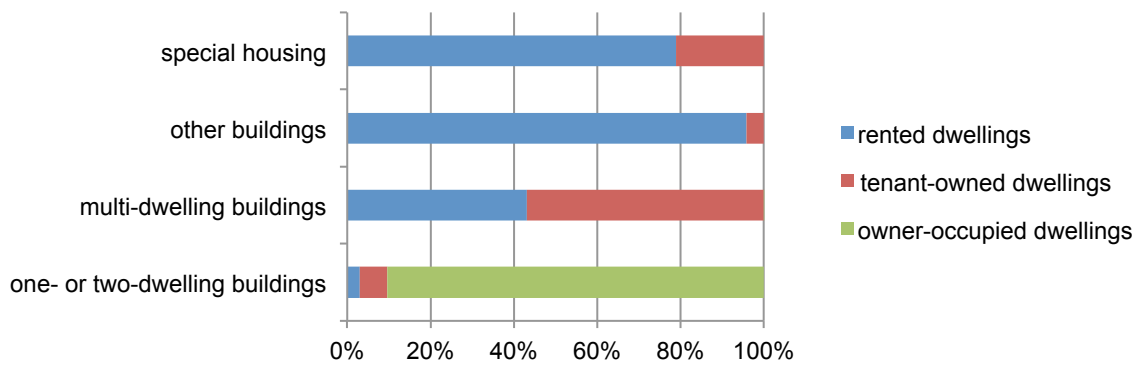## Stockholm County 2018

Figure 20: Tenure Types by type of building Stockholm County 2018 (Statistics Sweden n. y. j and k)

However these proportions have changed a lot over the years in Stockholm County. The share of rented apartments in multi-dwelling buildings was at around 70% for the County as well as Botkyrka municipality in 1990, as can be seen in Figure 21 below (Boverket 2012, Statistics Sweden n. y. j). By the second half of that decade the share of rented dwellings began to fall while cooperative apartments or tenant owned dwellings were on the rise (ibid.). By 2010 the shares were at equilibrium and of 2018 rental apartments constitute slightly over 40% of the stock in multi-dwelling buildings (ibid.). In Botkyrka municipality however the percentage of rented apartments stayed at slightly under 70% until 2014, since then the number of rented apartments has been going down (ibid.) The sales process of municipal housing in Alby in 2012-13 does not have an immediate impact on this statistic, as the tenancy form in these multi-dwelling houses has stayed the same, as the municipality sold to a private investor, who rented out the apartments in turn and not to the sitting tenants.

**Percentage of cooperative and rental apartments
Stockholm County and Botkyrka Municipality
1990-2018**

Legend:
- cooperative apartments (Stockholm County)
- rental apartments (Stockholm County)
- cooperative apartments (Botkyrka Municipality)
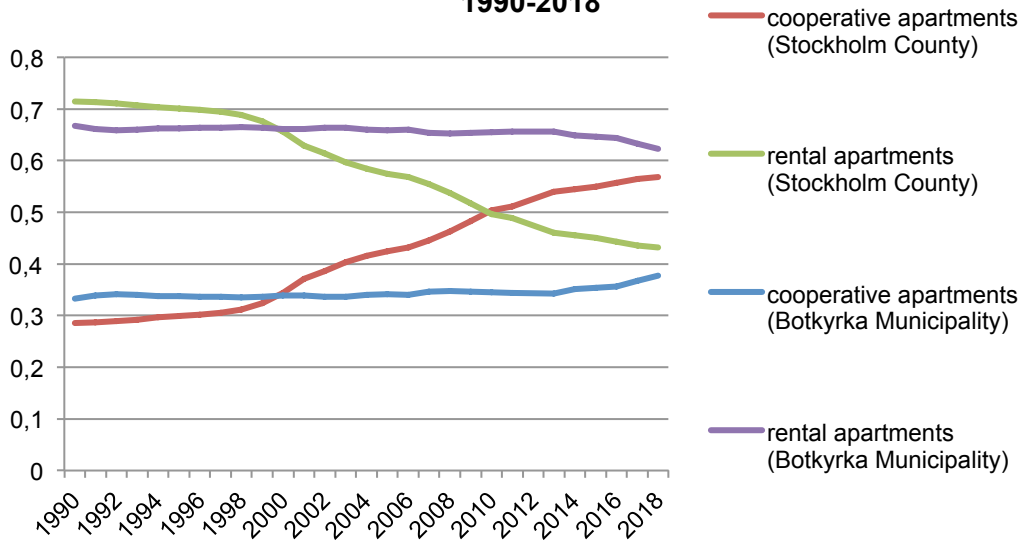- rental apartments (Botkyrka Municipality)

Figure 21: Percentage of cooperative and rental apartments in Stockholm County and Botkyrka Municipality 1990-2018 (Boverket 2012, Statistics Sweden n. y. j)

The aforementioned strong sense of local identity is expressed by citizens who - with improving socio-economic situations - move to owner-occupied dwellings (Dymén and Reardon 2013). But rather than moving into more prestigious neighborhoods they expressly want to stay where they have their social network and therefore within the same neighborhoods (ibid.). Mobility between neighborhoods – especially the northern and southern part of the municipality with changing socio-economic situations – is therefore very low (ibid.).

7.2 Programs

In the following section, several programs by Botkyrka municipality will be summarized. They give an overview of the municipality's overall plans for future development as well as specific plans for Alby neighborhood. In this section of the thesis there will only be an overview, for the analysis see chapter 10.3 How are these changes translated in the housing policy of Botkyrka municipality?

7.2.1 Comprehensive Plan

Comprehensive plans in general focus on foreseen land uses with a special focus on the development of the built environment (Sveriges Riksdag n. y.). They are not legally binding (ibid.).
Botkyrka's current comprehensive plan was adopted in 2014 and describes how the municipality anticipated developing until 2040 (Botkyrka Kommun 2014). The overall vision for the municipality is:

> "The future Botkyrka is an inspiring place full of possibilities. We will create the best conditions for a sustainable future through contrast, creativity and curiosity" (Botkyrka Kommun 2014. 15, own translation).

The comprehensive plan is seen as one of several tools to steer the municipality's development - its main focus is the physical environment, built or green (ibid.). It shows which targets are to be achieved, how that is done will be determined by subsequent planning steps (ibid.).
The comprehensive plan underlines the need for strong connections not only to Stockholm's center but also to other important nodes in the region such as Flemingsberg, Kungens Kurva–Skärholmen and Södertälje (ibid.). Map 7: Spatial relation between local centers (Botkyrka Kommun 2014. 21). below, taken from the municipality's comprehensive plan, gives an impression of spatial relations between the nodes mentioned (ibid.). New housing development should be built close to existing public transport and roads (ibid.). By creating a more cohesive urban structure and improving the connections between exiting areas, green structures can be secured (ibid.). The public transport network will be improved in order to make it competitive with the car (ibid.).
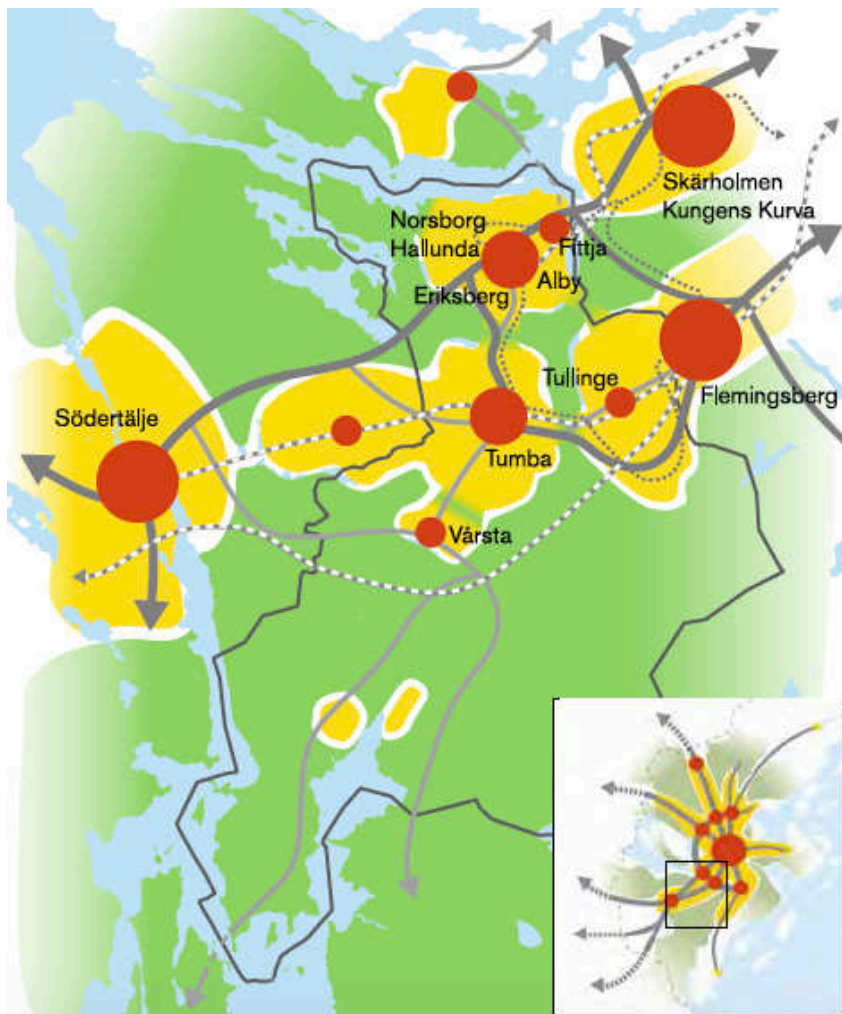
Map 7: Spatial relation between local centers (Botkyrka Kommun 2014. 21).

The following five strategies express aims and are meant to give guidelines for subsequent planning.

7.2.1.1 Living climate friendly

In order to help inhabitants to become more climate-friendly, more densely built up areas are necessary where all functions are clustered in order to be able to reduce the need to travel and therefore make it possible to live without a car (ibid.). Currently the share of cars and trucks for the transportation of people and goods is rising in the Stockholm region (ibid.). Climate friendly transportation should therefore be made more attractive (ibid.). More and better-linked bicycle tracks will be created and links to the public transportation network will be created (ibid.). By combining businesses and public services with hubs for public transportation those hubs will become more attractive and at the same time the need for trips is reduced (ibid.).

7.2.1.2 Room to grow

With a growing population, there will be need for more housing, businesses and workplaces (ibid.). The building activity will be conducted in a way that ensures densification and renewal of existing areas (ibid.). It is acknowledged that denser housing and building closer to (public) transportation routes can lead to higher noise pollution (ibid.). The municipality anticipates that 15.000 new workplaces will be established in Botkyrka until 2040 (ibid.). As Botkyrka's population has been rising continuously over the last decades and more people are moving to the Stockholm region, the need for housing is rising (ibid.). Within the current population

more young people want to establish their first own household and therefore the need for dwellings is rising (ibid.). The number of inhabitants in the northern neighborhoods of Alby, Fitja, Hallunda-Norsborg and Eriksberg is expected to surpass those of the other neighborhoods (ibid.). Until 2040 the municipality expects the building of 20.000 new dwellings in order to house the growing population (which translates to approximately 800 units each year)[25] (ibid.). The new housing should reflect a greater variation in dwellings concerning size, tenure types and price in order to meet a variety of needs in different stages of life (ibid.). By enabling people to stay within the same neighborhood throughout different stages of life, the sense of belonging and home should be improved (ibid.). The physical barriers between neighborhoods should be reduced in order to reduce social division and to improve accessibility for pedestrian and cyclists (ibid.). While social division is addressed, stigmatization of the inhabitants of the neighborhoods built during the Million Homes Program is not addressed (ibid.). Overall as much of the housing in the municipality was built in a modernist form making accessibility by car the focal point, improving linkages for pedestrians and cyclists will be an important part of improving neighborhoods (ibid.).

