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Socially sustainable housing renovations through co-creative dialogues

- A critical case study of tenant dialogues during the DrottningH project, Helsingborg

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Abstract

*In Sweden processes concerning physical planning have changed and developed in a direction where dialogue has become increasingly important in planning policy and practice (Khakee, 2000). The co-creative dialogue (Adler, 2015) is a way to achieve ambitions to include groups with few resources, counteract political inclusion and actively work towards everyone's right to participate and have influence (Westin and Hellquist, 2015). Furthermore, the co-creative dialogue is important in overcoming the increasing complexity that today's society is faced with and especially in terms of social sustainability (Abrahamsson, 2015b). There is however a growing criticism towards this development, where it has been argued that people who are participating have no real influence (Thörn and Holgersson, 2014). Against this backdrop, the aim of this paper has been to critically examine potential limitations of already framed renovation projects and how co-creative processes can be conducive in improving their practical implementation. A critical qualitative case study has been carried out based on semi-structured interviews with actors involved in the dialogue processes. Documents from the municipality of Helsingborg, the DrottningH project and Helsingborghem are also part of the material. This paper highlights that although steps have been taken by the housing company Helsingborghem to include tenants through dialog, there is still a lot to be done in terms of achieving co-creative dialogue with tenants during renovations, especially when it comes to the extent of renovations. While a number of tenants argues that they have been able to **influence** plans to some extent, many of them at the same time argue that they have not had the chance to **affect** the outcome of the plans. It is concluded that in order to meet the demand for socially sustainable renovation processes, incorporating and handling conflicts through co-creative dialogue should be integrated as an essential part of such processes.*

Keywords: Co-creative dialogue, tenant influence, renovation, social sustainability

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1. Introduction

Background and problem definition

The "Million Programme" is the name of the housing programme implemented in Sweden between 1965 and 1974 that built 1 005 578 units in order to face the housing crisis at the time, and make sure everyone could have a home with good standards at a reasonable price (Boverket, 2018). Municipality owned public housing (Allmännyttan) played an important role in housing construction and 340 000 were built by municipality owned public housing companies (SABO, 2018). Today, many of the "million programme" housing areas are in big need of renovation, as houses are reaching their technical life span. The renovations are well underway and SABO (the Swedish association of Public Housing Companies) estimated in 2009 that 300 000 apartments within allmännyttan were in need of renovation (SABO, 2009). In 2017, they published a continuation of the same report where they concluded that many of the houses from the record years had been renovated, but that 165 000 apartments are still in need of renovation. In monetary terms, the cost of the remaining renovations is estimated to vary between 24- 155 billion Swedish kronor (SEK) depending on the extent of renovations. Sustainable renewal of the million programme housing has thereby become one of the biggest issues in Swedish housing policy (SABO, 2017) and is a question that has been intensively discussed and politicised.

Primarily the discussion has concerned how the renovations should be financed. Due to tax regulations, public housing companies have not put aside funding in specific funds (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015). This means that housing companies are now faced with the problem that what could be considered normal renovation are resulting in excessive rent increases that are politically sensitive and socially unfeasible. While there are examples of

renovation projects that have more moderate rental raises, there are examples such as Norra Kvarngärdet in Uppsala where the housing company StenaFastigheter raised rents with up to 60 % (Westin, 2011). Similar rent raises were suggested in an area called Pennygången in Gothenburg (Thörn, 2012). However, this was met with fierce protests and led to more moderate rent raises.

In the debate today, there is a realisation that the rental raises that are the result of renovation, which at times are forcing people to leave their homes, is a fundamental problem (Baeten et al., 2017). Boverket (2014b) shows that it is especially people with low incomes that are forced to move, and the bigger the measures of renovation are, an increased number of tenants are forced to leave their homes. Furthermore, it shows that this group moves to more stigmatised areas – where social indicators are low. Current renovation projects have in many cases increased residential segregation through what has become known as *renovictions*, a term coined by Heather Pawsey. While it is generally understood that the renovations are indeed needed, it is *how* they are carried out and *the extent* of standard raising measures that is an reoccurring concern among tenants (Boverket, 2014b). This practice needs to be changed, and in terms of legislation, there is currently a report under review that seeks to strengthen the position of tenants during renovation (SOU 2017:33).

As we are increasingly moving towards a network oriented society , ideas of co-creation are often emphasised to promote inclusion, lessen polarisation and compromises between different actors (Abrahamsson, 2015b, Adler, 2015, Castells, 2011). There is a recognition that traditional policy instruments such as legislation, information and economic incentives often are not enough (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015). Instead it is argued that citizens should be actively involved in policy processes in order to build confidence, handle conflicts and agree on how specific issues should be

addresses (Westin and Hellquist, 2015) Widening democracy, where citizens have the possibility to co-create the decisions that concern their everyday life, such as housing, is seen as decisive for social sustainability. Achieving socially sustainable renovations in the million programme areas are arguably too complex in order for a few experts to make the right decisions.

As will be discussed at more length below (see section on conceptual framework) there is a tendency to limit the conceptualisation of social sustainability to welfare provision such as health and safety. This way of conceptualising social sustainability is based on the assumption that the system in place is enough to tackle the complexity inherent in the renovations of the million-programme housing areas. Another way of approaching social sustainability is to conceptualise it so that cooperation, participation and an actual power shift are promoted (Stenberg, 2015). It is a way of conceptualising social sustainability that is more critical towards the system that is currently in place to oversee the renovation of the million programme housing areas. It highlights that the system needs to be severely enhanced in order to appropriately handle renovation processes that incorporates the need for technical upgrades, improved ecological standards and making sure tenants are not forced to move. Through this perspective, dialogue with tenants is important in bringing meaningful change on the terms of the tenants and develop useful tools, urgently needed to combat the complex nature of achieving economic, ecological and social sustainable development in “million programme” housing areas.

However, while the involvement of tenants in redevelopment projects is essential for creating socially sustainable cities, dialogues that take place often fall short and raises several questions. What is the purpose of tenant dialogues in cases where renovation projects are already framed, where what needs to be done has been determined by housing companies? How are the discussions and viewpoints from the tenants collected and used? How is tenant dialogue put into practice and what structures and conflicting aims

are at play? When tenants are not co-creative in decision-making processes concerning renovations, finding answers to these questions is of great importance. In order to do this, there is a need to examine how tenant dialogues are carried out in practice.

Aim and research questions

Therefore, this paper will investigate how the public housing company Helsingborghem has chosen to handle the dialogue with their tenants during a larger renovation process. By critically examining potential limitations of already framed renovation projects, the aim is to highlight how co-creative processes can be conducive in improving their practical implementation in a more socially sustainable way.

This aim will be operationalised by answering the following two questions:

Has participation through dialogues increased the influence of the tenants in terms of housing affordability?

How can the dialogues be democratically enhanced through a co-creative approach?

Delimitations

As discussed by Boverket (2010) the possibilities for tenants to influence could be exercised on a various scales. It can be about the renovation or reconstruction of one's own apartment and the shared spaces. It can be about the design of the outdoor environment and the equipment of the residential area such as meeting rooms and waste management. It can also be a what might be called citizen influence, where tenants have an influence over the more overarching development in the whole city district in relation to the city or the region. In relation to one's housing company, it is primarily in terms of tenant or customer. In the residential area it is primary

as a resident, while in the city district it is primarily as citizen (Boverket, 2010). One could generally say that there are expectations on the tenants to play different roles in regard to ways they should influence. In this paper, the influence is concentrated on the ways that tenants can influence the redevelopment and renovation of their residential areas through dialogues with the municipality and Helsingborghem. Therefore, this thesis is limited to the tenants influence over the development in their residential area. Specifically, this thesis has chosen to focus on the renovations undertaken on Grönkullagatan 9,11,13 in the city district called Drottninghög in Helsingborg. (See figure 1).

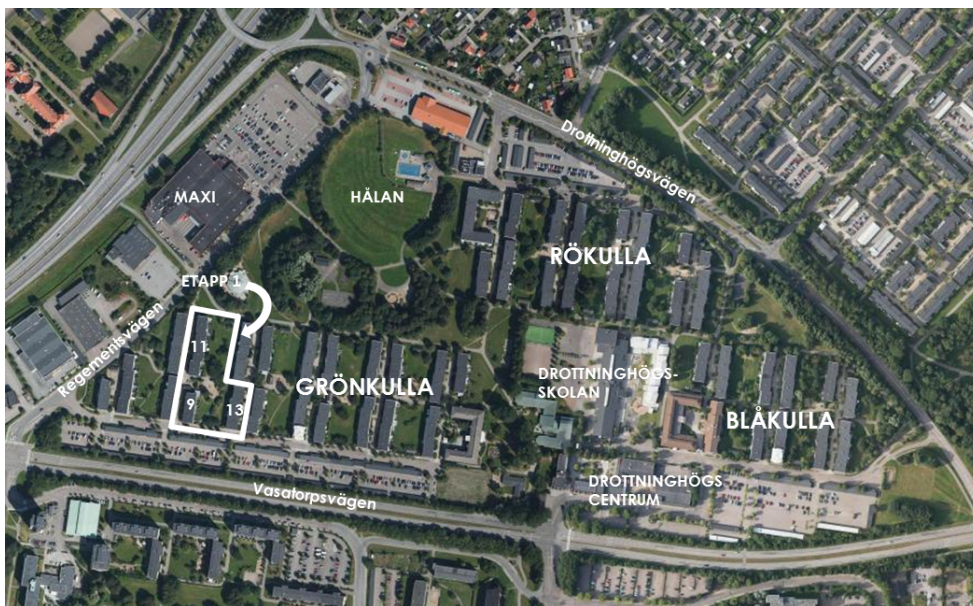


Figure 1: Map of phase one, Grönkullagatan 9,11,13

This area is the first stage of the renovation processes and therefore provides an interesting vantagepoint regarding different dialogue initiatives by Helsingborghem. Boverket (2010) discusses that tenant influence can schematically be divided into three different levels, *political goal*, the *arena* on which the influence is played out and which the main *actors* are in relation to the tenant. In relation to the dialogue a goal has been to increase participation, the arena has been set to the residential area Grönkullagatan

9,11,13 and the main actors that have been the focus in this thesis has been the municipality and Helsingborg. However, as this paper will show, when it comes to the dialogue concerning the renovation process Helsingborg has been the main actor, as representatives from Helsingborg has emphasised that while it is important to cooperate with the municipality, they as a housing company have to “own their process” when it comes to the actual renovation (Boverket, 2016).

Relevant legislation

Regarding the ways in which tenants can influence, it is also important to outline relevant legislation. In the legislation on public housing companies, also called *Allbolagen*, public housing companies should give tenants the possibility to tenant influence (boendeinflytande) and influence in regard to the company (Lag (2010:879)). This is because the government considers that influence over one’s own housing and even in the housing company is a part of the allmännyttiga (for the public good) purpose. *Allbolagen* (2010:879) states that: “By public municipal housing company, this law refers to a limited company in which a municipality or several municipalities jointly have the controlling influence over and acts for purposes of public interest:

1. In its activities, mainly manage properties in which apartments are leased with tenancy,
2. Promotes housing supply for all in the municipality, or municipalities in which it operates, and
3. offers tenants the possibility of housing influence and influence in the company” Lag (2010:879), My translation.

When it comes to tenant influence during renovations, the housing company needs the approval from tenants according to Swedish tenancy act. If the housing company want to perform standard enhancement measures that has an effect on the use-value (bruksvärdet) or which causes a significant change of the apartment, they must be approved by the affected tenants. In the case of common parts, approval of at least half of the tenants is required. If tenants do not give their approval, the housing company can apply for permission at the rent tribunal and still carry out the proposed measures. The idea then is that the Rent Tribunal shall then weigh the property owner's interest in carrying out the measures against the interests of the renters why it should not be carried out. It is only if there are special reasons that individual circumstances may be considered.

Through the *Planning and Building Act*, residents have the right to influence over plan changes. When a new overview plan is drawn up, the municipality will consult with various actors concerned by the proposal. Before the summary plan is finally adopted, it shall be under review for at least two months and then whoever wants to comment on the proposal can do so. When it comes to the detailed plans, individuals who have a special interest in the proposal shall be given an opportunity for consultation and the draft proposal shall then be under review. The exhibition time for detailed plans is three weeks and, as with the overview plans, anyone who wishes to submit written comments on the proposal can do so. There are options and possibilities for appeal against the municipality's decision in planning and construction matters.

