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Sustainable housing for everyone

A qualitative study of sustainable urban development and housing
provision in Malmö

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Master's programme: Welfare Policies and Management

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Wordcount: 22 273

May 2023

Abstract

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Title: Sustainable housing for everyone: A qualitative study of sustainable urban development and housing provision in Malmö

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This thesis explores how the city of Malmö plans for the housing provision from a sustainability perspective by studying social and environmental sustainability in the urban development process with the focus on housing. The study is a qualitative case study and interviews with employees working in the municipality and a document study have been conducted. The results have been analysed through the theory of need and the concept of sustainability, including the discourses of green growth and degrowth. The study concludes that efforts are being made in relation to social and environmental sustainability, for example, sharing functions and co-housing have been developed in the studied case of Sege Park. However, the municipality does not have the necessary tools to ensure housing for all. Instead, housing is both too expensive and people live too crowded. Concepts to try and build new apartments at a lower cost have been developed, however it has not been possible to target these apartments to households with lower income. From a degrowth perspective, matching type of house to household, in terms of size and cost, could be a way to ensure housing for more people but is not something that the municipality can regulate.

Keywords: housing provision, sustainable urban development, human needs, sustainable housing Malmö

Preface

I would like to thank all employees in Malmö stad that have participated in this study or helped me find relevant respondents, it would not have been possible to write this thesis without your help. I would also like to thank my supervisor Max Koch for giving me valuable guidance throughout the whole process of completing this thesis.

Table of contents

1. Problem formulation	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background.....	2
2. Previous research	4
2.1 The neoliberal housing market and strategies to ensure housing	5
2.2 Sustainable urban development	7
3. Theory	10
3.1 The theory of human need	10
3.2 Sustainability	12
3.2.1 <i>Green growth and degrowth</i>	13
3.2.2 <i>Housing and degrowth</i>	15
4. Methodology	17
4.1 Research overview.....	17
4.1.1 <i>Ontological and epistemological considerations</i>	17
4.1.2 <i>The case study</i>	18
4.2 Collecting and analysing the data	19
4.2.1 <i>Sampling</i>	19
4.2.2 <i>Data collection</i>	21
4.2.3 <i>Processing and analysing the data</i>	23
4.2.4 <i>Ethical considerations</i>	24
4.2.5 <i>Advantages and limitations of the study</i>	25
5. Result and analysis	27
5.1 Sustainability: what can it mean in urban development?	27
5.1.1 <i>Introducing the concept of sustainability in Malmö and Sege Park</i>	27
5.1.2 <i>Implementing sustainability in practice</i>	29

5.2 The sustainable city	32
5.2.1 <i>Different areas in the city</i>	32
5.2.2 <i>Mixing forms of housing</i>	35
5.2.3 <i>Living sustainable lives</i>	37
5.3 Ensuring housing for all, today and in the future	41
5.3.1 <i>Municipal responsibility for housing provision</i>	41
5.3.2 <i>The housing situation in Malmö</i>	42
5.3.3 <i>Building for all?</i>	44
5.3.4 <i>The match between house and household</i>	48
6. Concluding discussion	50
7. References	55
8. Appendix - Interview guide	60

1. Problem formulation

1.1 Introduction

Human well-being across the world is threatened by climate change. The most pressing global task is to bring everyone above the social foundations of human well-being, while not exceeding the critical planetary boundaries. One of the social foundations for human well-being is housing (Gough 2017, p. 20-21). Housing intends to satisfy basic human needs, such as shelter, security and a context of sociability, but it is also a major sector of the economy (Nelson 2019a, p. 3). The housing market may be an effective driving force for growth and capital accumulation, but it also creates environmental and social risks. Access to housing is mainly dependent on the household's purchasing power, which means that the distribution of housing is uneven and increases the risk of inequality. In addition, the general trend of neo-liberalisation combined with other socio-economic contexts leads to different levels of housing segregation, gentrification and exclusion. The housing sector also presents major challenges to environmental sustainability, especially when it comes to energy consumption, greenhouse gas emissions and encroachment on land (Mete & Xue 2021, p. 1). It has become more and more difficult to find affordable, environmentally sustainable and well-located housing to buy or rent. Top-down housing for economic growth fails to produce housing that meets the needs of people as well as the planet (Nelson 2019a, p. 4-5).