7.2.1.3 At home in the big city
The strategy for feeling at home in the big city focuses on the dual identity of Botkyrka's inhabitants as botkyrkans and as inhabitants of Stockholm region (ibid.). An important step in being able to find a communal local identity is to create meeting places Botkyrkans can identify with (ibid.). Meeting places need to be inclusive in order to attract people from all different backgrounds and ages (ibid.). The transport network is identified as a weak point as social relations within Stockholm region are concerned (ibid.). The current focus is put on transporting workforce from 'out there' into the 'important' inner city (ibid.). This should be changed by focusing on different connections and other destinations within the city (ibid.).

7.2.1.4 Close to nature
When considering the natural areas, it is important to the municipality to keep their 'green living room' as it gives space for a range of activities from sports to festivals and farming (ibid.). It is important to keep the connection between green areas and also connect them to existing and new (housing) construction (ibid.). Another essential aspect of nature in Botkyrka is the numerous lakes and the coastline (ibid.). Here the role as a diverse ecosystem is focused on (ibid.). However the water and beaches are identified as playing a role in the municipality's identity and access to them should therefore be improved (ibid.).

7.2.1.5 Space for creativity
In promoting the concept of creativity as a cornerstone in the municipality's development special attention is paid to the aspects of innovation, diversity, tolerance and creative power (ibid.). Botkyrka shall become an environment where people can realize their ideas (ibid.). When applied to the urban form, creativity entails creating a variety of places, expected and unexpected, old and new next to each other (ibid.). Diversity shall be achieved within each neighborhood but also throughout the municipality (ibid.). More flexibility with the planning process especially concerning function and design is expected to enable a better functional mix (ibid.). In developing a profile of creativity and creating spaces for that, the municipality wants to distinguish itself within the region (ibid.). Thereby a growth in workplaces is expected (ibid.).

---

[25] As a comparison the city of Stockholm expects 140.000 new homes to be built between 2010 and 2030, which would translate to 7.000 units each year. And the Regional Development Plan for Stockholm County estimates that up to 22.600 housing units have to be built in the county each year until 2030 (Stockholm Stad 2018).

7.2.1.6 Strategy for land use
The expected growth of 20.000 new dwellings and 15.000 new workplaces over the next 30 years will be realized within already built-up areas and close to public transport lines (ibid.). The centers of development will be Hallunda, Alby and Eriksberg and the secondary focus areas of Fitja, Tullinge, Vårsta and Tumba (ibid.). The overall aim within those developments is to create structures that are more cohesive for the municipality and region (ibid.). For the neighborhoods of Hallunda-Norsborg, Alby and Fittja the comprehensive plan identifies a dire need for renovations of the housing built during the Million Homes Program (ibid.). Creating more housing and activities will connect Alby and Hallunda (ibid.). By covering up the motorway, its separating effect will be minimized (ibid.). Better connections for pedestrian and cycle traffic will be created and public transport will be improved with a focus on the subway (ibid.).

7.2.2 Program for a sustainable housing stock

In 2016 the city council adopted a new strategy for housing, especially aimed at the municipal housing company (MHC) Botkyrkabyggen (Botkyrka Kommun 2016). The strategy states legally binding political guidelines to the MHC and is therefore adapted at least once every legislative term, which lasts four years (ibid.).
In light of rising population and housing shortages all throughout Stockholm County, the need for additional housing is underlined, but also renovation is an important issue (ibid.). The municipality aims at building 4.000 new dwellings until 2020 and 20.000 over the next 30 years, as stated by the comprehensive plan of 2014 (Botkyrka Kommun 2014). This should be achieved primarily by densifying existing areas or filling in gaps between current clusters (Botkyrka Kommun 2016). The building activity is mostly aimed at young people, students, elderly, people with reduced mobility and those newly arrived (ibid.). Overall it is acknowledged that the housing demand throughout Stockholm County but also in Botkyrka is mainly for affordable housing and rental housing (ibid.). Transformation of rental apartments into owner-occupied ones, as well as new construction mainly focusing on tenant-owned apartments or highly prized rental ones is identified as a source of difficulty for those less well off when looking for housing (ibid.). In short, the housing shortage mostly affects those with low and middle incomes (ibid.). The newly built dwellings should therefore not continue with the current trend of building new owner-occupied apartments or such rental apartments with very high rents (ibid.).

"We should therefore increase the number of rental apartments in new building projects and create the conditions for a reasonable rent level" (Botkyrka Kommun 2016 p. 7, own translation).

It is however not specified what is considered reasonable. Botkyrkabyggen will mainly build rental apartments, while a range of actors will be invited to build in Botkyrka in order to raise diversity in newly built up areas (ibid.). If additional land is needed in order to implement the comprehensive plan, the municipality will purchase it (ibid.). The existing housing should be more varied as it concerns tenure types, dimensions and price ranges (ibid.). This entails building more for young as well as elderly people (ibid.). Providing housing for those who have difficulties entering the housing market should be a special focus of the MHC, as the private housing market doesn't offer such opportunities (ibid.). In view of the current housing shortage, the municipality proposes to build more temporary housing (ibid.). In order to achieve a better mix in built up areas, plots for single family houses will mostly be sold to fill in gaps between existing multi-family apartment blocks and the other way round, in areas with a high percentage of single family houses more apartment buildings will be built (ibid.). Higher diversity in the built form is expected to raise a sense of belonging to a neighborhood and enable people to stay within the same area throughout different stages in life (ibid.). Renovations will aim at making housing more accessible and attractive as well as reducing

energy consumption (ibid.). The overall aim is to develop "a modern green city where an environment of housing, public space and workplaces enables creativity and development" (Botkyrka Kommun 2016 p. 4, own translation).

7.2.3 Vision for Alby

In the vision for Alby, which was published in 2009, a future Alby is described, however without stating when this envisioned future would be achieved (Botkyrka Kommun 2009). The stated aim is to develop towards a "creative and international urban district" (Botkyrka Kommun 2009. 5). A focus is put on integrating work and free time activities with the existing housing (ibid.). The creation of an international district aimed at a creative workforce is underlined throughout the document (ibid.). This fits in well with the comprehensive plan for Botkyrka Municipality, especially the section on Space for creativity (see above) as well as the aforementioned strategy for Stockholm[26], which is aimed at attracting a similar group of new inhabitants (Cele 2015). The conditions in Alby differ however, as the current inhabitants are from backgrounds of over hundred different nationalities (Tahvilzadeh and Kings 2015). The four main objectives of the vision are as follows:

7.2.3.1 *Ensuring a decent setting for girls and boys to grow up in*
The focus as concerns children and young adults is set on education, especially on ensuring that young people are well equipped for higher education and "knowledge intensive careers" (Botkyrka Kommun 2009 p. 8). The international backgrounds of many of the children in Alby is underlined as an opportunity to be utilized but at the same time the challenge of integrating newly arrived children from different school systems and with differing first languages is acknowledged (ibid.).

7.2.3.2 *Improving the employment opportunities of women and men*
The municipality wants to offer more opportunities for people in Alby to enter into the labor market more easily. A special focus is put on employment opportunities for young people and those newly arrived in Sweden (ibid.). By implementing a 'local growth office' the municipality aims at facilitating contact between residents and community services as well as local businesses that are recruiting (ibid.). The municipality describes its own role as being a gateway to the labor market by offering summer jobs, on-the-job-training and work training (ibid.). Additionally it wants to strengthen recruitment networks for small businesses and facilitate recruitment amongst the local workforce when new enterprises open up (ibid.).

7.2.3.3 *Renewing the urban environment*
In its renewal strategy, the municipality focuses on uniform former development projects, which "must be more diverse, mixed and imaginative to attain their true potential" (Botkyrka Kommun 2009 p. 12). This is to be achieved by renovating and modifying existing buildings as well as by encouraging new development (ibid.). The latter should be comprised of housing, workplaces and services in order to achieve a better mix within the neighborhood (ibid.). When it comes to public housing, the municipality refers to renovations of the interior, which are planned for 2020, while works on the exterior were finished by 2010 (ibid.). The extensive work on the interiors should also encompass creating a wider range of living standards and thereby rent levels (ibid.). It is acknowledged that the municipal housing company Botkyrkabyggen will be in need of additional funding however without detailing how the funds should be replenished (ibid.). However a privatization of the flats by selling to the tenants "should be considered when deemed advantageous for residents" (ibid. 13). There is no reference to selling housing stock to private investors (ibid.). Advertising Alby as an investment opportunity to private investor is an important part of the strategy for urban

---

[26] For more detail see chapter 6.3.4 Neoliberalization in Stockholm's context

renewal (ibid.). An expansion of the public transport network is aimed at improving the connections to other regional nodes (ibid.).

7.2.3.4 Modernizing Alby's identity

Botkyrka municipality connects the modernization of Alby's identity with the competition between urban districts (ibid.). In order to be able to compete for investments and new inhabitants, Alby must become more attractive to outsiders (ibid.). An important part of this strategy is branding Alby in a harmonized way with Botkyrka's brand (ibid.). The perception of current inhabitants is also important and communication between municipality officials and residents is emphasized (ibid.).

8 Empirical Case Study

8.1 Housing Sale 2012-13

The starting point for this thesis was my interest in the sales process during 2012-13 of municipally owned housing in Botkyrka municipality, Sweden.

Alby lies in the northeastern part of the municipality and is more socially vulnerable and stigmatized but also more diverse than the overall municipality (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015). 80% of the 12.000 inhabitants of Alby with backgrounds from around 100 different nations live in municipally owned housing (ibid.). The municipality decided to sell around one third of the housing stock from the 70s located in Albyberget to a private investor (ibid.). The argument put forward by the municipality for this sale was that this would be the only way to finance the renovations of the remaining housing stock without having to raise the rents for the inhabitants (ibid.). The board of the housing company calculated that in order to finance the needed refurbishments a rent increase of 50% for all tenants was needed. It was assumed that the tenants were not able to sustain such a raise (ibid.). The decision to sell the housing was taken in autumn of 2012, negotiations with possible buyers took place in winter 2012-2013, and the sale went through in spring of 2013 (ibid.). The housing sold amounted to around 1.300 apartments housing roughly 4.000 people (ibid.). The decision which housing blocks to sell was based on an evaluation by an international consultancy agency, stating that Albyberget was the most attractive location amongst the municipal housing company's portfolio for possible investors (ibid.). While the citizens of Alby were involved in a number of participation processes over the last 20 years, they were merely informed of the municipality's intention to sell (ibid.). While planners with the municipality argued that the sales process responded to citizens' wishes of having more diverse housing options voiced in earlier participation processes, citizens were not actually involved in the decision of selling part of the housing stock (ibid.). Rather than using existing channels of participation, the tenants were informed by the chair of the municipal board of the sales in a meeting called by the tenants association (ibid.). Part of that meeting was also a promise to have an open dialogue on the sales process (ibid.). Since further meetings called by the housing company were merely informational and there was no opportunity to discuss the necessity of the sales process or possible alternatives, the citizens organized themselves and started the initiative *Alby är inte till salu* [Alby is not for sale] with the aim to stop the sales process (ibid.). The protests were originally founded by young residents but soon engaged a heterogeneous group of inhabitants (ibid.). They founded a petition with the aim of having a referendum on the issue (ibid.). The municipality ignored all protests and in spring of 2013 sold the apartments to an investor without even considering the petition (ibid.).