The DrottningH project – a brief introduction

Drottninghög is a residential area in Helsingborg that were built between 1967-1969 and was part of the “Million Programme”. It is owned by the municipal housing company Helsingborgshem, and totals 40 acres with 3000 residents in 1114 apartments. Today, Helsingborg municipality and the municipal housing company Helsingborgshem are heading a

redevelopment project called DrottningH that seeks to develop the city district Drottninghög. The overall aim of the project is outlined as 4 overarching strategies; Connect and tear down barriers, Densify the area (enable doubling of the number of housing units in Drottninghög) and create variation (in terms of tenant form), Open up the process and cooperate, Children and the young in focus (HelsingborgStad, 2018). In the planning document from 2012, the goal of the project is outlined as follows:

” It is important to in different ways, lift the status of the area and change people’s consciousness and perception of the area. Apart from the fact that buildings need to be renovated and modernised, there is also a need to create opportunities for a wider range of types of housing with mixed tenant forms. Negative health numbers and unemployment needs to be lessened, education and income levels improved, and the aim is that Drottninghög should statistically reflect the rest of Helsingborg. By looking at Drottninghög from a holistic perspective, the ambition is that the area will be a role model for how Helsingborg can work with and develop their million program areas and add new values to the city as a whole. Keywords for the development project DrottningH is to create opportunities for a sustainable urban development, emphasise and refine existing values, while at the same time enable a connection with the rest of the city, with clear communication throughout the change process” (HelsingborgStad, 2012:6). My translation

At an early stage of the project, there was a realisation that the current legislation and the following consultation process (see section on relevant legislation) was ill adapted for Drottninghög, where 70 % of the residents are born outside of Sweden and nearly 30 % are under 18 years old (Helsingborg Stad, 2012). It is stated that in order to reach these groups other methods than the formal channels and consultations meetings and written opinions from the residents were needed. Therefore, the subproject called “Medborgardialog 3.0” (citizen dialogue 3.0) was implemented to develop new methods in order to deepen the dialogue, in order to properly involve the people living in Drottninghög (Helsingborg Stad, 2012). The municipality saw a need to raise awareness and the project therefore worked as a parallel process complementary to the dialogue that normally occurs in

planning processes. Instead of just implementing the physical changes, the project was a way to establish the plans together with the people living there. The rationale was that new processes could give the people living in the area an increased feeling of ownership in the process. It was stated that "...essentially Dialogmodell 3.0 is a democracy project" (Helsingborg Stad, 2012:1) The importance and value of an active dialogue process is further explained:

"By involving people at an early stage in the redevelopment work, there is an anticipation that the self-image of the area is strengthened and that this in turn strengthens the status of the area as an attractive part of the city [...] An active citizen dialogue have to, in order for it to be active, be ongoing throughout all the phases of the redevelopment project, from the concept stage to implementation" (HelsingborgStad, 2012:6). My translation

DrottningH is essentially a project that seeks to fundamentally transform the entire area. The redevelopment project in Drottninghög will be continued for at least 20 years and the renovations undertaken will eventually include all houses and apartments (HelsingborgStad, 2018). When it comes to the renovation of the houses, the processes have been divided into smaller stages by Helsingborghem. The first stage of the project, that is the focus of this thesis has concerned the apartments on Grönkullagatan 9,11,13. The renovations that are now in the final stages have included pipe replacement and new bathrooms, new electricity, new ventilation, new windows, new terraces and balconies, kitchen fan and new lightning in the kitchen, a new electronic system for access control, new white grout facades (See Figure 1 illustrating these changes). Similar to the work by the municipality to raise awareness about the project, Helsingborghem have also initiated ways to initiate dialogues with tenants. The company have had two representatives, with the purpose of handling the dialogue with tenants in the area. They have both worked in the area for a long time and are generally well known in the area. These representatives have carried out around 250 home visits among the 1114 apartments, where they have had a personal contact with tenants. After a while a showcase apartment that tenants could visit was

used so that tenants could visit and express their views. It is primarily these dialogue initiatives that have been the main focus in this thesis.



Figure 1. Illustrations of the renovation undertaken

2. Literature Review

The role of dialogues in urban redevelopment processes is quite well researched and have been approached from varied span of scientific disciplines. Within the urban planning literature, Healey (2003) has argued that dialogic and discursive forms of deliberative democracy are more likely to direct attention and promote values of social justice, environmental responsibility and cultural sensitivity than more hierarchical types of representative democracy. Along the same lines another influential author in urban planning, Susan Fainstein argues that plans “...should be developed in consultation with the target population...” (Fainstein, 2010:175) However, they give little insight into how these dialogues can be operationalised in a conducive way. When it comes to citizen participation in urban planning, it is common to refer to Sherry Arnstein’s “ladder of citizen participation” (See Figure 2).

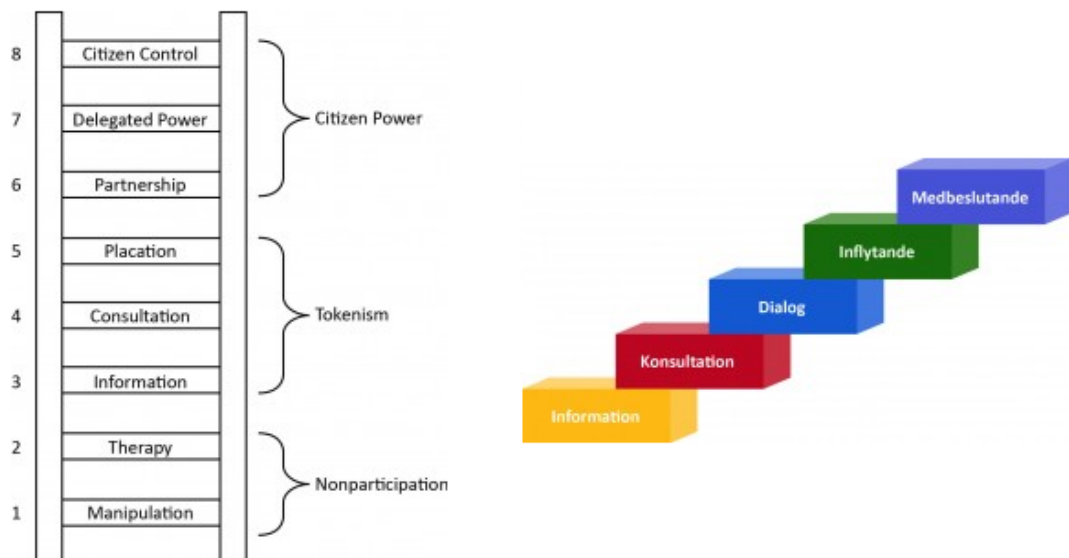


Figure 2. “A ladder of Citizen Participation” Arnstein, R (1969) and modified version (SKL 2009)

The ladder symbolises the possibility of citizen to influence proceedings, where every step of the ladder corresponds to different levels of influence. The first step on the ladder corresponds to manipulation, the middle steps shows how citizen are informed before consultations. The three highest steps, symbolizes different ways in which citizen can control the decision making (Arnstein, 1969:217). Based on this ladder, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL) have produced their own modified version (see figure 1), currently being used by many Swedish municipalities as a sort of guiding tool in order to sort different forms of participation and place them in a context. While the former offers a more radical approach, it has been argued by Castell (2013) that they have two distinct functions. While the former is an analytical tool for researchers, the latter is meant to help officials and politicians to design their methods and put them to practice.

However, criticism against these commonly referenced models have been put forth, arguing that these conceptual models proceeds from a top-down perspective, which might be a problematic starting point in practice. This relates to Tahvilzadeh (2013), who writes that the arguments for promoting citizen dialogues through a top-down perspective often reflects municipal officials own perspectives on what constitutes a well-functioning society. Furthermore, Castell (2013) argues that it is probably not handing over power to discriminated groups that is the main reason of Arnstein's popularity, but the rather that symbolic power and coherent structure of the model that has an appeal for politicians. This problematizes whether dialogue and participation can be a tool for vulnerable groups to improve their chances of improving their positions in society and have larger influence on proceedings. Arguably this usage of participation is exactly the opposite of Arnstein's main point, namely the need to climb higher on the ladder than what we are currently doing (Arnstein, 1969). In the light of this, Collins and Ison (2009) has argued that it is time to jump off Arnstein's

ladder as it "... constrains the ways we think about, and critically the purposes we ascribe to, participation..." (Collins and Ison, 2009:359).

If one turns towards perspectives within the political science literature, an attempt of operationalising dialogue with a focus on dispersing power has been proposed by Fung and Wright (2003). In a method they call "Empowered participatory governance" they argue that a way of enhancing representative democracy can be realized through clear equality motives and adequate institutional set ups for citizen dialogue. Although the complexity of the model in its whole will not be covered in this paper, it offers principles and design aspects that could be conducive in setting up the rights conditions for participation. First of all, the invited participation should concern *concrete questions* affecting the everyday life of those invited. This means that inviting participants to discuss visions in planning of city districts that will be implemented some decades later would be too abstract. At the same time dialogues only concerning specific aspects, such as the design of public places, is running the risk of being too narrow (Tahvilzadeh, 2015a).

Secondly, it is important to engage a large *grassroot participation* of citizen in the processes. They highlight that one of the biggest challenges of invited dialogues is to involve marginalized groups in society that do not normally participate in politics (Fung and Wright, 2003). Therefore, it is essential in formulating questions that engage these groups is decisive in order to create bottom-up participation. It is important that the processes are not dominated by experts, but by those affected by decisions (Tahvilzadeh, 2015a).

Thirdly, decisions should be taken after *mutual problem-solving discussions*, where participants should be given the possibility to develop and change their standpoints in order to make joint decisions. According to this principle, dialogues should not be limited to occasions where information can be distributed but an occasion where opinions and standpoints that are not normally given enough space to be discussed with

other participants (Fung and Wright, 2003). There is a realisation that these types of conversations are difficult to implement and that they are time and resource demanding (Monno and Khakee, 2012). However, if the dialogues concern concrete questions that affect tenants' everyday life and dialogues are thought to create a problem-solving process, Tahvilzadeh (2015a) has argued that it is hard to consider any other options than long discussions, where conflicts are allowed to play a part.

Although, the model developed by Fung and Wright (2003) has been influential in rethinking governance, there is a burgeoning literature that seeks to problematise the increased usage of citizen dialogues in relations to redevelopment programs and renovation processes. Lefebvre (1968) famously known as the father of the idea of the *right to the city*, was early in his criticism of participation. Lefebvre called for a "real and active participation" of inhabitants in cities (Lefebvre et al., 1996). Purcell (2002) argues that at the time Lefebvre wrote his book, just like now, "... citizen rarely had more than a nominal and advisory voice in decisions" (Purcell, 2002:150). In Purcell's own translation, Lefebvre calls this the *ideology of participation*. This ideology of participation, Lefebvre argues: "...allows those in power to obtain, at a small price, the acquiescence of concerned citizens. After a show trial more or less devoid of information and social activity, citizens sink back into their tranquil passivity ... " (Lefebvre, 1968:105).

Arguably a little less dystopian than Lefebvre, a number of studies have focused how dialogues plays out in practice and their concrete implications. Kugelberg and Trovalla (2015) has problematised dialogue processes in two suburbs in Stockholm, Tullinge and Alby. Under two years they examined how dialogues were conducted, what the interplay was like between the participants and how this was linked to other parts of the municipality's decision-making structure. They conclude that the usage of

dialogues and how they were set up, "...steered the interaction and set boundaries for what inhabitants were invited to discuss. We could see how certain issues were regarded as too controversial, while others had too much importance for the municipality's economy or long-term vision" (Kugelberg and Trovalla, 2015:267-267). This became evidently clear during the "Alby is not for sale" campaign, where municipality owned rental houses were sold to the private housing company Mitt Alby. Here the otherwise progressive dialogue policy in Botkyrka municipality, was side-lined by the interest of the municipality to sell parts of their housing stock. In this case the dialogue process was razed due to tense conflict between two sides. Thereby, for the people involved in previous dialogue initiatives, "... all the talk about dialogue and participation had given them hopes that were then dashed in the encounter with a burning political issue" (Kugelberg and Trovalla, 2015:274).

This tendency, where dialogues are used to overcome the inherently conflictual nature of democratic politics through consensus has been criticized by Mouffe (2011). To her politics is about conflict and struggle, and what is considered reasonable in a given time or context is constructed by current power relations, by hegemony. She challenges what she sees as a post-political condition promoted by the consensual form of deliberative democracy (Mouffe, 2011). To her fashionable notions such as "dialogic democracy" or "good governance" does not acknowledge "...the antagonistic dimension constitutive of ' the political'" (Mouffe, 2011:2). She holds that consensus means the dominance of one group over another and states that no "...amount of dialogue or moral preaching will ever convince the ruling class to give up its power" (Mouffe, 2000:15). This has also been acknowledged by Tahvilzadeh (2015c) who has provided empirical insight on citizen dialogue in the city of Gothenburg can be understood from both idealist and cynical perspectives by looking at policy content, political roots and motives behind the politics of citizen dialogues.