Housing in Sweden has become increasingly market-oriented since the 1990s (Listerborn 2021) developing into one of the most liberal governed housing markets in Europe (Hedin et al. 2012), which has led to a shortage of affordable housing. Housing inequalities have increased, people struggle to enter or to find housing on the "regular" housing market and four out of five municipalities report housing shortage. The housing queues for rental apartments are in many areas very long and people in need of housing might not be able to apply for the advertised apartments because the rent is too high, or because a certain income often is required. Most private and municipal landlords demand a stable income and no previous payment defaults (Listerborn 2021, p. 4-5). The greatest increase in homelessness is in reference to households that do not have any outspoken social problems but a strained economic situation, such as being dependent on benefits or having a debt (Granath Hansson 2021, p. 14). Housing policies used to constitute the cornerstone of the Swedish welfare model and welfare thinking but are now

forming the base of “anti-welfare” policies which seek to actively steer away needy groups from the city (Baeten & Listerborn 2015, p. 256).

Every municipality in Sweden shall have guidelines for the housing provision in their municipality according to the national legislation, and from October 2022 these guidelines are to be based on an analysis of what needs that are not accommodated on the local housing market (Boverket 2023a). The city of Malmö has an overarching goal to be an attractive and sustainable city socially, environmentally, and economically, and the municipality’s ambition is to be a world leader in sustainable urban development (Malmö stad 2021a). Given the current neoliberal housing situation, which fails to meet both social and environmental needs, this research aims to explore how the city of Malmö plans for the housing provision from a sustainability perspective. This is done by studying social and environmental sustainability in the urban development process, with the focus on housing, and how this might affect the possibility of creating a sustainable city for everyone. The study is a qualitative case study, using the area of Sege Park as an example. Interviews with professionals involved in the project of Sege Park and professionals working with housing provision and urban development in the city, as well as a document study, have been conducted to collect the data. The research questions are as follows:

- How is social and environmental sustainability, and the relationship between them, understood and included in the urban development process and housing provision in Malmö?
- What opportunities and challenges are presented when analysing the urban development process and housing provision in Malmö from a sustainability perspective and how might this affect the basic need for housing today and in the future?

1.2 Background

Since 1975 the Swedish constitution states the right to housing. However, citizens do not have any formal right to demand this right at court or by going to the municipality, as is the case for education and healthcare. The right to housing can rather be seen as a “social right” where society actively should take action to ensure housing for the citizens (Bengtsson 2022, p. 23). During the 1990s in Sweden, previous ambitious housing policies, which were based on the

“Social Housing Investigation”, were abandoned and the Ministry of Housing was closed. Swedish housing thus became increasingly market-oriented leading to a shortage of affordable housing (Listerborn 2021, p. 4). The Swedish housing regime can be described as a “unitary social rental market”, meaning that private and public property owners compete on equal terms on the rental market. The function of the unitary housing market presumes some selective measures, such as housing allowances, municipal social contracts, and investment subsidies. Assessments of what households that can get support on the housing market are restricted, and some measures are temporary. The main idea is that as many households as possible shall manage housing on their own. The rental law entails utility-value rents rather than market rents, which means that rents usually are affordable. However, this only applies to the older housing stock, other rental clauses apply for new apartments which allows for cost-based rents that are much higher than utility-value rents (Granath Hansson 2021, p. 17, 25). Even if there was a supply of acceptable and affordable housing, the market does not guarantee that people with low incomes will get access to these (Bengtsson 2022, p. 29). Overcrowding has become an issue since there are not enough large apartments in the existing housing stock to meet demand and many households cannot afford newly built apartments that are larger. Instead, people with limited economic means are forced to keep living in apartments that are too small for the household (Grander & Sandberg 2022, p. 157). The market has also created the opportunity for actors with the goal of short-term profit-making and with no intention of long-term commitment to act on the market. Further, the climate crisis puts pressure on the construction of housing since we need to produce, build and maintain better and more efficiently effective housing (Holgersen & Wallstam 2022, p. 323).