Image 4: Functional separation (own image)

Image 5: Sports facilities (own image)

Image 6: Housing in Albyberget (own image)

8.1.1 Stakeholders

8.1.1.1 Municipality

Since it is the municipality's political leadership that makes the decision whether or not public housing is sold, the municipality is an important stakeholder in the sales process. The political leadership consisted of Social Democrats (who also had the chair of the municipal board), Green Party and Left Party (Statistics Sweden n. y. e and q, Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner 2019). The political constellation has been characterized by a coalition of left-wing parties since 1994 (ibid.). Social Democrats and Left Party have been forming governments until 2018, the Green Party was included in those except for the legislative period between 1998-2002 (ibid.). Bad experiences in former years with so-called slumlords that neglected properties while increasing the rents, led the municipality to look for a socially responsible buyer (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015). The municipality therefore required the potential investor to be farsighted and take responsibility for Alby's future development (Melin 2013). Legally however, municipalities do not have tools to ensure the social commitment of potential buyers. Even just ensuring that the buyer cannot resell the housing quickly, which would at least ensure that quick turnovers are averted, is not possible (Interviewee A, 2020). However the municipality can enforce regulations according to the building code to make sure that future owners ensure safety standards and other regulations so that neglect by the new property owners is averted (Boverket 2018). Planners with the municipality argued that the sale of the housing was in line with wishes expressed by the citizens in earlier dialogue forums where some residents stated that they would like to see a greater variety in housing

models in the area, apart from municipally owned housing (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015). However, in the municipality's plan for Alby[27] published in 2009, there is no reference to selling to private investors (Botkyrka Kommun 2009). While privatization by selling to the sitting tenants was an option considered, when in the tenant's best interest, a sale of housing to an investor was not considered at the time (ibid.).

8.1.1.2 Botkyrkabyggen

The municipal housing company Botkyrkabyggen owned around 3.300 housing units in Alby in 2012 (Botkyrkabyggen 2013). They decided in September 2012 that 1.300 units of those apartments located in Albyberget would be sold, which was based on a decision by the municipality in June of the same year (ibid.). The housing company argued that a sale would secure future finances along with giving the possibility to renovate the 80% of their apartments that were built as part of the Million Homes Program (ibid.). Any other options to finance the needed refurbishments were not taken into account since they would burden either the company, the municipality or the tenants with costs they were not able to sustain (ibid.).

As the municipal housing company was a very important actor in the sales process, they were contacted with an interview request for this master thesis. Unfortunately as the leadership of the company has changed since 2013, they were not willing to lead an interview concerning the sales process.

8.1.1.3 Citizens

The citizens organized themselves in a protest campaign, which was formed "by a hand full of youngsters and two instructors employed at a youth recreation center in Alby" (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015. 104). They formed the initiative *Alby är inte till salu* [Alby is not for sale] with the aim of stopping the sales process and were prepared to work with the municipality to find alternative funding options for the renovations (ibid.). The protesters perceived ad-hoc dialogues called for by the municipality as being aimed at silencing their protest and convincing them of the necessity of the sale rather than an open dialogue on the issue as was promised to them (ibid.). The municipality's aim of attracting richer inhabitants from outside made them feel unwelcome (Afram et al. 2013). Their lived realities seemed to count less in the eyes of the municipality than the expected capital influx (ibid.). When trying to meet the possible investors at a site visit, they were met by police and hindered from engaging (Melin 2013). Around 15 people trying to hand out cinnamon buns to the investors and engaging in dialogue about housing policy and the inhabitants' concerns, were met by heavy police force including several buses and a helicopter (ibid.). The organizers of the *Alby är inte till salu* petition pointed out that the secrecy around the sale and the late or lacking information from the municipality amplified concerns amongst inhabitants (ibid.).

The initiative *Alby är inte till salu* [Alby is not for sale] can be qualified as a 'new social movement' as described by Schierup et al. (2018) following Fraser (2013). Such 'new social movements' struggle for emancipation by revealing power asymmetries and uncovering the incongruous nature of social protection by the state "and the oppressive effects of uncontrolled markets" (Schierup et al. 2018. 1840).

The practices of the initiative can be interpreted as insurgent, following García-Lamarca's (2017) definition:

> "I define insurgent practice as a collective socio-spatial and political nexus of actions, consisting of both doings and sayings that enact equality and disrupt the dominant production of space, creating possibilities to generate new urban meanings and relations contrary to institutionalized ones and against the interests of dominant powers" (ibid. 41).

---

[27] See chapter 7.2.3 Vision for Alby

As modes of oppression are made visible by challenging the normative production of space, new identities are created (ibid.). Through insurgent practices the fundamental discrepancies of the existing order are made visible and equality is actively taken (ibid.). As paths and possibilities previously not foreseen are made visible, insurgent practices actively propose a different future, rather than being reactive (ibid.).

8.1.1.4 Investor

In February 2013 interested buyers for the housing stock in Albyberget were found, amongst them Mitt Alby who in June 2013 bought the housing for 700 million SEK, which corresponds to 65,2 million Euro (Tahvilzadeh and King 2015). The deal between the municipal housing company and the investor was signed before the petition by the citizens was even considered (ibid.). Mitt Alby is part of the Hembla group, which manages and develops rental properties throughout the Greater Stockholm area. On their webpage they claim to put the needs of their tenants first (Hembla AB n. y. a). Their business model is based on buying mostly housing built during the Million Homes Program at low prices and renovating them (Hembla AB n. y. c). "The company's business concept is to own property portfolios slated for a grudual [sic] renovation of apartments in conjunction with the natural turnover of tenants" (Hembla AB n. y. b). This citation from the group's website shows how the renovation of Million Homes Program housing and the ensuing gentrification has become a lucrative business model[28].

---

[28] For details on Gentrification see chapter 4.1 'Soft' Urban Renewal

8.2 Justice and Alby

This chapter's interpretation of justice is based on Rawls' interpretation of justice as benefiting those least advantaged as well as Fainstein's multi-cultural approach to justice. The sales process of housing in Alby can therefore not be characterized as just, neither in process nor outcome. The process was characterized by the municipality ignoring those least advantaged, in this case the inhabitants of the housing stock to be sold off. By starting of with identifying the sale as the only economically viable option, the process was closed to the inhabitants from the beginning. Many researchers call for more participation or more open planning processes in other ways with the aim of making processes more just. But the Alby case shows that existing channels for participation might not be used when under pressure (cf. Tahvilzadeh and Kings 2015). They did therefore not ensure a more just process. But even if activated, channels of participation might not have led to a more just process, as Campbell (2006) underlines. She criticizes participation processes for ruling out disagreement as being unreasonable. "Justice is therefore based on the premise that what is reasonable (and just) is determined by the nature of the process of public reasoning, a process that, if reasonable and based on legitimately executed dialogue, will lead to agreement" (Campbell 2006. 97). Such a reasoning of justice silences opposing viewpoints, which most likely would most affect those least advantaged, for their viewpoints are the ones easiest to silence. Regarding the outcome, Fainstein (2009 a) underlines that justice at the urban level can only be achieved with support from other levels. For the Alby case and more generally for public housing in the Swedish context that means by implication, that the reduction of government subsidies for public housing as well as the requirement for housing companies to generate a normal rate of return has made it more difficult to achieve a just outcome of the housing question.

So what could or should have been done differently in the Alby case?
The neoliberalization of the Swedish public housing system with its focus on rates of return rather than its core responsibility of the provision of affordable housing, has brought the aims of public and private housing provision closer together. While within the system of rent negotiation cross-financing of renovations through higher rents in more attractive locations is not possible, selling of housing stocks seems to be the only option, if raising the rents is not possible or desired. However, selling the housing stocks to private housing providers is not going to prevent raises of rents, since private owners are even more focused on return-rates. The process could have become more just by a truly open and result oriented discourse between the inhabitants and the municipally owned housing company. Such a process, focused on creating understanding of the position of the respective other side rather than forced consensus and thereby silencing of the inhabitants, might have been an option, if chosen from the beginning. This would also be in line with the aforementioned calls by the inhabitants for a more transparent process and less secrecy from the municipality's side. However for such a process to be viewed as legitimate and non-silencing by the inhabitants it would be important to manage expectations from the beginning. The municipality would therefore have to clearly communicate to what extent the inhabitants' inputs will be influencing the decision. It seems that in the current system of public housing provision a more just outcome would not have been possible, due to the restrictions housing companies are subject to. Therefore if more just outcomes are to be achieved in the future, the public housing system in Sweden needs changes. Serving developer's economic interests in the name of competitiveness not only ignores the needs of those least advantaged but rather happens at their expense. While this may be an unpopular call in times of neoliberalization and reduction of state involvement, publicly owned housing companies should go back to their original responsibility of providing affordable housing if more just outcomes are to be achieved. The municipalities can and should be held to a different standard than private housing companies, since the wellbeing of their constituents should be their aim, rather than profit making. Changes such as proposed here will most likely only happen if larger changes to the Swedish public housing system are put in place.

9 Methodology

9.1 Case Study

A case is a phenomenon within definable boundaries (Yazan 2015). A case study enables the researcher to investigate „a real-life contemporary phenomenon in its natural context" (Wahyuni 2010. 72). "The classic case study focuses on single entities—an individual, organization, decision, community, and the like. […] The evaluations distinguish between context and phenomenon, whereby the subject of evaluation may be considered the phenomenon of interest and the surrounding events its context" (Yin and Davis 2007. 77f.). Building on Merriam (1998) Yazan (2015) underlines the case study's particularistic nature, meaning its focus on a particular event, situation or phenomenon. Ideally a case study involves multiple methods to collect both qualitative and quantitative data, which are to be analyzed predominantly qualitatively (Wahyuni 2010). Collecting primary as well as secondary data helps the researcher to collect more comprehensive relevant data, enhancing the validity of the findings (ibid.). A critical case is one "in which the social phenomena being observed are some critical events that cause the research questions asked to become important" (ibid. 73). The case of privatization of housing in Alby, Botkyrka can therefore be considered as critical. The privatization and the ensuing protests as well as the urgent need for affordable housing in Sweden[29] makes the research questions important.