When it comes to dialogue and the renovation of the million-programme housing areas in the public rental housing sector, Westin (2011) has written a research report for the Swedish tenant association (Hyresgästföreningen) focusing on the experience of the tenants during renovations. She concludes that although tenants have the possibility to influence planned renovations, it takes strong engagement, and investments both in time and energy in order for this influence to make a dent. Her study shows that rental housing companies in many cases can carry out the renovations the way they want by not informing the tenants enough of the extent of the renovation or by trying to convince the tenants to accept the renovations (Westin, 2011). Westin concludes that according to tenants, tenant influence on renovations in the processes she chose to study was low. One of the strongest contribution of her report is the separation between the *causes* and *motives* of why renovations take place. A cause is an objective reason, such as the technical need for renovation. A motive on the other hand could be various reasons why housing companies sees a reason to renovate in a specific way. One such motive could be to raise the rent and thereby increase profits (Westin, 2011).

In conclusion it is clear that the literature overview gives a very split perception when it comes to the role of dialogues. On the one hand, dialogues are used as an important tool in everyday practice within municipal projects and are promoted by one side of the academic world as a potential tool for enhancing democracy. On the other side there is a growing problematisation of what role dialogues plays and which implications it has in practice. While there is an awareness of the limitation and problems of dialogue, very few studies have critically examined renovation projects where the extent of renovations is framed by public housing companies. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to the current literature on the role of dialogue by showing the limitations of already framed renovation

projects and how co-creative processes can be conducive in improving their practical implementation.

3. Theoretical framework

Conceptualising social sustainability

Three decades have passed since the Brundtland Report triggered an increased focus on sustainable development. During these three decades, the ecological and economic dimensions of sustainability have been thoroughly researched, while the social dimension have been somewhat overlooked. It is not until relatively recently that the social dimension has been increasingly emphasised both within academic and practical quarters. The Brundtland report is characterized by an overarching goal towards sustainable development, where economic, social and ecological development should work in harmonious balance. In 2014 a report made by the Swedish think tank Global Utmaning (Global Challenge) called the *Inclusive Green Economy* concludes that the green economy needs to take the starting point in a perspective that implies that: "... socially sustainable development is the aim, ecological sustainability is a fundamental requirement and the economy is seen as a tool" (2014 (Alfredsson and Wijkman, 2014:6). This constitutes an interesting break, where social sustainability is an overarching goal, but also a critical and crucial factor in order to achieve sustainable development in all its parts. This is interesting because when reading through visionary documents, project plans and other policies relating to renewal processes in urban contexts, sustainable development is often portrayed as a straight forward approach, where the customary three pillars of sustainability (environmental, economic and social) are seen as complementary and harmonious. In fact, there is great uncertainty about what the three pillars of sustainable development, really

mean and this is especially true when it comes to what constitutes social sustainability in an urban context and how it should be achieved (Gustavsson and Elander, 2013).

Tahvilzadeh (2015b) argues that achieving a “sustainable society” has become a metanarrative that is used by different actors and organisations for widely different interests and goals. This means that although the concept of sustainability is dominating municipal strategy documents, it is increasingly hard to predict which measures and concrete politics that “sustainable development” implicates. What is increasingly clear is that despite increasing prosperity and wealth in the global economy, several reports shows that inequalities in income, education, living conditions and ill health are increasing, where inequalities are especially significant in larger urban regions (Habitat, 2013, OECD, 2011, WHO, 2008). A possible reason for why the social inequality is on the rise and the component of sustainable development often has been overshadowed has been highlighted by Boström (2012). He argues that rethinking “... and reorganising for green social policies and welfare – social sustainability...” (Boström, 2012:4) is both a crucial task and at the same time a very big challenge. These challenges have both theoretical and practical dimensions. Theoretically, how the fluid concept of social sustainability is defined and understood has proved to be difficult. Practically, social sustainability is challenging because it is unclear how social sustainability are “... to be operationalized and incorporated in various sustainability projects and planning...” (Boström, 2012:3). In terms of defining and understanding the concept of social sustainability there are a number of attempts at getting to the core how social sustainability should be understood. Dempsey et al. (2011) hover around three concepts that they find especially important: Equitable access, Social Equity, Sustainability of the community itself. From these concepts they identify 20 non – physical factors and 8 predominantly physical factors. Another example is that of Murphy (2012). By examining a large number of international policy

documents and research literature he presents 4 concepts: equity, awareness for sustainability, participation and social cohesion. Not content with the broad strokes of especially Murphy's outline of what constitutes social sustainability, Gustavsson and Elander (2013) has created what they call "The sustainability pyramid: from vision and value to goals, interventions and indications" (My translation). The pyramid is built up of 4 levels with a focus on three concepts that they find reoccurring in pilot projects in Sweden: Social Inclusion, Participation, Place-Identity. From these concepts, they then suggest examples of goals and interventions that could contribute to social sustainability and examples of questions that could work as indicators on social sustainability.

What is evidently clear is that there are a number of concepts that fall under the concept of social sustainability. Evaluating ten projects in Swedish cities that have had a pronounced focus on social sustainability Gustavsson (2014) shows that a common theme when it comes to implementation has been to promote participation from residents and citizen by different forms of dialogue as a creative complement to traditional planning processes. Although she sees potential gains from the citizen dialogues undertaken, she calls for a critical examination of the long-lasting effect of projects aimed towards creating a positive place-identity and promote interventions to increase social inclusion. They also highlight that measuring whether or not projects interpreting social sustainability in terms of achieving aspects such as positive place-identity and promote interventions to increase social inclusion will be a challenge however as there is no "socialdioxide" that can be directly measured (Gustavsson and Elander, 2013).

The theoretical and practical fluidity of the concept of social sustainability is problematic for a number of reasons. Particularly in terms of democratic aspects. In the customary three pillar conceptualisation (environmental, economic, social) democratic aspects of *how* the move towards

sustainability and “reorganising for green social policies and welfare...” (Boström, 2012:4) should occur are typically left out from the definition of sustainable development. By leaving the democratic aspects out of the conceptualisation of social sustainability, how social sustainability should be achieved is somewhat unclear. The way social sustainability is often defined the system in place is sufficient in meeting both the local and global challenges societal challenges we are currently facing. However, in order to enhance the current system’s ability to handle the increased complexity of today’s challenges, cooperation, participation and actual power shifts should arguably constitute a fundamental component.

In relation to this paper, emphasising how social sustainable renovations could be achieved through cooperation, participation and actual power shifts, implies that the system currently in place to overview the renovation of the million programme housing areas, needs to be severely enhanced. Arguably, the current system has to be enhanced in order to appropriately handle complex renovation processes that incorporates the need for technical upgrades, improved ecological standards and making sure tenants are not forced to move. Essentially, it is view that hold that in the increasingly network oriented society - as discussed in the introduction- it is not sustainable to leave all the power to politicians and businesses. Citizen or tenants in this case also have to take an active part in municipal decisions or decisions making concerning their very right to housing.

If tenants are not included in the renovations processes concerning their homes, the risk for social unsustainability and social distress is imminent. In a compilation made by the Swedish tenant association of renovations of million programme housing areas made in the Gothenburg between 2013-2015 shows that with 50 % rental raises, every third household would be categorises under what Statistics Sweden (SCB) defines as “reasonable living standards” (Bergenstråhle and Palmstierna, 2017). “Reasonable living standards” in this case correlates to what is given those who are on social

welfare, which is only supposed to provide for the very essentials of life, under a limited amount of time. This would mean that tenants would struggle to make rents and might be forced to move. At the same, in today's cities it is evidently so that there are fewer and fewer cheap apartments to move to, when the older segments are renovated. According to the same report, the worst off would be single parent households, and retired with low pensions in single households. In these cases, more than half would have a hard time making rents. Almost a quarter of single parents are already in the risk zone as it is, without raised rents (Bergenstråhle and Palmstierna, 2017).

When it comes to developing socially sustainable cities, the need to renovate must be weighed against the situation for the people living in the million programme areas, making sure that social problems such as economic vulnerability and segregation are not worsened through displacement (Baeten et al., 2017). Conceptualising social sustainability in terms of how cooperation, participation and actual power shifts can be conducive in enhancing current systems and allows for a critical valuation on how tenants have been able to influence what happens in the redevelopment of the million-programme housing. With the housing shortage that exists in larger urban areas in Sweden today and increasing social divides, finding ways so that tenants can influence renovations, will (as the discussion above highlights) be very important in terms of social sustainability, today and for the future.

Towards co-creative renovations

In order to achieve cooperation, participation and actual power shifts what has been called the “communicative” planning model has been promoted. Generally seen as a reaction to modernism and its hierarchical organisation models and technical oriented expert solutions. The “communicative” planning ideal holds that individual actors in the political sphere lacks the

ability on their own, with their specific knowledge frame, to handle social and ecological questions. Instead the need for cross-sectoral, non-hierarchical, decentralized, dialogue-oriented and participatory processes are emphasised (Healey, 2003). In this light, the renovation of the million programme housing areas is formidable challenge, but it is also an opportunity to invite tenants to determine the desirable extent of renovations and raised standard. In the ideal situation it could be a way of reaching ambitions of including resource-poor groups in society, counteract political exclusion and actively work for everyone's right to participate. However in order for dialogues be conducive in enhancing cooperation, participation and actual power shifts, it is important to similarly to Fung and Wright (2003) to define how dialogues can be conducive in a democratic sense.

Therefore, this paper will be guided by the co-creative dialogue framework discussed by Abrahamsson (2015b) and Adler (2015). While there is no clear-cut definition of the co-creative dialogue, what it should be constitutive of, and its implications have been discussed. According to Adler (2015) it often takes the form of a collaboration process in several steps. The central idea of co-creative dialogue is to collaboratively define the problem and identify measures to be taken (co-design), joint implementation and responsibility sharing (co-implementation) where joint evaluation and feedback to the involved actors is of great importance (co-evaluation) (Adler, 2015:13). Similarly Abrahamsson (2015b) has defined co-creative dialogue as: "... a collaborative process whereby decision makers together with affected residents will jointly agree on what to do, why it should be done, how it should be done and by whom it should be done" (Abrahamsson, 2015b).

Co-creation can thereby be divided into 5 different phases:

1. Formulate the problem to be addressed

2. Identify appropriate measures,
3. Drawing up action plans
4. Involved parties participate and take joint responsibility for the implementation of action plans
5. Involved parties actively participate in the follow-up and evaluation of the actual results of the actions.

The process outlined above demands an exchange and more time for reflection and compromising than customary planning processes. Implementing co-creative dialogues during renovations would therefore demand time and resources. It is an approach that should not be used as a tool of merely reaching consensus, it should be used as a way where strong standpoints concerning the topic can be openly articulated. The essence of the approach is that it should be based on mutual respect, listening to each other, reflecting on issues and acting together to reach a solution (Abrahamsson, 2015b). What has been identified is that the co-creative approach is often limited by demands of efficiency and measurable results within municipal institutions or companies. Adler (2015) who have carried out a number of case studies also highlight this issue, where her studies shows that co-creative dialogues are often conditioned by economic realities and organisational decisions-hierarchies.

Furthermore, the co-creative approach is dependent on the will of both policy makers and residents and ability for cooperating and participation. In this regard it is a valid question to ask whether tenants in this case have a genuine interest of political participation (Boverket, 2010). At the same time it is highlighted the *possibility* to be able to influence is a democratic right and that co-creation could give energy to a dialogue process and thereby act as a counterforce to the political passivity that is characteristic of contemporary representative democracy (Adler, 2015). More importantly,

co-creative dialogues as a method means a changed approach to participation and democracy as discussed in the chapter conceptualising social sustainability. It implies an approach that challenges the current view on power with the representative democracy's ideal about a traditional chain of decision making. It means that politicians, civil servants and companies need to give involved parties co-operative positions. In relation to this Abrahamsson (2015b) also raises challenges that are essential to address in order to succeed in implementing a co-creative dialogue which also relates to Kugelberg and Trovalla (2015) discussed in the literature review:

1. The first challenge revolves around how the results of the co-creating dialogue are brought into the regular activities of the administration and more hierarchical organization of municipalities and housing companies.
2. The second challenge encompasses how the results and the different perspectives that emerge during co-creative dialogue with tenant's will can influence and have an effect on decision making, especially if it conflicts with political goals or goals set up by housing companies.

How co-creative dialogue can be implemented in practice when it comes to renovation has been researched by Stenberg (2015). She has taken the initial steps towards what she calls "co-creative renovation". She is currently enrolled in a so called "Living Lab" in the suburb of Hammarkullen in Gothenburg that seeks to promote co-creative renovation and how that could be a way to achieve sustainable renovation of apartment buildings by finding ways to increase the tenant influence over renovation processes. The approach outlined by Stenberg focuses on finding ways to form a co-creative dialogue where tenants are part of decision making and can influence *how* renovations should be done and *what* should be done. The work undertaken in Hammarkullen shows that the co-creative dialogue can

be implemented if there only is a will among different actors to fully embrace the co-creative approach.