The municipalities are responsible for planning the housing provision in their municipality (Boverket 2023a) and are also responsible for the urban planning (Boverket 2023b). According to the Planning and Building Act, all municipalities must have a comprehensive plan which covers the entire municipality’s area. The comprehensive plan determines the vision for the future and outlines guidelines for planning policies, but it is not legally binding. The comprehensive plan for Malmö was adopted by the City Council in 2018 and extends roughly 20 years in the future (Malmö stad 2018) and the current programme for housing provision in Malmö covers the years from 2022 to 2026 (Malmö stad 2023a). The main objective in the comprehensive plan states that Malmö shall be a sustainable city, socially, environmentally and economically, and that the three areas of sustainability work in mutual symbiosis and

cooperation. Malmö shall grow, but with the least possible environmental impact and the city shall be socially balanced with good living conditions for all citizens. The city will mainly grow by inward expansion since a denser city will lead to a reduced consumption of resources (Malmö stad 2018). Malmö stad have incorporated the UNs sustainable global goals in Agenda 2030 where the objectives for housing provision mainly can be linked to target eleven of sustainable cities and societies where one goal states that access to good, safe and affordable housing must be ensured (Malmö stad 2023a).

2. Previous research

Meadowcroft (2008) states the importance of considering the links between social policy and the environment and argues that it is only with this connection that climate policy will be seen as fair. Social and climate policies interact and affect each other, social policy could for example contribute directly to mobilising societal resources to confront climate change. By targeting problems related to climate change other objectives related to welfare and equity may also be improved (ibid.). One area for synergy between social and climate aspects concerns housing, transport, urban policies and community development. For example, major sources for carbon emissions in Europe are associated with heating residential homes and residential travel. Countries that have very inefficient homes, such as the UK, can create a win-win situation by improving quality and reducing emissions (Gough 2008, p. 329).

Considering that urban development and the housing sector present opportunities for combining social and climate aspects, this thesis will contribute to an understanding on how these ideas are integrated by looking at urban development and housing provision in Malmö. Taking off from the interlinks between social and climate aspects and the importance of combining social and climate policy, this chapter will present some previous research that has been conducted relating to social and climate aspects of housing and urban development. First, research done on the current neoliberal housing situation and strategies to ensure housing will be presented as to give a further understanding of how the housing market affects the basic need for housing today. Second, research in relation to sustainability in urban development will be introduced to illustrate the challenges and opportunities with sustainable urban development. Together, the previous research that is presented in this chapter will help to situate this thesis in a context of

an existing research field as well as helping the reader to further grasp the situation in which the city of Malmö can plan for the housing provision from a sustainability perspective.

2.1 The neoliberal housing market and strategies to ensure housing

As highlighted in the introduction, housing in Sweden has become increasingly more market-oriented since the 1990s (Listerborn 2021). In the mid-1980s, housing provision had for decades been a pillar of the Swedish social democratic welfare state providing basic needs to the broad working and middle classes. However, drawing inspiration from neoliberal policies called for an end to existing housing policies, and one of the first things that the Conservative government did after coming into power in 1991 was to close the Department of Housing. Housing was not to be distinguished from any other commodity in the market under the new regime. Neoliberal reforms in Sweden have to a large extent been circumscribed by long-standing comprehensive welfare institutions, however housing presents an exception leading to consequences for many people at both ends of an increasingly polarised society (Hedin et al. 2012, p. 444). One example can be drawn from Listerborns (2021) study on precarious housing in Malmö. Precariousness can be understood as a social position where people are at a higher risk of experiencing situations where they feel vulnerable, exposed, excluded and neglected, which in turn may affect their health, possibilities to get employment as well as social relations. Precarity can be seen as a condition of neoliberalism and becomes a normalised insecurity which increases peoples' individual responsibilities. Listerborn focuses on the lived experience of housing precariousness in Malmö, for example on how people cope with finding housing with little resources at hand. Interviews were conducted with people that were lacking permanent housing and all respondents were concerned with the current housing market and had experienced difficulties when it comes to finding housing. The author identified some situations that might occur in the precarious housing market, such as the lack of available housing options, not being "chosen" by the landlords due to economy, ethnicity, race or gender and the insecurity of housing. The research concludes that housing in Sweden has been excluded from the traditional pillars of the welfare state and instead been handed over to the private market. Housing policies that are dysfunctional reinforce inequalities and enclose existing neoliberal power relations. Some people in the study came from middle-class families and could get help from their parents to buy an apartment. This reinforces the already embedded inequalities on the housing market, where some are able to find a way in and where others struggle for a long period of time (ibid.).