9.2 Semi-Structured Interview

In their cross-sectional study Kallio et al. (2016) found that previous knowledge of the research topic is necessary in order to conduct successful semi-structured interviews. In order to be able to discuss the topics in depth and pose follow-up questions literature studies and reviews can be helpful (ibid.). A combination with empiric knowledge enables a more nuanced understanding (ibid.). The formulation of an interview guide is directly based on the findings of the previous research as well as closely connected to the research questions to be answered overall (ibid.). The interview guide helps directing the interview in a flexible manner in order to obtain the necessary knowledge while being able to adapt to the interviewee's answers (ibid.). This enables a dialogue between interviewer and interviewee (ibid.). The questions in the interview guide should be participant oriented, not leading and clearly worded (ibid.). Using open-ended questions provides the option of the interviewee to provide new ways of seeing and understanding the topic (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). In order to capture the answers recording the interview is helpful, of course only to be applied with the interviewee's permission (ibid.). By recording the interviewer is not distracted by taking notes (ibid.). The transcript should then be used for analysis (ibid.).

---

[29] See chapter 3 Housing as a commodity or Right to Housing

9.3 Expert Interview

The expert interview aims at generating data from the expert's exclusive knowledge[30] of problem solution (Pfadenhauer 2009). In order to gain access to the expert's knowledge the interview should neither be interrogation like nor too non-directional but rather "create a communication situation with which he is familiar, that is to conduct a quasi-normal conversation" (Pfadenhauer 2009. 84). Bogner and Menz (2009) classify expert interviews in three different types: exploratory, systematizing, and theory generating. Exploratory expert interviews help the researcher structure his or her research, give orientation in the field in question or help generate hypotheses (ibid.). The systematic expert interview focuses on unearthing knowledge of action and experience, or more generally specialized knowledge, which is not accessible to the researcher (ibid.). The researcher conducting the theory-generating interview is aiming at conceptualizing the implicit stores of knowledge the expert possesses (ibid.).

Expert interviews can be a means to quickly gather good results (Bogner et al. 2009). A common scientific background and a shared understanding of the (social) relevance of the research between expert and researcher can lessen the need for justification (ibid.). While there is less need to justify and explain between an expert and the quasi-expert interviewer at the same time there is also no competitive pressure as would appear between experts of the same field (Pfadenhauer 2009). The expert's awareness of his or her scientific and/or political relevance to the field and an interest in sharing one's knowledge and thoughts with an external expert will increase the expert's willingness to participate in the research (Bogner et al 2009).

However the lack of standardization and quantification of data leads to the criticism that the results are too impressionistic while at the same time being too narrow to bring out relevant structures due to being guided by the interviewer (Bogner and Menz 2009).

Bogner et al. (2009) find that interviewing experts can lead to a broader access to the respective field, as they tend to hold key positions and are well connected with other experts within the field. Having the backing of an expert might facilitate access to an extended group of experts (ibid.).

With regards to the interviewer Bogner and Menz (2009) find that with expert interviews it might be fruitful to explicitly state one's own views on relevant issues rather than staying neutral and empathetic as would be the ideal (ibid.). As the expert is used to taking controversial positions and defending them, such a stance would not inhibit the interviewee from speaking (ibid.). As the expert knows that the interviewer already has made detailed studies and formed an opinion, staying neutral would not be credible (ibid.).

9.3.1 Framing Expertise

However expert interviews can be viewed as problematic (Bogner et al. 2009 provide an overview over different debates) as the framing of who is an expert and their role in democratic decision-making processes have become challenged over the past decades (Bogner et al. 2009). Meuser and Nagel (2009) point out that the framing of who can be considered an expert is an important methodological step for the researcher. Citing Walter (1994. 271) who gives the definition of an expert in the following way: "a person is attributed as expert by virtue of his role as informant" (cited in Meuser and Nagel 2009. 18). The authors point out that such a definition is too broad as anyone can inform the researcher as an expert on their own life, which would render the distinction between expert interview and ethnographic or narrative interview mute (ibid.). Bogner and Menz (2009) characterize an expert as someone who is hegemonial in his or her field of action and therefore structures the conditions of action for others. Hitzler (1994) defines the expert as someone who has an overview over specialist knowledge and how those fields of knowledge relate to each other. The expert is therefore knowledgeable of problem's causes and problem solving strategies

---

[30] For more on how expert knowledge is framed see chapter 9.3.1 Framing Expertise

(cited in Pfadenhauer 2009). However as the way of knowledge production is changing and taking place within wider transdisciplinary contexts, the role of the expert changes (Meuser and Nagel 2009). While local expertise and knowledge created outside the traditional forms of knowledge production become more important, the traditional expert however does not become obsolete but his knowledge is complemented by new ways of producing knowledge (ibid.). By Meuser and Nagel's (2009) understanding being an expert is no longer uniquely tied to obtaining knowledge in an institutional context (such as a university) but is extended to those who actively participate in analyzing and/or solving societal problems. The new expert's roles may very well be institutionalized and their work can vary in scope from local to international (e. g. NGOs) (ibid.). As the different forms of knowledge come together, the boundaries between systematic knowledge and everyday experience are blurred and experts become more aware of "the context within which their knowledge has to prove itself as useful" (Meuser and Nagel 2009. 25). Considering the forms of knowledge an expert has, Meuser and Nagel (2009) identify a mixture between non-explicit and practical knowledge as it is connected to habitual ways of decision-making. They therefore recommend an open interview guided by a topic outline (ibid.). This allows room for the expert's outlooks and reflections and to go beyond officially accepted standards and semi-official statements (ibid.). While the authors discourage an interview type that is too narrative, they acknowledge that narrative parts can be useful to reveal relevant structures and other practical knowledge, which would not be the case when the interviewee is asked directly (ibid.).

Bogner and Menz (2009) characterize knowledge in three different types: technical knowledge, process knowledge and interpretive knowledge. The first encompasses rules, application of routines and bureaucratic competences. (ibid.) When it comes to the question of expertise, within this form of knowledge it can be most easily be distinguished between expert knowledge and everyday knowledge "because it [referring to expert knowledge] is more systematic and more specific in its content" (Bogner and Menz 2009. 52). Process knowledge is based in practical experience of actions, interactions and events. Interpretive knowledge is constituted of "the expert's subjective orientations, rules, points of view and interpretations, which suggest a picture of expert knowledge as a heterogeneous conglomeration" (ibid.).

9.4 Skype Interview

Conducting interviews via Skype or other videoconference platforms can be a useful tool in order to overcome geographical dispersion and physical mobility boundaries (Hanna 2012, Deakin and Wakefield 2014, Janghorban et al 2014). Skype gives the option to either use an audio- or video call (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). While with video calls more technical difficulties such as the video getting stuck can occur, audio calls resemble traditional phone interviews (ibid.). The included chat option can replace the spoken word when technical difficulties in the audio-connection arise (ibid.). While initially not questioning that face-to-face interviews were the most appropriate mode of interviewing, Holt (2010) in her research found that telephone interviews might in some cases be even more appropriate. This especially applies to interviews where sensitive issues are addressed (ibid.). However she also found that the lack of non-verbal clues in the telephone interview created a need to explicitly direct conversation (ibid.). A videoconference as opposed to a traditional call enables interviewer and interviewee to react to non-verbal cues (Janghorban et al. 2014). However this is somewhat limited by the picture frame, as only part of body-language cues are transmitted by the 'headshot' view of the counterpart (ibid.). Another disadvantage is that the interviewer does not have the opportunity to create a comfortable environment and interviewees feeling more uncomfortable being filmed (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). I would argue however that if the interviewees are in a less formal environment such as their home or office they might feel more comfortable than when the interview takes place at an unknown place or in an unfamiliar setting. While Deakin and Wakefield (2014) found that distractions could arise in home or work settings, Holt (2012) found that interviews via the telephone enabled interviewees to switch locations within the home and escape distractions while this was not

as easily done during face-to-face interviews. Overall it can be said that within online interviews it is up to the interviewee to choose a suitable location. Deakin and Wakefield (2014) in their respective research fields found that the more flexible timing of online interviews as opposed to face-to-face interviews made more participants able to join. The same time flexibility posed a problem for Christmann (2009) as the last minute schedule changes affected the research team's ability to keep the research schedule. Holt (2010) reports similar findings, adding that rescheduling at the last minute became more feasible and less costly time- and effort wise.

9.4.1 Anonymity and true self

The possibility of being more anonymous during a Skype interaction was also appealing to some participants, as their Skype contact information did not include any personal information (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). However the virtual personality might differ from the corporeal one and if so those two should not be confused (ibid.). The question of the 'authentic self' of the interviewee however is one that is encountered by interviewers both online and face-to-face. In her literature review Sullivan (2012) comes to the conclusion that online interactions can in some cases allow participants to reveal more of their true self for a lack of social constraints while others use the opportunity to create a new self.

9.4.2 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations when doing online interviews as opposed to ones in person include getting consent. While this would be done via a signature during a face-to-face interview, Deakin and Wakefield (2014) suggest a written exchange in order to get consent before the video interaction started. In addition to that it is very important to make sure that interviewees are aware of being recorded (ibid.). While having a recording device at hand during a face-to-face interview will make the interviewee more aware of the fact that they are recorded (ibid.) Hanna (2012) found that recording during Skype interviews overcomes issues of practicability such as difficulties hearing during transcription or battery life.

9.4.3 Application

The interviews were conducted via video technology mainly for reasons related to the worldwide health situation in early 2020. As it was not possible to travel to Sweden in order to conduct interviews or do other in-situ research, the interviews informing this master thesis were conducted online. First contact with the interviewees was made via mail, where the reason for the research was outlined. After initial agreement to doing the interview, the interview outline[31] was also sent in order for the interviewees to be able to prepare for the interviews. For interview A the interviewee who had initially agreed to do the interview reconsidered but gave the contact information of the final interviewee. After agreeing to the interview as outlined, the interviewees were sent a consent form giving them the options to choose in which way the interview could be recorded. The options to choose from were the interviewer taking notes, making an audio recoding or a video recording. It was made clear that the data collected was only to be used as part of this master thesis. After the interview was being conducted and the recordings transcribed using *Exmaralda Partitur Editor* the interviewee was sent the transcript and given the opportunity to revise or clarify statements. Only once the interviewee had approved of the transcript, the information gathered was incorporated into the text.

---

[31] See 17 Appendix I - Interview Outline I Public Housing Sweden and 18 Appendix II - Interview Outline II Swedish Researcher to read the outlines

9.5 Newspaper Content Analysis

Researchers across the humanities and social sciences use newspapers as a resource to research social, political and cultural trends (Deacon 2007). "A text corpus is the representation and expression of a community that writes. […] [T]exts contain records of events, values, rules and norms, entertainment, and traces of conflict and argument" (Bauer 2011 b. 5 referring to Bauer 2011 a). Content analysis may be used to construct indices, which is to say that the coverage of a certain topic along with the contents of those reports can indicate its standing in society (Bauer 2011 b). Searching digital databases can facilitate research, especially when looking for specific key words (Deacon 2007). However in the search for key words or phrases, researchers have to be aware of possible distortion of data (ibid.). 'False positives' can occur when words have several meanings (ibid.). When words or terms were not used before a specific event or in earlier decades, this phenomenon is referred to as 'false negatives' as articles referring to the same event using other key words or phrases will not be found (ibid.). Deacon (2007) therefore concludes that searching for tangible 'things' such as persons, places, events or policies is more fruitful while searching for abstract concepts will bear too many errors to solely rely on keyword searches.