The ambivalence of social sustainability in urban politics

As the chosen housing company is owned by the municipality, the way social sustainability is and implemented also has to be understood in relation to the urban political landscape. Tahvilzadeh (2015b) has argued the political entity shaping today's cities is twofold. On one side political promotion of "... entrepreneurial activity based on a contest between cities about resources, jobs and capital in the pursuit of optimizing economic growth" (Tahvilzadeh, 2015b:1, My translation) is promoted. While the other side, urban development is also a form of "...redistribution policy of power and resources with the goal of rebuilding vulnerable and disadvantaged places in the city to achieve more equal living conditions for its inhabitants" (Tahvilzadeh, 2015b:1, my translation). This duality relates to Harvey (1989) who saw a transition towards what he called entrepreneurialism in urban governance, where increased focus was on exploring new ways to foster and encourage local development and economic growth. He argued that this entrepreneurial stance within urban governance was a substantial shift from previous managerial practices that focused primarily on the local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations (Harvey, 1989) such as distribution of welfare, housing, health care and creating conditions for equal participation and influence in society (Tahvilzadeh, 2015b).

The entrepreneurial stance within urban politics today stresses that necessary restructuring is needed, and cities and regions have to adopt to the demands that the new economic geography and the global production networks are demanding. When reading through strategic documents and visions for many of Swedish cities today, they are almost exclusively constitutive of four common mantra (Abrahamsson, 2015b). The future of

municipalities is often rated depending on its condition to become an *attractive* site for investments. This in turn demands that there is strong *growth* in the economy and population numbers with big demands on the inhabitants capabilities of being *innovative* and *creative* (Florida, 2002, Florida, 2005).

These mantras can be found in the vision for Helsingborg municipality called Helsingborg 2035. In this vision the success of Helsingborg is outlined. In the vision document one can read that Helsingborg seeks to be “An exciting, attractive and sustainable place – a magnet for creativity and competence. Helsingborg is the city for those who want something” (Helsingborg Stad, 2015). The rationale behind these kinds of visions is that the future of cities, municipalities and regions is dependent on becoming attractive for investments and the goal becomes about adapting the city “...socially, politically and structurally to local, national and global business actors and their interests” (Tahvilzadeh, 2015b:1, my translation). Instead of an implicit focus on the wellbeing of citizens, it has become common for cities to “advertise” themselves with investments in infrastructure, through renewal and renovation projects, where spearhead projects in old harbour locations has become especially popular in Sweden where constructions of buildings with cutting edge architectural designs have mushroomed.

Abrahamsson (2015b) argues that the global competition with other cities and regions over capital, with a focus on attractiveness, has resulted in situation resembling the post political condition as discussed above (Mouffe, 2011). This condition has been formed by the tendency for projects to take the form of private-public partnerships (PPPs). The problem with these kinds of partnerships is that they to a large extent are forming and running renewal processes and plans for an area has proved very difficult to oppose for citizens as they have very little insight. Often decisions are already decided with very little involvement from the people living in the areas (Thörn and Holgersson, 2014). Furthermore, it has formed a situation

where municipalities have little interest in conflicts concerning what they see as necessary measures and therefore seeks to increase consensus around the content of what the municipality wants to promote. This situation is exactly what Mouffe (2011) identified as the real danger to democracy, namely that conflictual aspects of urban politics is not discussed and avoided as consensus is essentially desired. The immediate results of this development within urban politics has been that it has created an urban political landscape that leaves little room for alternative views to the current neoliberal logics of urban politics focused on creating urban spaces that above all seeks to attract tourists, capital and consumer-intense middle-class citizen (Purcell, 2002).

In a response to the economic rationalities characterising much of today's urbanism, Fainstein (2010) has taken a decisive stand towards bridging this apparent ambivalence. According to Fainstein, there is and an urgent need for a counter-ideology to contemporary urban politics, which has resulted in the rolling back of social commitments in favour of economic growth. She argues that the neoliberal city, relies too heavily on economic growth as the way towards a better city for their inhabitants and that there is a need for a new approach to urban planning and politics. When increased competitiveness of cities becomes the main goals, it often creates injustices for weaker groups in society. Many politicians and urban planners are convinced that in the long run, it will benefit the majority and the city as a whole, but as discussed above, the ever-growing inequalities is a troubling evidence of the opposite (Fainstein, 2010:1-3). Therefore, she has developed an urban theory of justice with the aim of evaluating existing and potential institutions and programs. She holds that urban development should be based on certain values. These values are: *diversity*, *democracy* and *equity*.

She argues that these values should be prioritised in urban planning and the planners focus should move from competitiveness towards a focus on

justice. She sees a need for a commitment to justice over technical efficiency in evaluating the context of policy in order to shift the balance towards people that are less off. With a focus on justice, she argues that changes are augmented in terms of achieving: "... policies that foster equitable distribution of governmental revenues, produce a lively, diverse, and accessible public realm, and make local decision making more transparent and open to the viewpoint of currently excluded groups" (Fainstein, 2010:183-184). This focus on justice based on the values of diversity, democracy and equity could be conducive in preventing situations that can be seen in urban areas today where people have to leave their housing areas, communities are torn apart and that less resources are directed towards what she terms "megaprojects" that are both expensive and gives very few general benefits. When it comes to the efficiency aspects that municipalities and also housing companies are faced with, she argues that they do not have to be incompatible. Instead she argues that values of justice should be prioritised in urban planning in order to make planners stop, reflect and ask: efficiency or effectiveness to what end? The idea is that planners should be more reflective when they carry out effective projects in the city and how you can still achieve just outcomes. Acting with a focus on helping or supporting those that are worst off or those in vulnerable positions, is also a question of efficiency and could lead to a more human urbanism (Fainstein, 2010).

If policies are not redirected towards a more redistributive approach, Abrahamsson (2015a) has discussed that cities today are balancing between being important nodes for regional economic growth, while at the same time facing the very real potential of turning into a battlefield for social conflicts. While everyone agrees that social sustainability needs to be strengthened, the discussion above has shown that within urban politics today, the concept of social sustainability is a sort of double-edged sword. While a lot of municipal resources are focused on increasing aspects such as justice,

equality and democracy, with concrete resources being allocated to different projects, the fluidity of the concept of sustainability in general, and social sustainability in particular has the tendency to hide and thereby legitimise injustice, inequality and decision processes that are non-democratic. This highlights that in order to promote social sustainability, it is important to break the post political condition, as discussed above, and reintroduce the political and actually handle the interest conflicts that normally takes place in consultations between actors. Otherwise, cities might develop in a direction, opposite to the “human urbanism” discussed by (Fainstein, 2010)

The changing role of “Allmännyttan” and potential consequences

In Sweden, municipality owned rental housing should, according to law, be run in a way that is beneficial for the public (allmännyttigt). It should supply housing for people with different housing needs, the supply should be varied, of high standard and attract all sorts of tenants, including people with low possibilities to demand different forms of housing due to low socioeconomic conditions (SABO, 2018). The tenants should also have a possibility to influence questions regarding their tenancy. A guiding principle is that public housing companies (Allmännyttan) should be available for all – indifferent to social, economic, ethical or other background. The municipality, the owner, should create conditions for all citizen in the municipality to live in good housing, and should support appropriate measures in order to prepare and execute housing provision (Lag (2000:1383)).

The particular role of Swedish “allmännyttan”, is intimately intertwined with the Swedish post-war housing policy. Since the end of the 1940’s Swedish housing policy has been general in the sense that in Sweden your income level and need for housing is not tested in order to obtain what is other European countries might be referred to as “social housing”. Furthermore,

other characteristic features of the Swedish housing policy are that both within private and allmännyttiga (municipality owned) rental sector, the rents are negotiated through collective negotiations between the housing companies and the Swedish Tenant association through what is called *brukvärdessystemet* (use-value system of rent regulation). In no other country in the world, there is a tenant organization with corresponding number of members, market influence and political power (Bengtsson, 2015:28). Therefore, a strong organized consumer interest, especially when it comes to rental housing is also characteristic of Swedish housing policy.

Although the Swedish housing model is still general as there are no official social housing in Sweden, there has been a considerable “switch” in Swedish housing policy since the early 1990s. This is especially true when it comes to two pillars in the post-war Swedish housing model, namely: *the neutrality principle* regulating, since 1974, that no form of tenure should be benefitted in relation to other forms of tenure in terms of financing and taxation and *housing as a social right*. This “switch” in Swedish housing policy has been well researched (Bengtsson, 2015, Clark and Hedin, 2009, Grander, 2015). In the early 1990’s formal state support was reduced or altogether removed, and all financial risk associated with public housing was transferred from the central state to the municipality level. Important legislation was removed such as the housing provision law (*bostadsförsörjningslagen*), the housing assignment law (*bostadsanvisninglagen*) and the land condition law (*markvillkoret*) and subsidies used for construction were heavily reduced (Clark and Hedin, 2009). The municipal housing companies, remained however non-profit oriented and the use-value system of rent regulation was left in place (Clark and Hedin, 2009).

This, however, was to be changed with the new legislation called *Allbolagen* passed in 2011 (Lag (2010:879)) , stating that housing

companies should be run according to business principles. This means that to not distort the market, the municipality is not allowed to give their housing companies any benefits that could potentially give them economical advantage in relation to private housing companies. According to this law, public housing companies have to respond to economic priorities similar to those of private housing companies and target “normal rates of return.” (Regeringskansliet, 2009). Furthermore, this legislation ended the role of municipal companies as the reference point when setting prices on the rental market. Previously private sector rental companies had to base their rents on the rents set by the public sector. With the new legislation, rents are to be based on both private and public actors.

With an explicit focus on the public rental housing sector (*Allmännyttan*), Grander (2015) has scrutinized public housing and their social responsibility conditioned by business principles after legislation was passed in 2011. He finds that this law will have consequences for the public housing companies and their possibilities to secure housing for all. This is especially true for people with low socioeconomic status but is increasingly affecting people further up the “socioeconomic ladder”. He discusses that the new law limit public housing companies in their abilities to build in areas with lower returns and renovate the “Million Programme” housing areas, within the frame of what can be considered a “business-like” manner, without raising the rents considerably. While the legislation that was passed in 2011 is part of a larger process of marketization of the public rental sector in Sweden, Bengtsson (2015) has argued that this law ultimately brings the question of whether public housing companies can be both beneficial for the public (*allmännyttigt*) and run in a business-like manner to a head, especially when it comes to its role to provide affordable housing. With the introduction of this new legislation Christophers (2013) has argued that the current Swedish housing market: “... is neither one thing (centralised and regulated) nor the other (marketized and deregulated), but a hybrid that has certainly received

numerous powerful doses of neo-liberalisation, and yet which remains, in key areas, regulated and, as such, relatively isolated from market forces and configurations (Christophers, 2013:887).

Although, the law has had far reaching consequences on the way public housing companies should act, Westerdahl (2015) highlights that there is room for manoeuvring within public housing companies when calculating costs. This manoeuvring space could for example be that as public housing companies often have a large housing stock, they could calculate in longer time perspectives and use the rest of their stock to finance projects. However, few public housing companies have used these alternative calculations models to build or renovate affordable housing directed towards tenants with low income tenants and motivated it with social responsibility (Westerdahl, 2015:257). Instead, when the calculations are modified it is often about expensive constructions for more a more well-off clientele.

Bengtsson (2015) has discussed that the future development of the Swedish Allmännyttan in relation to the law that they should be run in a business-like manner will be determined on the choice of three scenarios: *the resistance scenario*, *the adaption scenario* and the *system change scenario*. He then discusses the three scenarios in relation to the law relegating public housing companies, that states that they should provide tenants with influence regarding their housing conditions (Lag (2010:879)). When it comes to the *resistance scenario* the role of tenant influence should not be too affected and there should be few conflicts between tenant influence. The *adaption scenario* where business-like manner is more narrowly defined could mean that formal calculations are set up for costs and revenues concerning the tenants right to affect, he also highlights that it might become problematic where tenant influences includes some sort of decision power of economic relevance (Bengtsson, 2015:43). In the *system change scenario* the law

stating that tenants should have an influence would probably be altogether abandoned and the role of public housing companies and the current negotiation system would be altered in its foundations (Bengtsson, 2015).

Although the scenarios might not necessarily be as black and white as Bengtsson illustrates, they are important in order to understand why tenant influence has become so debated and increasingly political. While the final rent to a large extent is dependent on the outcomes of the negotiations that take place between the housing companies and the Swedish tenant association, the extent of renovations is often determined before the negotiations. Thereby, the question of tenant influence is important as it in many ways lays the foundation to what is to be negotiated. When a proposition called *Strengthened position for tenants* (Stärkt ställning för hyresgäster) was sent to the parliament to strengthen legislation on tenant influence during renovation and protected tenancy (besittningsskydd) in 2017, it therefore initiated a heated debate. One reason why tenant influence has increasingly attracted attention is because when apartments are renovated, it is common practice that the apartments are simultaneously modernised, and the standard is raised. This raises the utility value (bruksvärdet) of the apartments, and the rent levels housing companies can demand (Boverket, 2014:60).