Granath Hansson (2021) explores strategies that are used to integrate homeless households into the regular housing market in six Swedish municipalities. In all municipalities, five groups of households, apart from the obligatory provision of adjusted housing for the elderly and disabled, received assistance related to housing: households suffering from problematic substance use and/or psycho-social illness, people that are victims of domestic abuse, households that have been assigned to the municipality under the Settlement Act on newly arrived immigrants and lone immigrant minors. The kind of assistance and the length of it varied a lot between the municipalities. Housing that is owned by the municipality played a central role in the provision of housing for social purposes in all the studied municipalities. In the unitary housing regime, the ideal is that household's access to the regular housing market is equal, and priority in housing queues and the relatively generous rules of transforming municipal social contracts to regular lease contracts are in line with this ideal since the aim is to integrate households into the regular housing market. However, the impact on housing queues when priority in housing queues are used as a strategy is unclear since it could also create a vicious circle where households that previously have gained access to the housing market on their own, now need assistance. There is a pressure on municipal housing companies to meet the demand both from housing queues as well as from the social services, and priority given to one group affects the other (ibid.).

Another important study in relation to social outcomes from urban planning is Baeten and Listerborn (2015) study on the Crossroad Centre/East plan in the city of Landskrona in 2012. The Crossroad plan had an aim to transform the central parts of Landskrona through renovation, conversion and demolition of rental flats in order to socially transform the city centre. It was hoped that a shift from rental to owner-occupied apartments would have a positive effect on migration flows, the tax base, criminality, social benefit dependency, school results and employment. The major renovations were followed by significant increases in rents, which could suggest a potential wave of "renoviction". This in turn raises questions of where vulnerable groups on the housing market, that have been forced to leave their home, will move to. In this study, affordable housing was seen as a problem, since it failed to attract the wealthy "creative" classes, rather than the solution to society's problem (ibid.). When looking outside of Sweden, Aduwo, Ejale and Ibem (2022) have studied and compared established social housing schemes in the UK and the Netherlands to emerging social housing schemes in Nigeria

and South Africa. In the article, social housing is defined as a housing solution where affordable housing at a price far below market value is delivered to a targeted group of people. The most common criterion to determine eligibility for social housing is income level, which means that tenants have a lower income than the general average. In all the studied countries, social housing was provided to low-income households, however, the challenges that the different countries faced were different. The UK and the Netherlands faced social challenges, such as segregation and poor public image, whilst Nigeria and South Africa faced socio-economic challenges, such as lack of funds and proper planning (ibid.). Social housing, or other long-term housing, where access is means tested does not exist in Sweden (Granath Hansson 2021, p. 17).

These studies all contribute to an understanding of the social aspects of housing and urban planning in the current housing market in Sweden and internationally today. They provide a context to how neoliberal reforms have affected people in need of housing and what challenges that countries and municipalities face when trying to ensure housing for all. This understanding is important in relation to the aim of this research, since it gives us the background to some of the social aspects of housing that are important when looking at social sustainability and the challenge of meeting the basic need for housing.

2.2 Sustainable urban development

Social sustainability is not a straightforward concept, but rather consists of different definitions and understandings. Winston (2022) addresses this issue by presenting a new definition of sustainable communities in which both social and environmental needs are essential. Social sustainability is defined as addressing basic human needs and ensuring the provision of welfare within planetary boundaries. Stepanova and Romanov (2021) also declares that social sustainability is a concept that is quite diffuse, with many existing definitions, interpretations and characteristics. In policy, the most widely used and deeply rooted components that describe urban social sustainability are the notions of social equity, equality and social cohesion. One challenge is that goals for social sustainability need to be implemented and integrated with other sustainability goals. Analysis for urban social sustainability focuses on different components of social sustainability, such as segregation, housing, safety, trust, justice and participation (ibid., p. 1-2). The UN Agenda 2030 goals for sustainable development links social and economic development with ecological sustainability and goal 11 highlights the importance of sustainable

communities. Low-income households in high-income countries in the Global North may experience multiple social and environmental deprivations and are more likely to feel the risks associated with climate change, but at the same time have the least resources to deal with them. Additionally, strategies to mitigate climate change are likely to have a disproportionately negative impact on lower income groups. Housing deprivation, such as poor dwelling quality, unaffordability and insecurity, have been linked to many problems, such as poor physical and mental health. Other impacts on social well-being includes the access to jobs, schools, social amenities and social networks (Winston 2022, p. 192).