Content analysis uses units of analysis in order to choose samples of texts. Analysis units can be varying in size. Citing Graneheim and Lundman (2004) Elo and Kyngäs (2008) recommend using whole interviews which are long enough to be considered entirely but short enough to be kept in mind as a context during the analysis process. In inductive analysis, the content of the chosen material is coded, grouped and categorized in order to achieve the abstraction necessary to describe the phenomenon under observation (Elo and Kyngäs 2008).

9.5.1 Application

Newspaper Content Analysis was applied in order to get a deeper understanding of public views of the Alby case. A first review of articles from 2012-13 which were available online in April of 2019 showed that several newspapers had archived articles behind a pay wall or were not accessible online any more at all. In order to get access to archived newspaper articles, the Kungliga Biblioteket or national library of Sweden was visited, where newspaper articles dating back as far as 1645 can be found (Kungliga Biblioteket n. y.). The articles of interest were available digitalized and could be studied in situ. A keyword search for 'Alby' in the period from summer of 2012 and autumn of 2013 was conducted throughout Swedish Newspapers. As the search was limited to a 'tangible place' (cf. Deacon 2007) it was deemed appropriate to solely rely on a key-word search and not additionally conduct manual searches. Such an analysis can be classified as cross-sectional (cf. Bauer 2011 b) as several different newspapers were searched to their contents as pertaining to Alby in general and the case of the housing privatization and the connected protests more specifically. The results of the content analysis were mainly used to inform the section on the inhabitants as actors in the process of the housing sale.

10 Analysis

This chapter will bring together and tie in the content of the previous chapters through an analysis. This will be structured following the research questions outlined in the introduction.

How has Swedish housing policy changed over the last decades?

- *Which processes influence housing-questions in Stockholm region?*
- *How are these changes translated in the housing policy of Botkyrka municipality?*
- *How can these changes be characterized?*

10.1 How has Swedish housing policy changed over the last decades?

As the literature research as well as the interview with Public Housing Sweden has shown, Swedish policy overall but in particular housing policy have gone through a process of neoliberalization since the 1990s.

> "A number of things happened in the early 90s (Interviewee A 2020, paraphrased by the author). Financing from the national state was cut (ibid.). As other taxes were lowered, the taxation for building was raised from 4% to 25% (ibid.). Public and private housing companies were for the first time taxed at the same rate (ibid.). All of those factors put together with the financial crisis changed the municipal housing market in Sweden (ibid.).

While initiated by a center-right government, these changes were endorsed by following left-wing governments.

When it comes to housing provision, nation-wide housing programs characterized the decades after the Second World War. Rather than building housing for socially vulnerable parts of society, housing was provided for all parts of society, with the aim of making expenditures more acceptable to the overall public. By opening public housing to everyone, the hope was to encourage a social mix throughout public housing. The most prominent example of such a nation-wide housing program is the Million Housing Program. Between 1965 and 1974 a million new dwellings were built throughout Sweden. By subsidies provided by the national government, mainly municipal housing companies but also private ones and especially during the later years of the program also individuals were encouraged and enabled to build housing. By implementing a scaled system of subsidies where the amount of financial support was conditional on the tenure form, the government forced housing production to be separated by tenure form. This is to say that a subsidized project could only contain one type of tenure e.g. renting or tenant owned housing. By implementing this scale of subsidies the intended social mix for public housing was counteracted and the ground stone for today's social segregation was laid[32].

With the first right wing government since the 1930s coming into power in 1991, the responsibility of welfare provision was shifted from the national state to the local level of municipalities. While municipalities were always responsible for housing provision, they heavily relied on national funding in order to be able to do so. By transferring monetary responsibility from the national to the local level, without a comparable transfer of powers, the national state lost its steering capabilities in housing provision. As housing policies as well as funding are decentralized, the municipalities are left with managing housing, which

---

[32] See chapter 6.3.1 The Million Homes Program 1965-1974 for a detailed account

erodes the logic of social citizenship[33]. Social cohesion is further undermined by promoting a logic of the citizen as self entrepreneur. The lifting of restrictions on the sale of municipal housing in the 90s can be interpreted within the logic of creating markets. By enabling more different actors on the housing market, choices are created and the individual is forced to calculate the own interests and enhance his or her personal capital. By setting higher taxes on renting than on homeownership, the latter is encouraged.

As there are no more national subsidies for housing provision and municipalities are not able to cross-finance the activities of municipal housing companies (MHCs), many of them are struggling with the double financial burden of having to renovate large parts of housing built during the Million Homes Program while at the same time having to build new housing. As building activity was low during the last decades and the population is growing, municipalities especially in metropolitan areas have to build additional housing. One tool to increase funds is selling municipal housing either to sitting tenants or to private investors. Other reasons for privatizing formerly public housing are political ones, which is to say that the political leadership in a municipality might value homeownership over renting and therefore sell public housing. Another would be a monopoly of a MHC in a certain area and the political leadership aiming at achieving a more diverse field of actors and tenure forms in an area.

10.2 Which processes influence housing-questions in Stockholm Region?

Stockholm Region's development is strongly influenced by inter-local competition. With the regional development plan (RUFS 2050) as well as Stockholm's city plan promoting and aiming at an influx of highly educated new inhabitants in the creative and other knowledge-intensive industries, the fear is that the needs of current inhabitants will be neglected. This is in line with an argumentation of becoming more cosmopolitan and attractive as a metropolitan region or a city respectively. While social disparities are acknowledged, the aims to reduce them remain non-specific and intangible. Overall it can be said that the development programs for Stockholm County as well as Stockholm municipality internalize neoliberal policy instruments such as place marketing and Public-Private-Partnerships.

A commodification of social services can be observed. In the respective visions, the region respectively the city becomes a place of experiences. Services such as housing provision are based on a forced freedom of choice in newly created markets. Political aims are expressed as objective realities and are therefore shown as being unquestionable.

Research shows that gentrification is currently mainly an issue in high-income areas and not as much in lower-income neighborhoods. However gentrification due to soft urban renewal might become an issue in the future. With the aim of trying to minimize costs of renovations for tenants, municipal housing companies limit renovation of housing built during the Million Homes Program to a minimum or give tenants the option to choose between renovation options in different price categories. As the example of Vienna shows, such soft urban renewal strategies, while originally aimed at enabling tenants to stay, lead just as much to gentrification. It might not be as visible and fast but it enables gentrification just as much.

---

[33] For details see chapter 2.1 Neoliberalism and the privatization of housing

10.3 How are these changes translated in the housing policy of Botkyrka municipality?

The encouragement of homeownership following neoliberal reasoning as outlined for Sweden throughout can also be observed in Botkyrka municipality. A similar reasoning is also behind the wish for a greater variety of actors on the housing market. By selling municipal housing, the political leadership (ultimately responsible for the sale) aimed at creating new markets. While the Vision for Alby program outlined a possible sale to sitting tenants if it was in their interest, the sale to a private investor however was not publicly discussed. While arguing that the sale would be in the interest of the citizens, their actual opinions were not taken into consideration, neither on the sale in general nor on which parts of housing to sell. While the municipality's political leadership announced to search a socially conscious buyer for the housing stock, the Hembla group – of which the investor is a part – aims at step by step renovating the housing it invests in and thereby replacing the inhabitants by economically stronger ones.

Overall it can be said that the Vision for Alby program is advertising the neighborhood as an investment opportunity. As a competition between urban districts and neighborhoods is perceived, the municipality is aiming at attracting investors as well as new inhabitants. By promoting creativity to create workspaces, Alby is trying to attract a creative class as new inhabitants as well as investors. Overall it can be said that the left-wing government, which has governed Botkyrka Municipality since the mid 1990s has fully embraced neoliberal agendas. While former changes to housing in Botkyrka were still aimed at improving the living conditions for the current inhabitants, current plans as well as the sale of housing in Alby show that the political leadership embraced a shift from housing provision as an instrument of social welfare provision to managing the housing stock.

10.4 How can these changes be characterized?

Overall it can be said that the hypothesis guiding this thesis, that Swedish housing policy has gone through a process of neoliberalization can be confirmed. While it was a center-right government that initiated this process, the political left has, continually since the 1990s embraced this neoliberalization. By applying neoliberal market-logics to housing provision and deferring financing of housing provision to the local level without giving municipalities the tools to finance housing directly, the national state has lost its handle over its social role in this context. As politics on the national level embrace neoliberal ideas inter-local relations are being "remade in competitive, commodified, and monetized terms, with far-reaching consequences for local political conditions and regulatory settlements (whether neoliberal or not)" (Peck and Tickell 2002. 385). Neoliberalization engenders competition on the local level, social and environmental standards are cut to that end and collectivities erode as a consequence (ibid.). Neoliberalism's deconstruction of –within its logic– anti-competitive institutions legitimized the newly formed competitive inter-local relations (ibid.).

> "In the asymmetrical scale politics of neoliberalism, local institutions and actors were being given responsibility without power, while international institutions and actors were gaining power without responsibility: a form of regulatory dumping was occurring at the local scale" (ibid. 386).

While Swedish municipalities always had the responsibility of housing provision, the realization of actually building and maintaining housing was strongly aided by subsidies from the national state up to the early 1990s. The cut of housing subsidies left municipalities with a double burden of having to finance renovations for housing built during the Million Homes Program while at the same time facing a renewed need for affordable housing to be built. As financing housing through tax revenues is not intended within the Swedish system (Interviewee A 2020), formerly public housing, especially in stigmatized suburban areas, in need of renovations has become a lucrative market for private investors. These renovations lead to rising prices for housing, which displaces the inhabitants.

Current discussions regarding housing in Sweden are strongly driven by the current need for housing. While there is a demand for additional housing, especially affordable one, the development in metropolitan areas such as the Stockholm Region clearly shows aspects of 'spatial fixes' as far as high-price developments are concerned.

11 Conclusion and Outlook

"I don't know what will happen next because there are people who are being evicted now and there is no other system left to deal with the homelessness now it has started to be a kind of serious problem and I expect to see some squatting or I don't know different kinds of informality in Sweden too" (Interviewee B 2020).

While Sweden has a reputation for being humanistic, tolerant and egalitarian, in reality the country has gone through a process of neoliberalization. This has strongly affected the housing system. The privatization of municipal housing and the subsequent rise of housing prices due to renovations lead to the displacement of low-income households especially in stigmatized suburbs. The situation is especially dire in and around the big cities such as Stockholm, where spatial and social segregation are especially pronounced. As the interviewee in the above citation expresses, there is no system left to deal with displacement and homelessness.

Municipalities like Botkyrka have internalized neoliberal logic and are creating markets for private investors by selling off municipal housing. Due to this wave of privatizations throughout the country, which has already started in the 1990s and is going on until today, housing built during the Million Homes Program has become a profitable investment opportunity for private real-estate firms.

The current debate in Sweden regarding the need for additional housing focuses on the current lack of (affordable) housing. An excessive building boom could lead to a real-estate bubble if the building activity is not demand-driven but rather constitutes a 'spatial fix' for surplus capital. As municipal housing companies' first aim should be to provide affordable housing to the municipality's inhabitants they are best suited to implement demand-driven building of affordable housing. If Sweden is to return to the egalitarian state it still is in leftist imagination, municipalities need the (financial) tools to deal with the current double burden of financing renovations at the same time as new building activity. Enabling the financing of housing through the tax income municipalities have would seem to be a reasonable and appropriate measure.