What the proposition *Strengthened position for tenants*' highlights is that while the legislation that has been altered a number of times to increase the protection for, it is still merely a chimera in practice. When tenants oppose renovations proposed by housing companies, the rent tribunal, with very few exceptions, give the housing companies permission to carry out renovations. Although the legislation is supposed to create a sort of balance between tenants and housing companies when it comes to raising standards, in practice it has been concluded that tenants have almost no influence on the extent of renovation initiated by housing companies (SOU 2017:33). As

discussed above, it is becoming increasingly clear that the role of Allmännyttan to supply affordable housing is increasingly being questioned. At the same time legislation is not enough to protect tenants in practice. These changes, that arguably were not the intended purposes of the post-war “allmännyttan” and the legislation protecting tenants, further highlights the importance of finding ways so that tenants becomes co-creative in the renovation process.

4. Methodology

Research approach

In his influential book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn defines a research paradigm as “the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed” (Kuhn, 1963:45). These paradigms to a large extent influences how one approaches research and affect the questions you ask, data you collect, and results found. Creswell (2009) argues that although “... philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research, they still influence the practice of research and needs to be identified” (Creswell, 2009:5). In this thesis, what Creswell (2009) calls *the advocacy and participatory worldview* will be the philosophical underpinnings of this paper. Key features of this approach have been outlined by Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998):

1. Participatory action is focused on bringing change in current practices. Therefore, research following this paradigm usually advance an action agenda for change.
2. The approach focuses on freeing individuals from societal constraints, which is why advocacy/participatory studies often focus

on an important issue in society, such as for example marginalisation.

3. It aims to create a political debate so that change will occur.
4. It is practical and collaborative because it is inquiry completed *with* others than *on* or *to* others.

The central contribution of this research paradigm is that while the constructivist research paradigm highlights that research inquiry is socially constructed and thereby political, the advocacy/participatory worldview as discussed by Creswell (2009), needs to be *intertwined* with politics and a political agenda. In a study using this framework, social issues need to be addressed that are pertinent at a given time, such as: "... empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation" and "... focuses on the needs of groups and individuals in our society that may be marginalized or disenfranchised" (Cresswell, 2009:9). The advocacy/participatory research paradigm with its political, empowerment and change-oriented approach therefore corresponds well to the aim of this paper which seeks to investigate how dialogue could potentially be an enhanced as a tool for providing a voice for participants and improving people's chances to impact on decisions concerning their homes.

The advocacy/participatory research paradigm has to a large extent formed the chosen research approach, where a critical qualitative approach has been chosen. This approach is guided by Wacquant (2004), who describes the aim of critical research to "...perpetually question the obviousness and the very frames of civic debate so as to give ourselves a chance to think the world, rather than being thought by it, to take apart and understand its mechanisms, and thus to reappropriate it intellectually and materially" (Wacquant, 2004:101). With its qualitative focus, the aim is not to measure

and analyse causal relationships between variables or answer the research questions by using statistics, diagrams and tables. Rather it seeks to gain in-depth knowledge from participants and problematise the dialogues carried out by the housing company during renovations in a specific million-programme housing area, Drottninghög. The study therefore does not make any claims to be representative of all dialogues undertaken during renovation projects in Sweden. However, while the focus has been placed on Drottninghög, it does not mean it doesn't carry importance in relation to other renovation projects. Quite on the contrary, it is an interesting case, as it is considered a role model example of how dialogue should be carried out in the municipality of Helsingborg (see section on DrottningH project) and has many visiting from other municipalities. Furthermore, it has been stated that the groundwork from the project in Drottninghög has been used in the continued process of renovations undertaken in Drottninghög. So, while the focus is on a specific case, it seems plausible that the way dialogues are played out in Drottninghög will have recursions in many other million-programme areas.

Strategy of Inquiry

Following the research approach outlined above, the chosen strategy of inquiry has been to carry out a case study. This choice has been informed by the nature of the research problem and the chosen research question, where an in-depth knowledge has been needed to grasp its different dimensions. Merriam (1994) argues that case study is important when it comes to develop the knowledgebase within a given area. She states that: "Case studies provide a way to study complex social units that consist of multiple variables that may be relevant to understanding the phenomenon in question. [...] These insights can also be developed into tentative hypotheses that can help to structure future research" (Merriam, 1994:46) (My Translation). Flyvbjerg (2006) is another important proponent of the usage

of case studies. He holds that case studies gives the researcher the possibility of studying relations and processes within a demarcated field. The choice of a demarcated research field allows for a nuanced of reality than many other research methods, especially within the quantitative research tradition. This is because there are many different aspects that are at play at the same time. A more general focus risks losing many important aspects.

He states that throughout his academic career he's been met by an idea or understanding that general and context independent knowledge is somehow worth more than the more practical, contextual knowledge. He argues that this is not true and that:

“Predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is, therefore, more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals” (Flyvbjerg, 2006:224).

His statement is a direct response to a common criticism against the case study approach - that it does not allow generalisations. This criticism often comes from proponents of research within a more natural science tradition, with a narrow view of what is considered valid knowledge. As discussed above, while a case study “only” describes a part of reality, it does not necessarily mean that the result stemming from case studies cannot be used outside its particular setting. Westin (2011) argues that :”... the antagonism between qualitative non-generalisable case studies, on the one side, and statistical studies with generalisation claims, on the other, are often strongly exaggerated” (Westin, 2011:10). On the contrary she sees the application of case studies as a “... an excellent entrance point to knowledge about our world and a useful method for detecting problems and new approaches” (Westin, 2011:10).

This is also supported by Flyvbjerg (2006), arguing that the most advanced form of understanding can only be accessed if the researcher places themselves in the same context as those that are investigated/interviewed. This ties into another criticism that has been put forth concerning case studies. The criticism is that researchers, when placed in a context could become biased. Although Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that it is impossible to be unbiased when conducting research, no matter which research tradition you are conducting your research, the case study actually allows the researcher to get preconceptions falsified. More so than if the sample selection is big and something should be hypothetically proved. Another argument for using case studies, that has been especially useful in this thesis, is that different types of data. Case study evidence can come for many sources, while the most common according to Yin (2018), are: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation. This is of great value as the different sources can be combined to offer a deeper insight in what happens and why it happens.

Data collection

The materials collected in order to problematise the dialogue undertaken by HelsingborgHem has emerged through a variety of material. First of all, a selection documents have been collected such as planning documents, annual reports and newspaper articles. Furthermore, 6 qualitative semi-structured interviews have been carried out. While the initial aim was to go through protocols of the dialogues that were undertaken, the company had not collected such protocols. As tenants' influence is not something that is precisely legislated, there is no obligation of keeping protocols. However, the accounts from the interviewees and the examination of documents have allowed for a rich material, which has been challenging to overview at times but has also allowed for an in-depth understanding of the dialogues undertaken during phase 1 during the DrottningH project.

Documents

A number of documents have been used as material for this paper. Using this source of material has both upsides and downsides. Merriam (1994) argues that one of their biggest upsides is their stability. Contrary to interviews and observations, documents are not affected or changes with the mere presence of the researcher (Merriam, 1994:120). She also highlights the documents is a good way to approach a case study as documents are usually easily accessed and are usually without having to pay. Yin (2018) however raises a note of warning towards using documents when conducting research. Documents are usually written for a specific purpose, other than the purpose of the case study. Identifying these objectives has thereby been important when using this type of source. However as discussed by Merriam (1994) documents argues that they are valuable sources as they are a product of the context in which they we created, and thereby have a connection to reality (Merriam, 1994:122). The main documents that have been reviewed and has been conducive in the analysis are shortly outlined below.

Plan för mål och ekonomi 2018 – Helsingborg stad is the overarching document which presents the city councils plan for goals and the budget for the city and the boards during 2018. A related document is the vision document for the city called *Guide till Helsingborg 2035*, which explains the vision of Helsingborg in more depth through text, pictures and illustrations. How these visions will be carried out is discussed in the document called *Program för mandatperioden 2015 – 2018 – i riktning mot Helsingborg 2035*. This document reveals the actual political approach taken in relation to the visions. Visions are usually quite general as they are supposed to be applicable by various parties. Thereby this document has given good insights about what the political majority in Helsingborg actually intents to do with the visions. Furthermore, the annual report of

Helsingborghem called *Årsredovisning – Hållbarhetsredovisning 2017* has been used. This is a document that outlines the business idea of Helsingborghem, their vision and various facts about the company. It also outlines the economic results of the company and what they will focus on in the years to come. This document gives a very thorough picture of the priorities and rationalities of the company. In direct relation to the DrottningH project, the program plan for Drottninghög from 2012 has been very useful in understanding what the project aims of achieving and the difficulties involved in large renewal processes such as the one undertaken in Drottninghög.

Another document that have been useful in understanding the reasons why the DrottningH aimed towards innovative forms of dialogue during the process has been the application to the Delegation for Sustainable cities. This delegation was appointed by the government between the years of 2008 – 2012 in order to stimulate sustainable urban development. The delegation's mission was to give economic support to sustainable urban projects in Sweden. Between 2008-2012 98 projects were awarded funds, where DrottningH was one of those projects. The proposition called *Stärkt ställning för hyresgäster* is an extensive report that thoroughly examines the position of tenants and has been very important in order to understand the importance in tenant influence during renovations. This proposition suggests a number of legislation changes and in direct relation to this document, the Helsingborg municipality's response can be read in the document called *Yttrande över betänkandet Stärkt ställning för hyresgäster*. This document highlights that when it comes to tenant influence there are other motives at play interfering with giving tenants more influence, that has been conducive in gaining a deeper understanding of the issue.

Interviews

To gain knowledge outside the documents and capture the individual experiences of the dialogue processes, 6 semi-structured interviews were carried out. The first interview was held with an official from the municipality who had a specific role focused on communication. Two interviews were held with employees at the public housing company, Helsingborghem, that are involved with the tenant dialogues. One interview was together with two tenants that have been part of the renovation process since it started until the finishing stages. Furthermore, two interviews were done with representatives from the Swedish tenant association (Hyresgästföreningen). The interviews that were conducted ranged between 30-50 minutes. Most of them were done face to face at the office of Helsingborghem, the homes of the tenants living in Drottninghög and at the local office in Drottninghög. Two of the interviews were conducted over the telephone. All the interviews were recorded and was transcribed shortly after. This was done through the software called InqScribe, which allows a swifter transcription process as it offers among other things playback functions. This facilitates as it is sometimes hard to hear or understand a reasoning of the interviewee. Therefore, it was very useful to do the transcriptions shortly after as it was easier to remember what they meant that way. If the transcriptions had been done at a later stage, there is a risk that some of the important points made by the interviewees had been lost. Most of the interviewees were contacted by mail and it was very few that declined to participate.

The interviews have given insight into the extensive work that has been put into the dialogue processes with tenants. It has also been awarding to hear different perspectives from the municipality and the housing company, as their experiences differ in many regards. The interviews have thereby been a good complement to the documents that have been discussed above. The

interview with tenants was specifically awarded as it constitutes a contrast to the interviews held with officials and employees of the housing company. While the tenants agreed to some of the points made by previous interviewees, they also gave clearly different views.

The interviews were guided by a template that was prepared before each interview. The template was customized depending on the interviewee and their position (See appendix 1). For the interviews with the Helsingborg representatives the themes were: What Helsingborg has gained from tenant dialogues, to what extent tenants have had an influence, Experienced resistance, lessons learnt. For the interview with the tenants, the template was customized in order for the questions to be more appropriate in relation to their position. The themes for this interview were: Experiences from the renovation, the result of initiatives for dialogue, experienced resistance, lessons learnt. This customisation process was done for each interview. As the interviews were semi-structured, interviews were also determined by follow up questions, allowing for a more conversational approach where important aspects could be discussed thoroughly. These follow up questions were important as it allowed me as a researcher, to gain new knowledge that I might not have expected before the start of the interview (Merriam, 1994, Yin, 2018).

In order to make sure the interviews were carried out in an ethically coherent manner a paper was handed to the interviewee before each interview, with information about which university I represented, what the thesis was about, and information about confidentiality (Yin, 2018). This was then explained to the interviewee before each interview. As the interviews were recorded, it was also important to ask for their consent. I also informed the respondents that I would transcribe the interviews, allowing the respondents to review the transcripts. One of the interviewees asked for a transcript for review, but rather than to eventually cross

something out, they were sent as the interviewee thought it was an awarding conversation. In terms of confidentiality, all the interviewees have been made anonymous within the thesis. Therefore, in the analysis, the quotes from interviewees will be referred to as “Interview A”, “Interview B” and so forth. All the quotes used in the analysis have been translated from the Swedish transcripts of the statements of interviewees. This has been done very carefully in order for important parts of argumentations to be lost in translation. While it is always best to conduct interviews in English when writing the report in English, this has not been seen to have made any larger impact on the actual quotes chosen. By having the interviews in Swedish, the interviewees have been able to speak in an effortless manner, which has been prioritised in this case.