Winston (2022) illustrates how regeneration programmes targeting housing could address many social and environmental problems at the same time. The author argues that the development or regeneration of sustainable communities requires that the social and environmental aspects are strongly integrated so that there is a focus on quality of life and the fundamental needs of humans and the natural environment. In a recent cross-national study of sustainable urban communities in Europe, affordable housing was found to be the most common housing challenge. Problems with affordability are also frequently accompanied by overcrowding. Those who live in severe housing deprivation are being denied many basic human needs. Paying for housing is usually at the top of the list of expenditure priorities, and households tend to cut spending on other essential items like energy or food. Integrating social and environmental measures to meet the basic needs of both humans and the environment involves substantial investment and redistribution of resources. Winston presents a new conceptualisation of sustainable communities which are characterised by mixed use, sustainable travel, energy, waste and water, social, cultural and environmental community resources and a good quality of life for humans and nature. This framework can then be used in urban and rural regeneration programmes in order to tackle housing deprivation while at the same time addressing many social and environmental problems (ibid.).

Stepanova and Romanov (2021) investigate the integration of local urban social sustainability goals in the planning process and the challenges that can arise due to conflicts. The authors study the case of temporary housing for immigrants in Gothenburg to analyse planning as a tool to implement local urban sustainability goals in a context of conflicts. Planning temporary housing for immigrants is connected to social sustainability goals at the local level through sub-

goals of accessible and more equal living conditions, distribution of and equal access to housing, reduced social and ethnic segregation and discrimination in relation to housing. However, the plan for building temporary housing for immigrants got into conflict with local residents in the proposed neighbourhoods. Local residents did for example express their concern about it being less safe to live in an area with temporary housing. After nine months of managing the conflict, the municipality declared that eleven out of twelve sites were no longer under consideration for the planned temporary housing project. In this case, the goals of social inclusion, access to housing and social services came into conflict with perceived individual and community safety as was expressed by the local inhabitants. The authors found that social sustainability goals were present early on in the planning process and were used to justify the proposed sites for temporary housing, however, these goals were not present later on in the planning process when the municipality had to handle the conflict with local residents. The study identified goal conflicts and it became unclear what social group's interest should be prioritised and why (ibid.). This study becomes relevant for this research since it can provide an insight to how the planning process can work with social sustainability, but also what challenges it might lead to, such as how to prioritise between different interests.

Another interesting study was conducted by Khan, Hildingsson and Garting (2020). The authors explore how ecological and social welfare concerns are integrated into urban planning in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The authors observed a growing awareness about the link between environmental and social concerns and that these must be handled in an integrated manner in all three cities, however the analysis demonstrated a lack of integration between ecological and social aspects of sustainability in main policy strategies as well as in day-to-day planning. However, Khan et al. (2020) did find examples of quite developed integration in specific projects and policy areas and the respondents in the study did understand ecological and social concerns as a synergetic relationship. The social effects in relation to environmental aspects were mainly focused on health issues, such as transport habits, access to green areas and improved housing conditions, rather than considering distributive and equity effects. The respondents also recognised conflicts between environmental and social goals, such as a gentrification effect when energy efficiency improvements lead to higher rents (ibid.). Since the aim of this thesis is to explore how social and environmental aspects are understood and integrated in urban development and housing provision in Malmö, where Sege Park will serve as an example, the study conducted by Khan et al. (2020), will be an interesting research to

relate to the result that will emerge from this study. Together, the research presented in this chapter provides some insights to the importance of, and challenges with, meeting the basic need for housing within planetary boundaries.

3. Theory

In this chapter, the theoretical framework that will be used to analyse the data will be presented. The aim of this thesis is to explore the housing provision from a sustainability perspective by studying the urban development process, with the focus on housing. The research questions asks how sustainability is understood and included in the urban development process and what challenges or opportunities that arise when analysing the urban development process and housing provision from a sustainability perspective and how this might affect the basic need for housing. Thus, the concepts of sustainability and human needs form an important theoretical understanding when analysing the collected data in relation to the aim and research questions. I will begin this chapter by presenting the theory of human need before I move on to the concept of sustainability including two different sustainable development discourses, namely green growth and degrowth.