Insurgent practices of 'new social movements' such as *Alby är inte till salu* [Alby is not for sale] oppose neoliberal practices of privatization of housing and displacement (amongst a wide range of other topics) and give voice to the lived experiences of young people in stigmatized neighborhoods of which Alby is only one example. Additional research into how these insurgent practices change the perception of space, new symbolisms and practices associated with them is needed. Grounded research building on local knowledge and practice will be needed to give a better understanding of these insurgent practices.

12 Figures

13 Images

14 Maps

15 Tables

16 Sources

Aalbers, M. B. (2008). The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis. *Competition & Change.* 12 (2) p. 148–166

Aalbers, M.B. (2013). Debate on Neoliberalism in and after the Neoliberal Crisis. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 37 (3) p. 1053-1057

Afram, M., Younadam, A., Varas Stancovich, G., Dominguez, E., Morales, T., Rasmussen, Y, (2013). Vi ska spädas ut och integreras. Vi räknas inte. *Aftonbladet* [online] 13.03.2013. available at https://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/a/vmn1yL/vi-ska-spadas-ut-och-integreras-vi-raknas-inte [accessed 22. 05. 2019]

Andersson, R., Magnusson Turner, L., Holmqvist, E. (2010). *Contextualising ethnic residential segregation in Sweden: welfare, housing and migration related policies.* [pdf] Uppsala: Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University

Atkinson, R. (2006). Padding the Bunker: Strategies of Middle-class Disaffiliation and Colonisation in the City. *Urban Studies.* 43 (4) p. 819-832

Baeten, G., Berg, L. D., Lund Hansen, A. (2015). Introduction: neoliberalism and post-welfare nordic states in transition. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography.* 97 (3) p. 209-212

Baeten, G., Westin, S., Pull, E., Molina, I. (2017). Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden. *Environment and Planning A.* 49 (3) p. 631-651

Bauer, M. W. (2011 a). Classical Content Analysis: a Review. In: M. W. Bauer, G. Gaskell. ed. 2011. *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd. p. 132-151

Bauer, M. W. (2011 b). Classical Content Analysis: a Review. *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound,* [pdf] p. 1-22 available through: SAGE research methods <https://methods.sagepub.com/book/qualitative-researching-with-text-image-and-sound/n8.xml> [accessed 02. 04. 2020]

Bell, D., Davoudi, S. (2016). Understanding justice and fairness in and of the city. In: S. Davoudi, D. Bell. ed. 2016. *Justice And Fairness In The City - A multi-disciplinary approach to 'ordinary' cities.* Bristol and Chicago: Policy Press. p. 1-20

Bogner, A., Littig, B., Menz, W. (2009). Introduction: Expert Interviews – An Introduction to a New Methodological Debate. In: A. Bogner, B. Littig, W. Menz. ed. 2009. *Interviewing Experts.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p 1-13

Bogner, A., Menz, W. (2009). The Theory-generating Expert Interview. In: A. Bogner, B. Littig, W. Menz. ed. 2009. *Interviewing Experts.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p 43-80

Botkyrkayggen (2012). *Årsredovisning och koncernredovisning för räkenskapsåret 2011.* [pdf] available at https://www.botkyrkabyggen.se/artikel/arsredovisning-och-hallbarhetsrapport [accessed 03. 04. 2020]

Botkyrkabyggen (2013). *Årsredovisning 2012.* [pdf] available at https://www.botkyrkabyggen.se/artikel/arsredovisning-och-hallbarhetsrapport [accessed 22. 05. 2019]

Botkyrkabyggen (2016)*. Botkyrkabyggens historia.* [online] available at
https://www.botkyrkabyggen.se/artikel/botkyrkabyggens-historia [accessed 03. 04. 2020]

Botkyrka Kommun (2010). *The future of Alby - a Long-term Programme for Sustainable Development.* [pdf] available at https://www.botkyrka.se/bo--bygga/botkyrka-pa-langre-sikt/utvecklingsprogram-per-stadsdel/framtid-for-alby---utvecklingsprogram.html [accessed 24. 03. 2020]

Botkyrka Kommun (2014). *Botkyka's Översiktsplan.* [pdf] available at
https://botkyrka.se/oversiktsplan [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Botkyrka Kommun (2016). *Program För Bostadsförsörjning.* [pdf] available at
https://www.botkyrka.se/bo--bygga/botkyrka-pa-langre-sikt/program-for-bostadsforsorjning.html [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Boverket (2012). *Bostadsbristen ur ett marknadsperspektiv.* [pdf] Boverket. available at
https://www.boverket.se/sv/om-boverket/publicerat-av-boverket/publikationer/2012/bostadsbristen-ur-ett-marknadsperspektiv/ [accessed 14. 04. 2020]

Boverket (2018). *Legislation Planning and Building Act (2010:900) Planning and Building Ordinance (2011:338).* [pdf] Boverket. available at
https://www.boverket.se/en/start/publications/publications/2018/legislation/ [accessed 06. 09. 2020]

Boverket (2019). *Bostäder och platser för ungdomar.* [pdf] Boverket. available at
https://www.boverket.se/sv/om-boverket/publicerat-av-boverket/publikationer/2019/bostader-och-platser-for-ungdomar/ [accessed 06. 09. 2020]

Bradshaw, J., Mayhem, E. (2010). Understanding extreme poverty in the European Union. *European Journal of Homelessness.* 4 (1) p. 171-186

Brenner, N., Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism". *Antipode.* 34 (3) p. 349-379

Brenner, N., Peck, J., Theodore, N. (2010). Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways. *Global Networks.* 10 (2), p. 182-222

Buser, M., Koch, C. (2014): Tales of the Suburbs?—The Social Sustainability Agenda in Sweden through Literary Accounts. in *Sustainability* 6 2014, p. 913-934

Cambridge (2008). *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Campbell, H. (2006). Just Planning: The Art of Situated Ethical Judgment. *Journal of Planning Education and Research.* 26 p. 92-106

Christmann, G. B., (2009). Expert Interviews on the Telephone. In: A. Bogner, B. Littig, W. Menz. ed. 2009. *Interviewing Experts.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p 157-183

Christophers, B. (2013). A Monstrous Hybrid: The Political economy of Housing in Early Twenty First Century Sweden. *New political economy.* 18 (6), p. 885-911

Cele, S. (2015). Childhood in a neoliberal utopia: planning rhetoric and parental conceptions in contemporary Stockholm, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography.* 97(3) p. 233-247

Clark, E., Johnson, K. (2009). Circumventing Circumscribed Neoliberalism: The 'System Switch' in Swedish Housing. In: S. Glynn. ed. *Where the Other Half Lives - Lower Income Housing in a Neoliberal World.* London: Pluto Press. p. 173-194

Cohen, D., Crabtree, B. (2006). *Qualitative Research Guidelines Project.* [online] available at http://www.qualres.org/HomeSemi-3629.html [accessed 16. 04. 2020]

Connolly, J., Steil, J. (2009): Introduction- Finding justice in the city. In: P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J., Novi, I. Olivio, C. Potter and J. Steil. ed 2009. *Searching for the just city - Debates in urban theory and practice*. New York: Routledge. published 2009 by Taylor & Francis e-library p. 1-16

Council of Europe (n.y.). *Municipality of Botkyrka - Intercultural Profil* [pdf] Council of Europe. available at https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/botkyrka#13992120_14031331_True [accessed 24. 03. 2020]

Dataportalen Stockholm (n. y.). *Öppna Data. Dataportalen.* [online] available at https://dataportalen.stockholm.se/dataportalen/?SplashScreen=No [accessed 15. 06. 2020]

Dardot, P., Laval, C. (2013). The New Way of the World - On Neo-liberal Society. Translated from French by E. Gregory. London, New York: Verso

Deakin, H., Wakefield, K. (2014). Skype interviewing: reflections of two PhD researchers. *Qualitative Research.* 14(5) p. 603-616

Deacon, D. (2007). Yesterday's Papers and Today's Technology - Digital Newspaper Archives and 'Push Button' Content Analysis. *European Journal of Communication.* 22(1) p. 5-25

Dikeç, M. (2009): Justice and the spatial imagination In: P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J., Novi, I. Olivio, C. Potter and J. Steil. ed 2009. *Searching for the just city - Debates in urban theory and practice*. New York: Routledge. published 2009 by Taylor & Francis e-library p. 72-88

Dymén, C., Reardon, M. (2013). *The Territorial Dimension of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Europe - Case Study Report Botkyrka, Sweden.* [pdf] ESPON. available at https://www.espon.eu/tipse [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Elo, S., Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing.* 62(1) p. 107–115

European Commission (2013). *Commission Staff Working Document - In-depth review for Sweden in accordance with Article 5 of Regulation (EU) No 1176/2011 on the prevention and correction of macroeconomic imbalances*. [pdf] European Commission. available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A52013SC0124 [accessed 10. 04. 2020]

Fainstein, S. (2009a). Planning and the just city. In: P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J., Novi, I. Olivio, C. Potter and J. Steil. ed 2009. *Searching for the just city - Debates in urban theory and practice*. New York: Routledge. published 2009 by Taylor & Francis e-library p. 19-39

Fainstein, S. (2009b): Spatial Justice and Planning [Justice spatiale et aménagement urbain, translated from french by Philippe Gervais-Lambony] in *justice spatiale | spatial justice* 01 septembre | september 2009

Fine, B., Saad-Filho, A. (2017). Thirteen Things You Need to Know About Neoliberalism. *Critical Sociology.* 43 (4-5) p. 685-706

García-Lamarca, M. (2017). From Occupying Plazas To Recuperating Housing: Insurgent Practices in Spain. *International Journal Of Urban And Regional Research.* 41 (1) p. 37-53

Grundström, K., Molina, I. (2016). From Folkhem to lifestyle housing in Sweden: segregation and urban form, 1930s–2010s. *International Journal of Housing Policy.* 16 (3) p. 316-336

Gullberg, A., Kaijser, A. (2004). City Building Regimes in Post-War Stockholm. *Journal of Urban Technology.* 11 (2), p. 13-39

Hall, T., Vidén, S. (2006). The Million Homes Programme: a review of the great Swedish planning project. *Planning Perspectives,* 20(3), p. 301-328

Hanna, P. (2012). Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: a research note. *Qualitative Research.* 12(2) p. 239-242

Harvey, D. (2001). Globalization and the spatial fix. *Geographische Revue.* 2001 (2) p. 23-30

Harvey, D. (2003). *The new Imperialism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press

Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 610 (1) p. 21-44

Harvey, D. with Potter, C. (2009): The right to the Just City In: P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J., Novi, I. Olivio, C. Potter and J. Steil. ed 2009. *Searching for the just city - Debates in urban theory and practice*. New York: Routledge. published 2009 by Taylor & Francis e-library p. 40-51

Harvey, D. (2019): Does Socialism affect freedom? (January 2019), David Harvey's Anti-Capitalist Chronicles. [Podcast] January 2019. Available at http://davidharvey.org/2018/11/new-podcast-david-harveys-anti-capitalist-chronicles/ accessed 07.05.2019

Hatz, G. (2019). Gentrifizierung durch das Programm der „sanften Stadterneuerung" In: J. Kadi, M. Verlič. ed 2019. *Gentrifizierung in Wien. Perspektiven aus Wissenschaft, Politik und Praxis.* Wien: AK Wien. p. 55-69