Analysis through coding

The coding of this paper begun by coding planning documents and other documents relevant to the dialogue and was continued throughout the data collection process. This was done as Merriam (1994) highlights that “... collection and analysis are done simultaneously in qualitative research” (Merriam, 1994:136). The importance of analysing while collecting data in qualitative research lies in the fact that if you don’t analyse the data you collect, you might end up in a situation where the information could be unclear, repeat what was already known or the stressful situation of having a mass of data too large to handle given the time frame. Therefore the end product in a case study is formed by the information that is collected and by the analysis that is done continually (Merriam, 1994:137). To begin with the coding was done openly (Bryman, 2016). However, in order to structure the coding in accordance to the aim of the paper and the chosen research questions, three themes were identified during the process: *political priorities and economic rationalities, implications of dialogue implementation and democracy, the only way forward.*

5. Analysis

In accordance to the aim of this thesis and in order to answer the chosen research questions, this analysis will first critically examine urban political priorities and the economic rationalities underpinning the way renovations are undertaken by Helsingborg. Secondly, the way dialogue was implemented will be examined, discussing potential motives why it was carried out this way. Thirdly, the difficulties in, and the need to incorporate democracy in order to achieve tenant influence will be analysed.

Political priorities and economic rationalities

In order to understand the chosen path by Helsingborg when it comes to the dialogue undertaken it is important to understand which political priorities and economic rationalities are at play. As discussed in the theoretical section above the future success of Helsingborg is outlined in their vision called Helsingborg 2035 where the overarching aim is that Helsingborg becomes:

“An exciting, attractive and sustainable place – a magnet for creativity and competence. Helsingborg is the city for those who want something.”(Helsingborg Stad, 2015a)

These sorts of visions are not uncommon for today’s cities and urban regions, where a majority of Swedish municipalities share the view that in order to survive cities and regions has to adopt to the demands that the new economic geography and the global production networks are demanding. When walking around Helsingborg, it is practically impossible not noticing that Helsingborg is in an intense period of transformation, illustrating the city’s ambitions to grow strongly. In realizing their vision, Helsingborg has become an important tool. The methods used by Helsingborg are adapting in order to find ways to fulfil their own and the cities vision as highlighted by Helsingborg in their annual report (also called sustainability report):

“We are constantly developing our way of working so that it better matches the reality in which we are actors and helps us towards our and the city’s vision.” (HelsingborgHem, 2017:6) (My Translation)

While reading through documents about urban renewal projects and expansion with a focus on attractiveness, it is increasingly clear that these projects are part of larger campaigns to attract investment. In direct relation to the DrottningH project in Drottninghög, the CEO of HelsingborgHem, states that:

“The goal is to create attractiveness by renovating and building new houses there in a way that increases the variety of housing supply but also by attracting other actors to invest there” (HelsingborgHem, 2017:4). (My translation)

In HelsingborgHem’s business model (see Figure 3) the central focus is on attractiveness and while this is not bad in itself, the implications of such a focus when it comes to housing provision and especially in relation to housing affordability during renovation processes has to be scrutinized closer. It is argued that HelsingborgHem’s business model heavily rests on attractiveness and that:

“Our ability to raise the attractivity in the different city districts acts as a lever and is thereby crucial in raising the value of our properties and affect both customer satisfaction and benefits for the society.” (HelsingborgHem, 2017:6)



Figure 3. HelsingborgHem’s business model (HelsingborgHem, 2017)

Helsingborghem's business-model, where attractiveness is a core concept plays a significant role for the city's vision, where shaping places so that they are experienced as attractive, is seen as important for the city's future and prosperity in competition with other cities (Helsingborg Stad, 2015b). While this might not necessarily have to be a problem, what constitutes "benefits for society" is however, not all together clear. Undoubtedly, everyone wants to live in an attractive housing area, but the strategy of raising attractiveness raises questions of what these benefits might mean and for whom. The focus on raising attractiveness can have intended or unintended consequences. One such concern is how the focus on attractiveness serve the tenants that are might already be struggling with making rent. When discussing which rent level has been communicated to tenants and whether discussions over raised rents resulting from the renovations has taken place with the social services, one of the representatives from Helsingborghem stated that:

"It is the final rent that we communicate to our tenants... It is important for our tenants as some tenants are on welfare.... I have not had a discussion with the social services, but I have had tenants that have told me that they have gone there to have their new rent accepted. I have not heard anyone that has been declined by the welfare officials " (Interview E).

Helsingborghem's focus on attractiveness is not bad in itself, quite on the contrary, it is a project that seeks to raise the standard in a stigmatised area which is important in order to create a sustainable city. What becomes problematic is that when renovations are carried out in a way that is not balanced in terms of meeting or solving the pressing need of affordable housing for tenants with low incomes. This relates to Fainstein (2010) arguing that when undertaking renovation projects a relevant question to ask is whether one can talk about successful renovation processes when those that are already economically weak has to pay an even larger share of their economy towards housing. While raised rents is problematic if it means that social services have to pay an ever-increasing share of people's

rents, raising rents for economically weak households might force people that are just barely making rents to contact the social services in order to make rent. Therefore, the short mindedness of renovation undertaken has to be questioned. By incorporating a focus on equity, where no one should have to move as a result of renovations undertaken, social sustainability could be enhanced as people living on the margins would not have to choose whether they have to move away from their homes and neighbours. Furthermore, a stronger focus on equity could also lessen the burden on the social services and their expenses and thereby enhance efficiency.

For those that can afford it, the much-needed renovations in Drottninghög with raised rents averaging between 23 - 38 % is perhaps agreeable. A valid argument by housing companies is that they have to care for those who want to raise standards, where “customers satisfaction” is something that Helsingborghem often refers to. However, when considering the development in society that is becoming ever more adapted for customers it is peculiar that renovations can’t be adapted to the other end of the customer spectrum, where even small rental increases have big impacts. The reason why the housing company’s strategy is sensitive when it comes to giving tenants more influence when it comes to the extent of renovations is outlined by one of the representatives from the tenant association stating that:

“I believe that the crucial reason, this I am completely convinced, is the size of the rent. Housing companies know, on the one hand, what has to be done in a property, on the other they know what renders higher rents. It is priority number one for many companies that they can extract a rent as high as they find viable.” (Interview A).

When it comes to the new legislation stating that public housing companies has to be run in a business-like manner this is central. Renovations are an opportunity to raise the utility value (bruksvärdet) of the apartments, and the rent levels housing companies can demand (Boverket, 2014a:60). To protect

tenants when housing companies want to renovate, tenants have a legal right to oppose renovation. To increase rents after renovation the housing companies has to get an approval for the proposed improvements from the affected tenants, or a permission from the rent tribunal (hyresnämnden). As highlighted in the proposition *Strengthened position for tenants*, although there is legislation that should protect tenants, it is merely a chimera in practice. When tenants oppose renovations proposed by housing companies, the rent tribunal, in the absolute majority of cases, give housing companies permission to carry out renovations (SOU 2017:33). Although the legislation is supposed to create a sort of balance between tenants and housing companies when it comes to raising standards, in practice it has been concluded that tenants have near to none influence on the extent of renovation initiated by housing companies (SOU 2017:33).

The incentives to raise the standards in rental apartments must therefore be considered high among many housing companies with required economic return (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015). Arguably, due to the lack of housing, with many potential customers waiting in line for housing, a lack of competition weakens the incentives for housing companies when it comes to allowing tenants through co-creative dialogue affect the extent of renovations and raised rents. A possible reason for this is that it might interfere with market logics where housing companies want to achieve a high enough standard to fill the gap between the utility value rent and what tenants are willing to pay. This highlights a conflict when it comes to public housing companies and the legislated purpose to be beneficial for the public (Allmännyttigt) while at the same time act in a business-like- manner.

However, as discussed by Grander (2015) and Westerdahl (2015) when it comes to public housing companies such as Helsingborghem, there is considerable room manoeuvring when it comes to the law stating that public housing companies such as Helsingborghem has to be run according to

business-like principles. As stated by Grander (2015) the future of public housing companies can, in the end be determined by the companies themselves, while the political development on the local level, both creates possibilities and sets up boundaries. The problem is that focusing on housing affordability during renovation processes does not currently seem to be on the agenda, where other political priorities and the incentives to raise standards according to economic rationalities interfere. The proximity of political visions and strategies and economic rationalities is evidently clear when discussing with tenants and representatives why they believe this big renovation project is undertaken now. Drottninghög has had big renovation needs for a long time. Arguably, it is not until now that the vision of the city and Helsingborg, increasingly led by a need to be run according to business-like principles has aligned. This is highlighted by one of the tenants that has lived in the area since the 1970s stating that:

“Never before have we seen such concerted efforts by the municipality and Helsingborg jointly carrying out such a big scale project. They are serious with this project, and whether it ends up well, only time can tell” (Interview C).

While the redevelopment of Drottninghög is arguably done in order to improve standards in the area and making it better for people living there, a strong motivator for the municipality in realizing their vision, but also for the housing company Helsingborg, is arguably the location of Drottninghög. One of the representatives Helsingborg states that:

“I think that the location of Drottninghög is great in Helsingborg. When I was small, it was on the outskirts of the city, but now it is in the middle really, between Väla Centrum mall and the centre of Helsingborg. The location is great, and the land is fantastic”.
(Interview D)

In the light of this it is relevant to ask if the extensive renovations and standard raising measures would be the same if the area was located further away or in a smaller Swedish city or if they had been more moderate. There

are numerous examples in smaller municipalities or public housing companies that have managed to offer more moderate renovations, where the need for housing has been lower and the bargaining power of tenants have been stronger (Boverket, 2010). In the light of the political priorities and economic rationalities discussed above it is therefore important to examine how dialogues have been implemented and their implications.

Implications of dialogue implementation

Similar to the dialogue process undertaken by the municipality as discussed above, a strong focus during the dialogue process with the tenants has been to raise awareness. One of the representatives at Helsingborgem involved in the dialogue process says that:

“We wanted to talk to people, receive comments. The conversations could be about anything really. What we found when talking to tenants was that they were not fully aboard what we were doing, if they really knew what we meant when we were talking about the project. Often, they responded that they understood, but in reality, this was not the case. We realised that we had to do something more, if we wanted the tenants to be in on this.” (Interview D)

In order to raise the awareness of the project, the idea of home visits was proposed and eventually implemented. During these home visits the representatives from Helsingborgem let the tenants give their views on the coming renovations, they informed about the project and a survey was used (See appendix 2). According to one of the representatives:

“We built a confidence with the tenants, because it is not about tactically misleading someone, quite on the contrary, they were honest open dialogues... I know that it was much appreciated. Somehow, I think that we made many people feel a little bit more involved and people understood things a little bit better, that’s how it felt anyhow” (Interview D)

Apart from informing about the renovation process and getting people engaged, the dialogues undertaken was also a question of finding out what

tenants wished for in the coming renovation. This was done so that Helsingborghem "... did not just go in and renovate and added things to the apartments that the tenants did not like" (Interview E). It was a way for tenants to give their view on what was needed in the apartments. Questions were also asked about expectations for the coming renovations and if there were tenants that wanted to change to smaller or bigger apartments. A common suggestion from tenants was that they wanted the housing company to prepare for dishwashers in the kitchen, while still having the choice to decide whether buy it on their own. In some cases, tenants wanted to move to smaller apartments in order to keep their housing costs at a relatively low level. The tenants were given the option to choose to get a safety door, glazed in balconies or terrace and a completely renovated kitchen and thereby regulate the rent to an extent. Prior to the renovation took place, a technical assessment of the renovations needs was made by Sweco, highlighting areas that were particularly in need of maintenance. According to one the representative from Helsingborghem:

"One of the best things that were done, was that they ordered a technical examination from Sweco. They examined the houses and made a technical overview of the houses at a very early stage. The report was then handed to us and we had it with us all the time. It was much easier to lean on the report, it was the facts... The technical overview was very good, it was hard to explain, it is almost so that you don't know all the terms yourself, but it was very good." (Interview D).