3.1 The theory of human need

Gough (2015) proposes a coherent theoretical framework for conceptualising and analysing human needs, which is essential for guiding policies that simultaneously sustain the planet and human well-being. Needs, as opposed to wants, consist of a particular category of goals which are considered to be universalizable and objective, and which can lead to serious harm if not satisfied. This immediately relates to the challenges of human welfare posed by climate change, which already impose serious harm on some people today and undoubtedly will harm most, if not all, humans in the future (ibid.). Max-Neef et al. (1989) also argues that fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable. Further, these needs are the same in all cultures and historic periods. What changes is what means that are used to satisfy these needs. According to Gough (2015), many goods, services, activities and relationships that are required to satisfy the basic needs are culturally and temporally variable. For example, a large variety of cuisines or forms of dwellings can satisfy the needs for food and shelter. Therefore, there is an important

distinction between need satisfiers and human needs, and the notion of “universal satisfier characteristics” can fulfil the role of a conceptual bridge between basic needs and specific satisfiers. The universal satisfier characteristics (USCs) could then be defined as a set of characteristics which can contribute to the satisfaction of our basic needs in one or any cultural setting. The USCs must be identified in a collective process, thus consisting of a dual strategy of public policy formation, consisting of the codified knowledge of experts and the experiential knowledge of those whose basic needs are not met. If the goals of health and autonomy are to be attained, the following categories of USCs have been identified: nutritional food and clean water, protective housing, non-hazardous living and work environments, safe birth control and childbearing, appropriate health care, significant primary relationships, security in childhood, physical and economic security and appropriate education (ibid., p. 1202). Max-Neef et al. (1989) also argues for the importance of distinguishing between needs and satisfiers. The authors organises human needs in two categories, existential and axiological, which allows a demonstration of the interaction between the needs of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting, and on the other hand the needs of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity and Freedom. In this classification food and shelter are not seen as needs, but as satisfiers of the fundamental need for Subsistence. One satisfier may contribute to the satisfaction of different needs at the same time and one need might require various satisfiers to be met, there is therefore no one-to-one correspondence between needs and satisfiers (ibid., p. 20).

Gough (2015) highlights that needs are satiable which means that thresholds can be conceived where serious harm is avoided. The distributive principle implied by the needs approach is the goal of bringing all individuals up to such a threshold that their needs are met. In order to decide and measure these thresholds, the ideas of “appropriate” and “adequate” must be defined at the level of basic needs and USCs. The goal will then be to negotiate a constrained global optimum level of need satisfaction that is as high and as equal as possible, but still constrained enough in relation to planetary boundaries. Since the basic needs of future generations will be the same as of present generations, the theory of need provides a firm foundation to build sustainable targets for public policy. However, uncertainty about specific needs satisfiers in the future remains, for example due to technological change (ibid.). Doyal and Gough (1991) states that adequate housing might be open for more cultural variations, than for example food, which leads to challenges regarding recognising some universal housing characteristics which are

common to all people. However, the authors suggest that there are three satisfier characteristics in relation to housing which affects physical or mental health negatively everywhere if not met. First of all, a dwelling must offer acceptable protection from climatic extremes and exposure from pests, it should tolerate normal demands of weather and provide adequate heating in colder climates. Second, it needs to have access to adequate sanitation, for example in relation to water supply. Finally, overcrowded dwellings can undermine the health of its residents (ibid., p. 196-198). Theories of human needs can differ, but having adequate housing is a human basic need, or satisfier, which means that it is non-negotiable and will cause serious harm if not satisfied (Xue 2019). Understanding the meaning of basic needs and the theory behind is important in relation to the concept of sustainability, which in short is about meeting human needs within planetary boundaries.

3.2 Sustainability

The Brundtland report stated that sustainable development entails meeting human needs today, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). We have an urgent global task of bringing everyone above the social foundations, which will protect against threatening social deprivations, while not exceeding the critical planetary boundaries, which will protect future generations (Gough 2017). Mete and Xue (2021, p. 2) conceptualise sustainability in housing development by integrating social and environmental sustainability. For environmental sustainability, the authors ground their understanding on the acknowledgment of the environmental limits. This means that if we are to have environmentally sustainable housing in the future, there needs to be a reduction in the absolute environmental impacts of housing development, including housing itself and housing-related transportation, energy use and greenhouse gas emission. The authors define social sustainability, or social justice, through the aim of adequate housing for all, including equitable access to housing of acceptable standards, and to facilities, services and jobs that are related to the location of housing. The authors also argue that a certain level of equality in housing consumption will contribute to a more equal and just society.