Hedin, K., Clark, E., Lundholm, E., Malmberg, G. (2012). Neoliberalization of Housing in Sweden: Gentrification, Filtering, and Social Polarization. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* 102 (2) p. 443-463

Hedman, E. (2008). *A history of the Swedish system of non-profit municipal housing.* [pdf] Boverket - Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning. translated from Swedish by Tolkcentralen Gothenburg and author

Heller, S., Winnberg, B. (2016). *Framework procurements and their effect on the Swedish housing market - An analysis of SABO Kombohus Bas*. Masterthesis. Royal Institute of Technology. available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/nyproduktion/allmannyttans-kombohus/ [accessed 02. 07. 2020]

Hembla AB (n. y. a). *About Hembla.* [online] available at https://www.hemblagroup.se/en/section/about-us/ [accessed 07.5.2019]

Hembla AB (n. y. b). *Financial information.* [online] available at https://www.hemblagroup.se/en/section/financial-information/ [accessed 06. 09. 2020]

Hembla AB (n. y. c). *Properties.* [online] available at https://www.hemblagroup.se/en/properties/ [accessed 06. 09. 2020]

Holmqvist, E., Magnusson Turner, L. (2014). Swedish welfare state and housing markets: under economic and political pressure. *Journal of Housing and the Built environment.* 29 p. 237–254

Holt, A. (2010). Using the telephone for narrative interviewing: a research note. *Qualitative Research.* 10(1) p. 113-121

Hou, J., Knierbein, S. (2017). Shrinking Democracy And Urban Resistance - Toward an Emancipatory Politics of Public Space. In: J. Hou, S. Knierbein. ed 2017. *City Unsilenced: Urban Resistance and Public Space in the Age of Shrinking Democracy.* New York and London: Routledge - Taylor and Francis Group. p. 3-15

Interviewee A (2020). *Interview with Public Housing Sweden*. Interviewed by Bernadette Dannerer. [Microsoft Teams] Salzburg and Stockholm, 19. 05. 2020, 11:00

Interviewee B (2020). *Interview with a Swedish Researcher.* Interviewed by Bernadette Dannerer. [Skype] Vienna and Stockholm, 11. 08. 2020, 11:00

Janghorban, R., Latifnejad Roudsari, R., Taghipour, A. (2014). Skype interviewing: The new generation of online synchronous interview in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being.* 9:24152

Jessop, B. (2006). Spatial Fixes, Temporal Fixes and Spatio- Temporal Fixes. In: N. Castree and D. Gregory. ed. 2006. *David Harvey - A critical reader.* Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell publishing. p. 142-166

Kallio, H., Pietilä, A.-M., Johnson, M., Kangasniemi, M., (2016). Systematic methodological review: developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide. *Journal of Advanced Nursing.* 72(12), 2954–2965

Kungliga Biblioteket (n. y.). *About the collections.* [online] available at https://www.kb.se/in-english/loans-and-services/about-the-collections.html#item-41a6193e416da9cf7d8210a [accessed 02. 05. 2020]

Lantmäteriet (n. y.). *Open Geodata*. [online] available at ftp://download-opendata.lantmateriet.se/ [accessed 15. 6. 2020]

Leonhard, A., Karpestam, P., Hansson, B. (2013). *Are house prices driven by a housing shortage?, Market Report, February 2013.* [pdf] Boverket - Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning. available at https://www.boverket.se/en/start/publications/publications/2013/are-house-prices-driven-by-a-housing-shortage/ [accessed 14. 04. 2020]

Lind, H. (2014). Social housing in Sweden. In: K. Scanlon, C. Whitehead, M. Fernández Arrigoitia eds. 2014. *Social Housing in Europe.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. pp 91-102

Listerborn, C., Molina, I., Richard Å. (2020). Claiming the right to dignity: New organizations for housing justice in neoliberal Sweden. *Radical Housing Journal.* 2 (1) p. 119-137

Melin, M.Q., (2013). Polis hindrade protest i Alby. *Stockholm Direkt - Södra Sidan* [online] 01.03.2013. available at https://www.stockholmdirekt.se/sodra-sidan/polis-hindrade-protest-i-alby/cbbmca!g9npUboHYEcaoxIXDNQHw/ [accessed 22.05.2019]

Meuser, M., Nagel, U. (2009). Experts and Changes in Knowledge Production. In: A. Bogner, B. Littig, W. Menz. ed. 2009. *Interviewing Experts.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p 16-42

OENB (2020). *Euro-Referenz- und Wechselkurse.* [online] available at
https://www.oenb.at/zinssaetzewechselkurse/zinssaetzewechselkurse?mode=wechselkurse
[accessed 30. 04. 2020]

OHCHR (n. y.). *Country profile Sweden.* [pdf] Office of the High Commissioner of Human
Rights. available at https://indicators.ohchr.org/ [accessed 07. 05. 2020]

Palacin, R., Vigar, G., Peacock, S. (2016). Transport poverty and urban mobility. In: S.
Davoudi, D. Bell. ed. 2016. *Justice And Fairness In The City - A multi-disciplinary approach
to 'ordinary' cities.* Bristol and Chicago: Policy Press. p. 69-84

Peck, J., Tickell, A., (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode.* 34 (3). p. 380-404

Pfadenhauer, M. (2009). At Eye-Level: An Expert Interview. In: A. Bogner, B. Littig, W. Menz.
ed. 2009. *Interviewing Experts.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p 81-97

Pittini, A. (2012). HOUSING AFFORDABILITY IN THE EU - Current situation and recent
trends. [pdf] Housing Europe. Available at http://www.housingeurope.eu/resource-
122/housing-affordability-in-the-eu [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

Public Housing Sweden (n. y.). Public Housing Sweden´s Kombohus. [online] available at
https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/in-english/public-housing-swedens-kombohus/ [acessed
04. 07. 2020]

Reckwitz, A. (2004). Die Gleichförmigkeit und die Bewegtheit des Subjekts: Moderne
Subjektivität im Konflikt von bürgerlicher und avantgardistischer Codierung. In: Klein, G. ed.
2004. *Bewegung - Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Konzepte.* Bielefeld: Transcript. p.
155-184

Regeringskansliets rättsdatabaser (2010). *Lag (2010:879) om allmännyttiga kommunala
bostadsaktiebolag.* [online] available at https://lagen.nu/2010:879#R2 [accessed 09. 04.
2020]

Regeringskansliets rättsdatabaser (2017). *Kommunallag (2017:725).* [online] available at
https://lagen.nu/2017:725 [accessed 09. 04. 2020]

Region Stockholm (2018 a). *Kartor i RUFS 2050 - Den regionala bebyggelsestrukturen och
det regionala stomnätet.* [online] available at http://www.rufs.se/kartor/rufs-2050/ [accessed
13. 07. 2020]

Region Stockholm (2018 b). *Kartor i RUFS 2050 - Socioekonomiskt index och spårbunden
kollektivtrafik.* [online] available at http://www.rufs.se/kartor/rufs-2050/ [accessed 13. 07.
2020]

Region Stockholm (2018 c). *RUFS 2050 - Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm
Region.* [online] available at http://www.rufs.se/publikationer/2018/rufs-2050-in-english/
[accessed 12. 07. 2020]

Rojas, H., de Torres Barderi, D. (2018). Botkyrka: From Multiculturalism to Interculturalism.
In: B. White, ed. 2018. *Intercultural Cities - Policies and Practice for a new era*. Palgrave
Macmillan, Cham. pp. 145-180

Ryner, J. M. (2004). Neo-liberalization of Social Democracy: The Swedish
Case. *Comparative European Politics.* 2. p. 97-119

Sabo (n.y.). *Public housing in Sweden*. [online] available at https://www.sabo.se/in-
english/public-housing-in-sweden/ [accessed 29.4.2019]

Sabo (2013). *Rent setting in Sweden*. [online] available at
https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/in-english/rent-setting-in-sweden/ [accessed 29.4.2019]

Sabo (2017). *The Public Housing Sector Moving Towards 2030 – A Concept Programme*. [online] available at https://s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/sabo.se/protected/The_public_housing_sector_m oving_towards_2030.pdf?X-Amz-Content-Sha256=UNSIGNED-PAYLOAD&X-Amz-A lgorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAJUSUSBBBJXNMHVUQ %2F20190429%2Feu-central-1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20190429T1720 12Z&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Expires=3900&X-Amz-Signature=fe59adda b2456a8969ca4e7e2ee5d5c01bbcb9a668bd2165099059ab2dfebf10 [accessed 29.4.2019]

Schierup, C. U., Ålund, A. (2011). The end of Swedish Exceptionalism? Citizenship, neoliberalism and the politics of exclusion. *Race and Class.* 53 (1) p. 54-64

Schierup, C. U., Ålund, A., Kings, L. (2014). Reading the Stockholm riots – a moment for social justice?. *Race and Class.* 55(3) p. 1-21

Schierup, C. U., Ålund, A., Neergaard, A. (2018). "Race" and the upsurge of antagonistic popular movements in Sweden. *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* 41 (10) p. 1837-1854

Schoenberger, E. (2004). The Spatial Fix Revisited. *Antipode.* 36 (3) p. 427-433

Sernhede, O., Thörn, C., Thörn, H. (2016). The Stockholm Uprising in Context: Urban Social Movements in the Rise and Demise of the Swedish Welfare- State City. In: M. Mayer, C. Thörn and H. Thörn ed. 2016. *Urban Uprisings - Challenging Neoliberal Urbanism in Europe.* London: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 149-173

SL (2020). *Köpa Biljett - Periodbiljetter.* [online] available at https://sl.se/sv/kop-biljett/#/periodbiljett [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

SL (n. y. a). *Sök resa - från Norsborg till T-Centralen.* [online] available at https://sl.se/#/Travel/SearchTravelById/Norsborg%20(Botkyrka)/T-Centralen%20(Stockholm)/9280/9001/null/depart/sv/null/null/2,8,1,4,96,/null/null/null/null/null/ false/null/0/0/null/false/0/,0/0/,0/normal/Sl [accessed 08. 07. 2020]

SL (n. y. b). *Sök resa från Rönninge till T-Centralen.* [online] available at https://sl.se/#/Travel/SearchTravelById/R%C3%B6nninge%20(Salem)/T-Centralen%20(Stockholm)/9523/9001/null/depart/sv/null/null/2,8,1,4,96,/null/null/null/null/null/ false/null/0/0/null/false/0/,0/0/,0/normal/Sl [accessed 08. 07. 2020]

Smith, N. (2002). New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. *Antipode.* 34 (3) p. 427-450

Speak, S., Kumar, A. (2016). Fit and miss-fit: the global spread of urban spatial injustice In: S. Davoudi, D. Bell. ed. 2016. *Justice And Fairness In The City - A multi-disciplinary approach to 'ordinary' cities.* Bristol and Chicago: Policy Press. p. 107-123