The survey that was handed to tenants in the home visits where they sat down and spoke to tenants (they carried out around 250 home visits in a total of 1100 apartments) and the technical report was used as a way to show why the renovations were needed. According to the representatives from Helsingborghem, the survey and the technical assessment was instrumental when the housing company decided on what measures were to be taken and which eventually formed the extent of the renovations. Thereby, in the tenant dialogues undertaken by Helsingborg it was not an

unconditional discussion with tenants about what needed to be done which is promoted in the co-creative approach. When asked about how the individual tenant could influence the extent of renovations. One of the representatives stated:

“Well, they have not been able to decide how we (pause). You could say that they have not been able to decide that - this is not something we want – instead we have based our decisions from the surveys and what we have heard when we have been out and spoken to our tenants. But on the other hand, they have been able to decide indirectly, one could say.” (Interview E)

While the aim to raise awareness and get people engaged is arguably a sound initiative, the fact that tenants have not been able to influence the final alternatives given for renovation is problematic. So, while a big part of the dialogues is aimed at raising an awareness of the project, it can also be argued that it has been a very useful tool for Helsingborghem in order to carry out what can be seen as a sort of market analysis. They have been able to include aspects that are wanted by tenants without really giving tenants an influence on the alternatives that were finally offered. As highlighted by one of the tenants, the housing company was able to pick what suggestions should be listened to:

“We were allowed to participate and say what we wanted, however some things they listened to, and with some things they did as they liked”. (Interview C)

A possible explanation why the housing company has been able to do this can be partly explained by Swedish legislation gives housing companies a strong position when it comes to the time of renovation and the extent of what is to be done as discussed above. When asked if dialogues can be carried out in a balanced and conducive way, considering the strong position of the housing companies, one of the representatives from the tenant association stated that:

“You can have a good dialogue before renovations, but it is completely on the terms of the housing companies. It is completely dependent on if the housing company are interested of having a dialogue. If something comes up, where tenants and the housing company can’t reach an agreement through dialogue and it ends up in the rent tribunal, then tenant influence is just a chimera, we usually say. You think that you have the Tenancy Act backing you up, but in practice you have no influence at all. Today, the influence of tenants is completely dependent on if the housing company wants it or not” (Interview A).

This is arguably problematic when it comes to achieving co-creative dialogues during renovations. As highlighted by Abrahamsson (2015b), the co-creative dialogue should not be used as a tool of merely reaching consensus, it should be used as a way where strong standpoints concerning the topic can be openly articulated. The fact, that housing companies can go through with their plans even if tenants are against it does not necessarily mean dialogues cannot be conducive, but it gives less incentives for housing companies to formalise a model for co-creative dialogue. In a similar way one of the representatives from the tenant association has highlighted a possible reason that co-creative dialogues are not implemented:

“...housing companies are unaccustomed of letting tenants participate and decide on decisions when it comes to important issues, such as technical and even economical judgements, they might be doubtful whether the tenants have the competence. That is why almost complete solutions are presented, instead of a dialogue supported with the needed competence... Furthermore, I don’t believe that they are actively looking for a model where advanced conversations could take place with tenants. (Interview A)

While the aim of Helsingborg; to collect viewpoint from tenants and raise an awareness of the renovations, is sound, and arguably a very important aspect, the way it has been carried out raises a number of questions concerning the motives from Helsingborg. An apparent motive that is not openly discussed by the housing company is that a

potential motive for the dialogue from Helsingborghem is that they have wanted to analyse the tenants *will to pay* which is also highlighted by one of the representatives from Helsingborghem:

“And of course, we should be selling, but we should sell with concern, we should have our customer in focus. And ourselves, we have to have customers that can handle the rent, without collapsing economically.” (Interview E)

Three potential motives why the co-creative approach has not been applied in the dialogues between Helsingborghem and the tenants can hereby be identified. The first concerns raising the awareness of what the project means and what collecting information of what the tenants expect/want from the renovations. Instead of letting tenants directly influence the extent of renovations and what needs to be done from the current economic and technical circumstances with tenants, standard raising renovations with a rent increase of between 23-38 % has been based on discussions and surveys collected from around 260 households. So, while the intent is surely a good one by the representatives undertaking the home visits, the lack of influence on the final plans for renovation makes one question the real motives behind the extensive work including home visits. Through a critical lens, the home visits could thereby be seen as a way to *solidify* the renovations by eliminating alternatives by referencing to “facts” that even the representatives had a hard time understanding.

The engagement enacted through especially home visits could have been conducive towards a more co-creative process. With the information that was distributed, the alternatives could have been better negotiated by putting the all the alternatives on the table and reaching a compromise between different interests. Thereby, the chance to enhance democratic aspects of the renovation process were largely bypassed. Arguably the focus has been on reaching a consensus on the plans proposed which is also highlighted by one of the by one of the representatives from

Helsingborgem that is still involved in the project, stating that: “It is my job to make sure that the project does not come to a halt” (Interview E).

The second motive which has been identified is that through the dialogues undertaken Helsingborgem large chunks of information resembling a sort of market analysis has allowed them to gain insights into the *will to pay* among the tenants. Here the incentives for Helsingborgem in carrying out an extensive process of dialogues is arguably that they could see how much the houses could be renovated while not forcing too many tenants to move, which in the case of Pennygången discussed in the introduction led to a prolonged process and a strong engagement from tenants. While the situation could have been even worse for tenants in Drottninghög, it is arguably Helsingborgem that has reaped the biggest benefits from the implemented dialogue process, as the process has proceeded more smoothly while at the same time given possibilities of raising rents considerably. Thirdly, a possible motive that a more co-creative approach has not been implemented has been that housing companies are generally *unaccustomed* and lacks the will to include tenants into the technical and economic decisions. As far as housing companies are concerned, the more ownership they have concerning these decisions, the better which highlights the importance of engaged tenants in the move towards a co-creative approach during renovation.

These motives could all have influenced why Helsingborgem has chosen a strategy of renovation where the company has already laid the foundations and decided which measures should be taken, in close collaboration with tenants, but not in a co-creative manner. When the foundations are laid by Helsingborgem in close collaboration with the tenants it is clear that the tenants have had *influence*, as the housing company has listened to tenants and carried out a survey with tenants. However, what becomes evidently clear is that they have not been able to *affect* the chosen extent of renovations and the steep rental raises that has been the outcome. This

tendency is also highlighted by one of the representatives from the tenant association stating that:

“What is interesting is that when we ask tenants, more tenants answer that they have the possibility of influencing than those that answer that they can affect. This is an interesting distinction. It shows somehow that influence has been somewhat devalued, that it somehow means that you don’t have the possibility to affect and change and be co-creative in a process.” (Interview B)

While all the motives identified above are arguably important, it is especially the last motive, that housing companies are unaccustomed and lacks incentives to include tenants in a co-creative process, that carries the greatest potential. Legislation is currently too weak in order to sufficiently protect tenants during renovation processes and economic logics are increasingly setting the agenda for the role of public housing companies. However, tenants still have tools that must be used in order to pressure housing companies to involve themselves in a more co-creative process during renovations. However, in order to do this, more democratic processes have to be embraced.

Democracy, the only way forward

An identified argument commonly articulated among housing companies is that the position of tenants should not be strengthened as that would allow a few tenants to use their veto when renovation is needed. The argument is that individual tenants should not stop the tenants that wants to raised standards, who should be able to choose their standard of living. However, as stated of one of the representatives from the tenant association:

“... tenants do not have a veto right, the only thing that they should approve are measures that raises the standard, when it comes to ordinary maintenance, housing companies can do however they like” (Interview A).

A strengthened position for tenants as proposed by the proposition (SOU 2017:33), is arguably not an excessive demand. However, the proposition has ignited an outrage among municipalities, housing companies and other important actors on the housing market. In their criticism it is particularly one thing that has caught their attention. This is the proposed alteration in current legislation stating that when renovations are undertaken they should not be *unreasonable* against the tenant. The proposed alteration is that this should instead be changed to *reasonable* against the tenant. In order to determine what is reasonable, the proposition also emphasize that the tenant tribunal should pay particular attention to whether the tenant has been able to *affect* the measures taken, both in how they are carried out but also the *extent* of renovation. Furthermore it should be judged whether the measures taken is reasonable by considering the *rent raise* that can be presumed to follow with the measure taken (SOU 2017:33). These changes have been opposed by the municipality of Helsingborg stating that:

“We hold that the proposed change is too far-reaching and could result in that necessary measures in order to maintain the function and value of properties could be hampered or prevented. The development of housing standards on rental apartments is likely to be held back” (Helsingborg Stad, 2017:1).

It seems that housing companies are not very interested in shifting towards enhancing democracy when it comes to renovation processes which is further highlighted by one of the representatives from the tenant association:

“It would feel better if SABO (Swedish association of public housing companies) and Fastighetsägarföreningen (Swedish property federation) would have been more interested about tenant influence... It is the kind of thing we talk about on Sundays, but not during the rest of the week.” (Interview B)

In terms of promoting engagement and moving towards more democratic approaches during renovation this becomes problematic. An important factor when it comes to co-creative processes, it has to be *for real*. This is because:

“If the housing company says that they want tenants to be part of the process and influence, then they have to live up to that. It is the same thing with the legislation, if the legislation gives the impression that tenants can actually be a part of the decision making, which it does today as you have to give your approval, then it has to live up to that. But it doesn’t, because not in any case, have the tenants had that influence. Then you just feel ripped off.”
(Interview A)

As tenants spend their free time involving themselves in dialogue processes, then they should arguably also have a real influence on the renovations. If tenants feel that they can’t affect the final decision regarding the renovations undertaken, there is a real risk that the democratic deficit during renovation processes will become even greater, when people are reluctant to take part. It seems that housing companies are worried about entering dialogues with tenants on more equal terms. One of the representatives from the tenant association resonates that:

“Some housing companies seem a bit afraid that tenants will come with unreasonable demands, but this is not the case, ... you can’t just have participation without a consequence, understanding what different things cost. Sometimes you have to compromise and find different alternatives and have different quality levels.” (Interview B).

In the dialogue undertaken by Helsingborghem, promoting already framed interventions has avoided the conflictual nature of the renovation process. As it seems, the current dialogues undertaken poses very few challenges to Helsingborghem. However, while Helsingborghem has some way to go towards a co-creative approach during renovations they have taken the initial steps of including tenants to a bigger extent. As argued by one of the representatives from the tenant association:

“I believe that cooperation agreements built on the free will between two parties, to do something together, is much better than a situation where one of the parties threatens by going to court. It starts with the voluntary and good cooperation...” (Interview B)

However, what constitutes such a cooperation is highly dependent on that those relationships are in place. An identified problem is that those relationships varies considerably depending on which housing company one discusses with, their financial situation, their aims but also on a more personal level, where the ambitions of CEO's has been seen to have a big effect on whether these relationships are promoted. This unstable nature of tenant influence is highlighted through the following statement:

“It is very easy that we become ignorant in regard to history, it is not about a lack of durability, rather it is the turnover of people that often results in a situation where we become ignorant in regard to history, what you have previously conquered has to be reconquered every year almost. One has to sit down and reflect on – Why are we doing this?... It is like a marriage where you have stopped telling each other that you love one another. When you stop caring for the other part, taking each other for granted and suddenly you don't recognise this person sitting next to you in the sofa. (Interview B)

Therefore, in order to capture the engagement of tenants, the work with tenant influence should not be based on formal calculation set up for costs and revenues concerning the tenants' rights to affect in cases where tenant influences includes some sort of decision power of economic relevance as discussed by Bengtsson (2015). Instead a deepened perspective on what constitutes tenant influence and what is necessary to capture engagement is needed in order to achieve socially sustainable renovation processes or as argued by one of the representatives from the tenant association:

“Influence is a practice that you have to apply every day of the week, all the time, how do we find the best way to work together, how do we create good relations, how do we become more transparent. The bottom line is that influence is hard, democracy is pretty hard. The more there is that should be part of deciding something, the longer it takes, it could feel hard and bureaucratic, some might feel – can't we just bang our fist on the table and decide for once. However, in the majority of cases, the result is a lot better afterwards if you try to find ways to move forward, together” (Interview B).

What this highlight is that embracing more democratic processes will not come by itself. It is dependent on a leadership from the housing companies that fully embraces the municipal housing companies legislated demand on giving tenants influence. While Helsingborg has come further than many housing companies when it comes to giving tenants an influence on proceedings, it is important that the democratic aspects of renovation processes are further enhanced. The co-creative approach will therefore be an important thought-frame ahead, that should be promoted to a higher degree, when housing companies engage in dialogue with their tenants.

6. Conclusion

With a specific focus on housing affordability and co-creative processes, the aim of this thesis was to examine how the Swedish public housing company Helsingborghem has chosen to handle the dialogue with their tenants during the first phase of the renovation process in Drottninghög. This was done in order to examine potential limitations of already framed renovation projects, where tenants are not co-creative in decisions making processes and examine how co-creative processes can be conducive in improving their practical implementation. In order to operationalise and concretise this, two research questions were initially posed: *Has participation through dialogues increased the influence of the tenants in terms of housing affordability? How can the dialogues be democratically enhanced through a co-creative approach?* This conclusion thereby seeks to answer these questions.

The analysis above has highlighted that when it comes to the dialogue process undertaken by Helsingborghem, tenants' chances to affect the final decisions concerning the renovations undertaken, and thereby the standard raising measures affecting their rent levels, have been *poor*. A common point made by tenants is that they have been able to *influence* plans to some extent, while at the same time arguing that they have not had the chance to *affect* the outcome of the plans. This highlights that although a number of interviewees have said the dialogues have been good in relation to things such as the evacuation during the renovation, they have not sufficiently incorporated the way tenants could influence the extent of renovations and housing affordability, in practice.