3.2.1 Green growth and degrowth

Mete and Xue (2021) investigate how social and environmental sustainability can be achieved in housing development, and draw upon two sustainable development discourses, namely ecological modernisation and degrowth. Both these theories aim to attain sustainable development but have different ways of achieving it. Simply put, ecological modernisation, or green growth, considers that economic growth is the major driver in the development of society and that growth can be reconciled with the improvement of environmental conditions. The theory builds upon the notion that growth can be fully decoupled by applying technological measures, environmental governance and changing consumption habits (*ibid.*, p. 2-3). Green growth mainly depends on technological and market innovations to make production more efficient and thus decouple the use of natural resources and environmental impacts from continued economic growth. Green growth is the most accepted solution to stop the degradation of the natural environment, however, research suggests that it is highly unlikely that green growth will succeed in stopping environmental degradation and degrowth has thus been suggested as an alternative solution (Sandberg, Klockars & Wilén 2019, p. 136-137). Degrowth considers social foundations and basic needs as key priorities. The economy fills the function of ensuring that basic needs or social foundations are met within specific environmental limits. Advocates of degrowth disagree with the basic principle of growth in the economy and the commodification of nature, and instead argue for a society which puts the growth paradigm aside to achieve reduction in consumption and an active decrease in production (Mete & Xue 2021, p. 2-4). Thus, degrowth questions continued economic growth and argues for more fundamental changes to the organisation of society (Sandberg et al. 2019, p. 137).

Sandberg et al. (2019) compares the normative goals of green growth and degrowth. Green growth sees economic growth as a normative ideal alongside environmental preservation and is thus built upon the assumption that economic growth and environmental preservation are compatible normative ideals. However, previous research has shown that they are not compatible and since green growth continues to only pursue environmental preservation in a way that does not threaten economic growth, economic growth becomes prioritised over environmental sustainability. Degrowth has the overall goals of preserving the environment and increasing human well-being and social equity, which includes reducing environmental impacts from human activity, redistributing income and wealth and the transition to a participatory society. The normative ideals in degrowth thus emphasise environmental sustainability

alongside human well-being and social equity as the primary goals. Economic growth is thus not given the status of normative ideal, which means that environmental preservation is prioritised over economic growth. Green growth continues to dominate as a solution in both academia and practice, however green growth does not have a strong normative foundation to justify its dominant position as the solution to environmental sustainability. Previous research has indicated that degrowth has more potential of stopping environmental degradation compared to green growth, and degrowth also explicitly acknowledges both environmental and social sustainability, especially in terms of human well-being and social equity. However, there are many uncertainties surrounding degrowth since it is still a vision for the future that is under development (ibid.).

Büchs and Koch (2019) discusses the challenge with a degrowth transition in relation to well-being. Currently, well-being and growth are regarded as highly connected by most politicians and the population. However, many advocates for degrowth highlight that degrowth can maintain or even improve well-being and argue that happiness is not dependent on rising GDP per capita. Both subjective and objective approaches have been relevant when evaluating well-being. Improvements in relation to the objective quality of life are widely accepted as the primary goal in research and policymaking, however it is far from obvious what objective living conditions are the most relevant. In relation to the theory of need, which has been presented above, one can argue that current generations have a moral responsibility to ensure that future generations will be able to meet their needs, for example by mitigating climate change. There are certain characteristics which make the concept of universal human needs interesting from a degrowth perspective. Needs are understood as non-substitutable, meaning that human needs cannot be traded off against each other, and satiable, meaning that there are certain thresholds where additional resources do not add to the satisfaction of needs. This means that our needs are few and limited, whilst our subjective well-being measures are regarded as “insatiable”. Challenges to a degrowth transition that clearly links to well-being is the fact that welfare states and people’s identities and life goals are currently closely connected with economic growth. However, needs theory can prove to be useful in a degrowth scenario since it provides us with a distinction between necessities and luxuries and where the former is prioritised (ibid.).

The different sustainable discourses to achieve environmental sustainability, green growth and degrowth, further highlights the concept of sustainability and the opportunities and challenges they present. The theory of basic needs links to degrowth, and degrowth emphasises both social and climate aspects. Even though degrowth is currently a future vision rather than common practice, research indicates that degrowth might be a way forward for meeting human needs within planetary boundaries, something that green growth has received criticism for not being able to do. Therefore, I am going to end this chapter by looking at degrowth in relation to housing.