Statistics Sweden (n.y. a). *Average age of the population by region, sex and year.* [online] available at http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101B/Befol kningMedelAlder/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. b). *Disposable income for households by region, type of household, age, observations and year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__HE__HE0110__HE0110G/Ta b4bDispInkN/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 14. 4. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. c). *Expenditures per household (0-79 year) by region, type of expenditure, observations and year*. [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__HE__HE0201__HE0201A/HUTutgift6/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 28. 6. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. d). *Genomsnittlig årshyra per lägenhet, kr efter region, nybyggår/värdeår, årsintervall, lägenhetstyp och år*. [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/sv/ssd/START__BO__BO0406__BO0406A/Bhudef1ny/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 14. 04. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. d). *Governing parties by region, observations and period.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0002__ME0002A/ME0002KnP01/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 14. 04. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. f). *Land area in hectares by region, type of ownership and every fifth year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__MI__MI0803__MI0803D/MarkagandeRegionAgar/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 31. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. g). *Land ownership by region and ownership category. Every fifth year 2010 - 2015.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__MI__MI0803__MI0803D/MarkagandeRegionAgar/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. h). *Number of dwellings by region, type of building and period of construction. Year 2013 - 2018.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BO__BO0104/BO0104T02/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. i). *Number of dwellings by region, type of building, tenure and year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BO__BO0104/BO0104T04/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. j) *Number of dwellings by region, type of building, type of ownership and year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BO__BO0104__BO0104D/BO0104T03/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 20. 6. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. k). *Percentage of households by region, type of housing, household size and year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__HE__HE0111/HushallT26/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 08. 07. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. l). *Population by region, age and year.* [online] available at http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101A/BefolkningNy/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 25. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. m). *Population by region, marital status, age and sex. Year 1968 - 2019.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101A/BefolkningNy/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 05. 08. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. n). *Population in localities, by type of dwelling, by region by region, type of dwelling, observations and every fifth year.* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__MI__MI0810__MI0810B/BefT atortTypBostReg/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 30. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. o). *Residential buildings by region, type of building, observations and every fifth year* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__MI__MI0803__MI0803B/Bosta dsbyggnad/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 31. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. p). *Residential buildings by region and type of building 2010 - 2016* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__MI__MI0803__MI0803B/Bosta dsbyggnad/ [accessed 30. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. q). *Seats in Municipal Councils by region, party and election year* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0104__ME0104A/Kf mandat/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 31. 03. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. r). *Seats in regional council by region, party and election year* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0104__ME0104B/Lt mandat/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 30. 08. 2020]

Statistics Sweden (n. y. s). *Seats in the Swedish parliament by party and election year* [online] available at https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0104__ME0104C/Ri ksdagsmandat/table/tableViewLayout1/ [accessed 30. 08. 2020]

Stockholms Data portal (n. y.). *Basområden* [online] available at http://dataportalen.stockholm.se/dataportalen/?SplashScreen=No [accessed 24.04.2019]

Stockholm Stad (2018). *Stockholm City Plan.* [pdf] City Planning Administration. available at https://vaxer.stockholm/tema/oversiktsplan-for-stockholm/ [acessed 08. 07. 2020]

Sullivan, J. R. (2012). Skype: An Appropriate Method of Data Collection for Qualitative Interviews?. *The Hilltop Review.* 6(1) p. 54-60

Sveriges Allmännytta (2019). *Vi är Sveriges Allmännytta - Strategisk agenda 2019–2023.* [pdf] Sveriges Allmännytta. available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/om-sveriges-allmannytta/ [accessed 07. 07. 2020]

Sveriges Allmännytta (n. y. a). *Allmännyttans Kombohus.* [online] available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/nyproduktion/allmannyttans-kombohus/ [accessed 04. 09. 2020]

Sveriges Allmännytta (n. y. b). *Kombohus Bas.* [online] available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/nyproduktion/upphandla-med-flex/kombohus-bas/ [accessed 04. 09. 2020]

Sveriges Allmännytta (n. y. c). *Kombohus Tetris Punkt.* [online] available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/nyproduktion/allmannyttans-kombohus/kombohus-punkt/tetris-punkt/ [accessed 04. 09. 2020]

Sveriges Allmännytta (n. y. d). *Organisation*. [online] available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/om-sveriges-allmannytta/organisation/ [acessed 07.07.2020]

Sveriges Allmännytta (n. y. e). *Sveriges Allmännytta und Kombohus auf Deutsch*. [online] available at https://www.sverigesallmannytta.se/in-english/sveriges-allmannytta-und-kombohus-auf-deutsch/ [accessed 07. 07. 2020]

Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner (2019). *Maktfördelning i kommuner, landsting och regioner 1994 - 2018.* [online] available at https://skr.se/demokratiledningstyrning/valmaktfordelning/valresultatstyren/styreochmaktfordelning19942018.370.html [accessed 29. 04. 2020]

Sveriges Riksdag (n. y.). *Plan- och bygglag (2010:900).* [online] available at https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/plan--och-bygglag-2010900_sfs-2010-900 [accessed 22. 06. 2020]

Tahvilzadeh, N., King, L. (2015). Under Pressure: Invited participation amidst planning conflicts, Conflict in the city: Contested urban spaces and local democracy [ed] E. Gualini,q M. Allegra, J. Morais Mourato, Berlin: jovis Verlag GmbH, 2015, p. 94-111

United Nations (2012). *The right to adequate housing.* [pdf] United Nations. available at https://undocs.org/A/67/286 [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

United Nations (2013). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and the right to non-discrimination in this context.* [pdf] United Nations. available at https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/68/289 [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

United Nations (2014). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, Leilani Farha.* [pdf] United Nations. available at https://www.un.org/ga/search/viewm_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/28/62 [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

United Nations (2017). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context.* [pdf] United Nations. available at https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/34/51 [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

United Nations (2018). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context.* [pdf] United Nations. available at https://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/37/53 [accessed 05. 05. 2020]

Wahyuni, D. (2012). The Research Design Maze: Understanding Paradigms, Cases, Methods and Methodologies. *Journal of Applied Management Accounting Research.* 10 (1) p. 69-80

Yazan, B. (2015). Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake. *The Qualitative Report.* 20 (2) p. 134-152

Yin, R. K., Davis, D. (2007). Adding New Dimensions to Case Study Evaluations: The Case of Evaluating Comprehensive Reforms. *New Directions For Evaluation.* 113 p. 75-93

17 Appendix I - Interview Outline I Public Housing Sweden

Interview A: 19. 5. 2020 in Salzburg and Stockholm

The overall topic of my master thesis is exploring how changes to Swedish housing policy effect lived space.

I found so far that since the early 1990s the burden of financing housing has been shifted from the national state to the municipalities, which do not necessarily have the funds to maintain the existing housing stock and at the same time build the needed new housing.
•   Overall I would like to know which policy changes were the most impactful and challenging ones for municipal housing companies?

As I have also found, many municipalities have privatized at least parts of their former housing stocks and I am especially interested in sales to private investors.
•   Some authors criticize partial sales for leaving the municipal housing companies with the most unattractive parts of their housing stock, making municipal housing an unattractive option for tenants and therefore leaving only inhabitants who do not have a choice, leading to social segregation. Would you agree with that assessment? Which other possibilities do you see?
•   Selling the housing to private investors can lead to a worsening for the tenants due to lack of investment and rising rents, as the landlords try to make as much profit as possible. As a result municipalities even had to buy the housing back from the investors they sold to. How can municipalities ensure that the risk of such practices is minimized? Especially as they cannot control whether the original buyer sells the stock to other investors?

When the municipality I am looking at in more detail sold parts of its housing stock, one of the arguments for it was that there was a lack of funds to renovate and that tenants could not sustain a raise in prices. It has been almost 10 years since changes in Swedish law stating that municipal housing companies have to make a profit.
•   Would you say that these profits are used for needed renovations and new buildings? Or are the profits not significant enough for extensive work?
•   If the savings are not significant enough, what would be an alternative way of financing renovations or the construction of new housing units? Should municipalities be allowed to again cross-finance their housing companies in order to meet housing shortages or to ensure that housing conditions are appropriate and up to date?

Renovations of the housing stock built during the Million Homes Program of the 1960s and 70s is a challenge faced by all municipalities. International examples show that renovation of housing in formerly working- and middle class neighborhoods can lead to rises in prices and can be accompanied by gentrification.
•   Would you see that as a challenge in Sweden and especially neighborhoods in and around large cities?

In the light of a lack of affordable housing especially in urban areas, a fragmented housing market and low production rates, some authors compare the current Swedish housing market to that of the 1930s.
•   Do you see a similar need for new (public) housing or would you say that there is a lack in certain segments or regions?
•   Would you think that the Swedish housing market in its current form can address certain shortages or is there a need for a new concerted national effort to produce affordable housing?

18 Appendix II - Interview Outline II Swedish Researcher

Interview B: 11. 08. 2020 in Vienna and Stockholm

- How are protesters for social justice portrayed in Swedish mainstream Media? For the protests, which are linked to the sales process, I found very positive and informative interviews in local media (Södra Sidan) but how are social struggles especially by young people with maybe a non-swedish family background portrayed in mainstream media?

- The protest I am referring to in my thesis was not successful in its initial aim of preventing the privatization of formerly publicly owned housing. Could the protestor's lack of social capital be viewed as a reason for the 'failure' of protests?

- From what I understood the Swedish term for suburb (especially referring to modernist housing) *förort* has a negative connotation, being used to refer to poorer neighborhoods with higher rates of immigration, a middle-class mainstream disaffiliates itself from. Could you confirm that? And how would such a negative connotation influence public discourse? Is there a different word for affluent suburbs?

- Intertwining of aesthetics with morality: "This, for Bourdieu, is the claiming of a 'monopoly on humanity': it is a means by which the properly human is marked out by its innate ability to appreciate beauty (to have 'taste'): conversely, those lacking this property are lacking in humanity, if not non-human" (Lawler 2005. 439). Inferring from this statement one could say that working-class people living in suburbs built during the million-homes program are viewed by the middle-classes as not having taste and thereby lacking humanity, disparaging their perceived 'choice' of residence. Do renovations to the exteriors of million-program housing help in this regard? Would you think that embellishing housing built during the Million Homes Program can help lessen the middle-classes demeaning?

- "Representations of working-class people are marked by disapproval or disdain, not for the 'objective' markers of their position, but for (what are perceived to be) their identities. Everything is saturated with meaning: their clothes, their bodies, their houses, all are assumed to be markers of some 'deeper', pathological form of identity (…) white working-class people's actions and appearance are made to mean: they are made to indicate signs of ignorance, stupidity, tastelessness. An assumed ignorance and immorality is read off from an aesthetic which is constituted as faulty" (Lawler 2005. 437) → British observation, can the same be said for Sweden? Does housing have an especially marked role in this, as municipal housing built during the Million Homes Program is rather easily recognizable at first glance?

- "So, for Bourdieu, Kant's principle of 'pure taste' is a means by which the middle classes distinguish themselves. Its other – lack of taste – invokes a disgust, which is projected on to their others. These groups – but especially the working class, who are the subject of most attention, and for whom, in any case, such cultural domination matters – are understood in terms of a 'massification'. There is a fundamental opposition, argues Bourdieu, 'between the 'elite' of the dominant and the 'mass' of the dominated, a contingent, disorganized multiplicity, interchangeable and innumerable, existing only statistically (1986: 468). Being constituted as a 'mass', they become the antithesis of individuality, threatening 'to swamp individual thinking and feeling'

(Williams, 1958: 44)" (Lawler 2005. 441). → Do aspects of 'massification' of working-class in Million Homes Program housing also apply in the Swedish context? Can the aversion of multi-family housing and its inhabitants by the middleclass be understood through this lens of 'massification'?