The dialogue undertaken by Helsingborghem was characterised by an already laid foundations and where Helsingborghem decided which measures should be taken, in close collaboration with tenants, but not in a

co-creative manner. Instead of allowing tenants directly influence the extent of renovations and what needs to be done from the current economic and technical circumstances tenants have “indirectly” been able to influence as stated by one of the representatives from Helsingborg. The result has been standard raising renovations in all apartments with a rent increase of between 23-38 %. The “indirect” influence tenants have been able to exercise through tenant dialogues has been the through home visits where information was collected using surveys collected from around 260 households out of 1114 (See appendix 2).

Concerning the implementation of the tenant dialogues a number of motives were identified that could explain why Helsingborg has chosen their strategy of renovation. While the intent of the home visits was arguably for good causes, such as raising an awareness of the project, the home visits have also been argued to be a way to *solidify* already planned measures of renovations by showing pictures how future apartments could look and eliminating alternatives by referencing to “facts” that even the representatives had a hard time understanding. Another motive identified is that through the dialogues undertaken by Helsingborg, large chunks of information resembling a sort of market analysis has allowed them to gain insights into the *will to pay* among the tenants. Here the incentives for Helsingborg in carrying out an extensive process of dialogues is arguably that they could see how much the houses could be renovated, while not forcing too many tenants to move, without causing too much of an upset.

A third motive identified, is that housing companies are generally *unaccustomed* and lacks the will to include tenants into the technical and economic decisions. Arguably there are few incentives for housing companies to involve tenants in decision making processes if the housing company chosen a narrow view on the current legislation stating that public

housing companies should be run according to business-like principles discussed by Bengtsson (2015). During renovation processes this conflict becomes especially clear, as too much influence could potentially interfere with the required returns set up by the owner. To make matters worse, due to widespread lack of housing in Helsingborg, with many potential customers waiting in line for housing, a lack of competition further weakens the incentives for housing companies when it comes to allowing tenants through co-creative dialogue affect the extent of renovations the resulting raised rents.

While the awareness was arguably raised, and tenants could have a say especially in the implementation process of the actual renovation, they failed to fully benefit from the engagement enacted which could have been conducive towards a more co-creative process. With the information that was distributed, the alternatives could have been better negotiated by putting all the alternatives on the table and reaching a compromise with more moderate interventions for the weak income households. A common way to do this is to have different standard levels on the renovation, where the lowest level of renovation is moderate, and the highest could be an almost complete refurbishment. By choosing a strategy where the frame had already been decided, the chance to enhance democratic aspects of the renovation process were largely bypassed.

When it comes to the role of public housing companies' historical role to be an actor that should strive towards supplying housing for all, this thesis has highlighted that this role has clear connection to political priorities of the owner, the municipality. Helsingborg's vision to become an "... exciting, attractive and sustainable place – a magnet for creativity and competence" (Helsingborg Stad, 2015a:1) by 2035 has clear resemblances to the entrepreneurial stance within urban politics discussed above, where the managerial role of the municipality has given space towards a stronger focus on entrepreneurial activities. Influenced by the political priorities and

visions of the municipality, Helsingborgem has turned attractiveness into their focal point for success in their business model, acting as a “lever” for the rest their undertakings. This focus on attractiveness is problematic when it comes to housing affordability, especially for people with low incomes, that are only just managing rents as it is or for people already on social benefits. Here, it has been argued that dialogues undertaken has clear weaknesses. Considering the historical role of Swedish public housing to be an important actor in guaranteeing housing for all, without excluding the weaker households this is a worrisome development. When one-sided customer satisfaction, with a focus on those who can pay, to a large extent seem to determine the way that renovations are undertaken by Helsingborgem, it has been questioned if the public housing company really is allmännyttigt (for the public good).

When it comes to the dialogue process undertaken by Helsingborgem, there are a number of motives conflicting with tenants’ chances to affect the final decisions concerning the renovations. While a reluctance of Helsingborgem towards dialogues that are held on more equal terms has been highlighted, the final results in terms of housing affordability shows that the co-creative approach as outlined by Abrahamsson (2015b) and practically implemented by Stenberg (2015) is urgently needed and should be promoted during renovation processes. Abrahamsson (2015b) highlights that one of the real strengths of co-creative dialogues is that by involving the conflictual aspects in the renovation process, important aspects of the issue that would not normally surface are allowed to be discussed making the renovation process less black and white where a false sense of “consensus” can be avoided.

If the dialogues would have applied the co- creative approach it could have resulted in dialogues taking longer and could have meant that they would at times be harder to control. However, it would allow for a focus on important things such as rents levels, instead of choosing the color of their tiles or

choosing if they want their balcony glazed in or not. To incorporate and handle conflicts through co-creative dialogue should therefore be seen as an essential part of sustainable and democratic problem-solving in relation to renovation processes. This study illustrates that although steps have been taken to include tenants through dialogue, there is still a lot to be done in terms of achieving co-creative dialogue with tenants during renovations, especially when it comes to the extent of renovations. Ultimately the ability of tenants to influence the renovation of their homes is a question of democracy. Arguably it is not until we embrace the conflictual nature of democracy as discussed by Mouffe (2011) that dialogues could be democratically enhanced and leaps towards socially sustainable renovation processes can be made.

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Appendix 1.

Interview template used for the semi-structured interviews.

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Intervju för Masteruppsats

Lunds Universitet

Program: *Master in Human Geography (Samhällsgeografi)*

Student: *Karl Helgesson*

Hej,

Tack för att du tar dig tid att hjälpa mig med min masteruppsats. Jag heter Karl Helgesson, är 29 år gammal och läser min sista termin på Lund Universitet inom samhällsgeografi. Som avslutning skriver jag nu mitt arbete på ämnet boendedialog och inflytande i samband med ombyggnadsprocesser. Jag har nedan sammanfattat i korta drag vad ämnet gäller, hur intervjuerna är strukturerade, lite praktisk information samt inkluderat en intervjumall som kommer användas som underlag för intervjuerna.

Ämnet:

Jag har valt att göra en fallstudie av boendedialog och inflytande under Etapp 1 – Grönkullagatan 9,11,13 inom projekt DrottningH. Enligt lagen ska boenden i allmännyttiga bostadsbolag ha inflytande över sitt boende, men det preciseras inte hur detta inflytande ska se ut. Jag är därför intresserad av att se hur Helsinborghem har arbetat med att involvera boende och till vilken grad de har givits inflytande över ombyggnadsprocesserna under etapp 1.

Intervjuer:

Intervjuerna kommer vara vad man kallar semi-strukturerade, vilket betyder att intervjuerna kommer att bygga på ett antal förutbestämda områden runt vilka jag kommer ställa ett antal frågor. Beroende på svaren så kan följdfrågor komma utifrån dessa frågor i mån av utrymme.

Praktisk information:

Allt deltagande är frivilligt och de deltagande kan välja att avbryta när som helst. Resultatet kommer behandlas konfidentiellt och ingen deltagande kommer refereras till med namn, utan förblir anonyma. Intervjuerna kommer spelas in av praktiska skäl och detta kommer sedan transkriberas. Vill man granska materialet i efterhand så går detta alldeles utmärkt. Det som uppkommer i intervjuerna är självklart enbart för att publiceras i mitt examensarbete och ingen information kommer spridas vidare till tredje part. Har ni några frågor innan eller efter intervjun så finner ni mina kontaktuppgifter ovan.

**Boendedialog och inflytande, Projekt DrottningH
Etapp 1 - Grönkullagatan 9,11 och 13**

1. Hur har din roll sett ut under etapp 1? Vilka processer har du varit delaktig i?

Tema - Hur Helsingborgshems gynnsamt av dialog med de boende

2. Hur ser du på dialogen med boende från Helsingborgshems sida, har ni som bostadsbolag gynnsamt av dialogen som varit?

3. Vad anser ni att man har för mål med dialog med boende från Helsingborgshems sida? Är det ett informationsutbyte eller upplever du att de boende har haft ett inflytande under processen?

Tema – Till vilken grad boende har kunnat haft inflytande

4. På vilka sätt har de boende kunnat ha inflytande över de planer som presenterats i samband med ombyggnationerna under etapp 1? (dvs ombyggnaderna av Grönkullagatan 9, 11 och 13)

5. Vilka förändringar har de boende fått vara med och bestämma om / inte fått vara med och bestämma om?

6. Utifrån de tillvägagångssätt ni valt att arbeta med boendeinflytande på, vad anser ni har varit fördelar respektive nackdelar? Har det uppkommit problem under arbetets gång?

Tema – Upplevt motstånd

7. Har ni upplevt att det funnits något motstånd mot ombyggnationerna eller intressekonflikter mellan de boende och Helsingborgshems sida?

8. Om ett motstånd, intressekonflikter uppkommit, tex hyreshöjningarna. Har detta hanterats inom ramen för dialogen eller hur har man arbetat med detta från Helsingborgshems sida?


9. Resultatet av ombyggnationerna sägs leda till hyreshöjningar mellan 23 - 38 %. Hur tänker du kring detta, är det ett nödvändigt ont eller skulle man kunna gjort något annorlunda?

Tema – Lärdomar

10. Vad skulle du vilja säga är de största lärdomarna av boendedialogen som förts under etapp 1? Om ni fick göra om det igen, vad skulle ni vilja göra annorlunda i framtiden?

Appendix 2.

Survey Helsingborghem.



1. Känner du till projektet DrottningH?

Ja

Nej

Om ja: Vad är DrottningH?

2. Nämn tre saker som är bra respektive dåligt med ditt bostadsområde.

Bra:

Dåligt:

3. Tycker du att man i ditt område är villig att hjälpa sina grannar?

Ja, alltid

Oftast

Ibland

Sällan

Aldrig

4. Finns det någon i ditt kvarter eller område som kan hjälpa dig med små tjänster, som t ex passa lägenheten när du är bortrest, vattna blommor m.m?

- Ja
- Nej
- Vet inte

5. Finns det andra områden i Helsingborg som du tycker är attraktiva?

Ja. Vilka?

Varför?

6. Skulle du kunna tänka dig att bo i något av de områden du i förra frågan angett som attraktiva?

- Ja
- Nej

7. Är det viktigt för dig/er att ha Helsingborgshem som hyresvärd?

Ja. Varför?

Nej. Varför?

8. Hur ser hushållssammansättningen ut?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Antal vuxna	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Antal barn, under 16	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Antal barn, över 16	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. Storlek på lägenhet idag

Kvm: _____

Antal rum: _____

10. Hur ser ditt drömboende ut? (bo på landet, eget hus, radhus, modernt lägenhet etc.)

11. Hur ser du på ditt boende idag?

- Passar bra
- För stort
- För litet

12. Nuvarande månadshyra

13. Hur upplever du din hyresnivå?

- Bra nivå
- För dyrt
- Ganska billigt

14. (Valfri fråga)
Hur mycket av din nettoinkomst går idag till hyran?

Valfri fråga

- Mindre än 30 %
 Mellan 30-50 %
 Mer än 50 %

Annan procentsats

15. Saknar du något i ditt/ert boende idag?

- Nej
 Ja

Om Ja, vad saknar du?

16. Hur viktiga är följande saker för dig i ditt boende?

Gradera från 1-5 (1= inte alls viktigt, 5= mycket viktigt)

	1	2	3	4	5
Öppen planlösning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tvättmaskin/torktumlare	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Stor kyl/frys	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bänkbelysning med eluttag	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Diskmaskin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hiss	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kolfilterfläkt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Större balkong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Förråd/klädkammare i lägenheten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Badkar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dusch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. Skulle du kunna tänka dig att betala mer i hyra per månad för något av det du tyckte var mycket viktigt i förra frågan?

(Om Nej, gå vidare till fråga 19)

- Ja
 Nej

18. Hur mycket mer i månadshyra kan du/ni tänka er att betala?

- 500 kr
 1000 kr
 1500 kr
 2000 kr
 2500 kr
 3000 kr

Vad är du beredd att betala mer för?

19. Skulle du vara intresserad av att äga ditt boende på Drottninghög?

- Ja
 Nej

20. Skulle du kunna tänka dig att flytta till något av nedan?

- Nybyggd lägenhet på Drottninghög
 Nybyggt radhus på Drottninghög
 Renoverad befintlig lägenhet på Drottninghög
 Inget av ovanstående (gå till fråga 23)

21. Vilken storlek på lägenhet skulle du vilja ha?

Antal rum

Kvadratmeter

22. Hur mycket skulle du kunna tänka dig att betala för en nybyggd lägenhet eller radhus?

23. På vilket sätt föredrar du att bli informerad framöver?

Digitalt (mejl, hemsida, facebook etc)

Brev

Möte

Personligt samtal

Annat

Om annat - hur?

24. Har du ett önskemål om att få information på ett annat språk än svenska?

Ja, skriftlig

Ja, muntlig

Nej

Om Ja, vilket/vilka språk?

25. Övrigt