3.2.2 Housing and degrowth

Schneider (2019, p. 14) states that housing for degrowth suggests reducing the total urban area, simplifying and redistributing access to housing, halting industrial urbanisation, deurbanising and renaturalising areas, renovating dwellings to improve living conditions, shared housing and developing low-level, low-impact, small-scale, decentralised, compact settlements. Nelson (2019b, p. 244) argues that eco-collaborative living presents potential environmental, economic and social efficiencies and that the aim of collective sustainability has the most degrowth potential. Since housing has become less affordable, average households' sizes have diminished and environmental concerns have grown, the attraction of living in eco-collaborative housing has increased. Collaborative housing can be understood as different alternatives to housing and households where members live in intentional, collectively governed, residential communities sharing resources, skills and spaces, such as shared houses, cohousing and ecovillages. For example, cohousing consists of clusters of homes, which are often attached, where households share indoor and outdoor spaces for collective activities, such as dining, gardening, playing and hosting guests (ibid.). The idea of cohousing also fits well with degrowth theories (Stefánsdóttir & Xue 2019, p. 175).

Degrowth presents a desirable future society that enhances quality of life and achieves social justice as well as being ecologically sustainable, meaning shrinking levels of production and consumption due to the ecological limits. For urban planners, this raises questions about how to integrate social and environmental aspects to make sustainable cities socially just or make welfare societies ecologically sustainable in the urban context. Urban regional planning should contribute to the main goal of building a sustainable welfare society. Specific goals involve

reducing the environmental impacts of housing development, stabilising or degrowing residential floor area per capita and encouraging meeting a minimum standard of housing for everyone. In urban planning, the ideal spatial residential form from a degrowth perspective is mostly understood as a concentrated urban development pattern, a compact city. This allows for the protection of agricultural land, natural landscapes and biodiversity, since less land is required for building (Xue 2019, p. 188).

The ways of meeting the need for housing can be satisfied by different types of apartments or buildings. However, living in large houses is more of a want than a basic need (Xue 2019, p. 186). Stefánsdóttir and Xue (2019) presents a theory of dwelling quality that influences subjective well-being, which is important from a degrowth perspective. Residential buildings account for around 30 percent of carbon emission over the world and environmental impacts are highly affected by size of dwellings and housing type. The authors therefore discuss the quality and liveability of small dwellings. Small dwellings are often seen as lacking adequate quality and prestige and flexibility is usually connected to larger dwelling sizes. However, in relation to degrowth, smaller living spaces should not reduce the possibility of experiencing happiness. Downsizing a dwelling demands in-depth studies of the most significant functions of the dwelling unit. One way to reduce the size of dwellings is to limit the number of private functions in one dwelling and share more functions with other households. In terms of the quality of a dwelling, a degrowth perspective argues that basic needs should be satisfied modestly, and that luxury should be avoided. The conceptual framework that the authors present consists of three main themes that interact with each other. One theme includes the physical components, such as the function and size of the private dwelling unit, living environment and collective living in the neighbourhood, the location including distance to facilities, and urban density. Another theme deals with the dwelling quality which includes the functional quality, the atmospheric quality, which for example includes if the dwelling feels homely and pleasant, and the quality for social interactions. Finally, the last theme includes the needs and perception and interpretation of the household (ibid.).

The presented concepts in this chapter, the theory of need and sustainability, including green growth and degrowth, affects each other and are therefore important to understand together.

These concepts also form the foundation of this thesis and will be important when analysing the collected data from documents and interviews.

4. Methodology

In this chapter I will go through the methodology and methods that have been used in this thesis. I will start by giving an overview of the research, including the ontological and epistemological considerations. I will then provide a more detailed account of the methods used and the reasoning behind, including the strategies that were used to gain access to my sample as well as presenting and motivating the choices of using a document study and interviews to collect the data. The chapter will end with an account of how the data was processed and analysed, ethical considerations during the research and advantages and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research overview

The aim of this thesis is to explore how the city of Malmö plans for the housing provision from a sustainability perspective by studying sustainability in the urban development process, focusing on housing provision. The study is a qualitative case study, using the area of Sege Park as an example, including a document study and qualitative interviews. The research is qualitative since it seeks to understand the research questions through the perspective of those that are working with housing provision and urban development in the city and to get an in-depth knowledge and explore opportunities and challenges that emerge in sustainable development (Bryman 2004). This section will start with a discussion on ontological and epistemological perspectives before moving on to an overview of the case study.

4.1.1 Ontological and epistemological considerations

The ontological and epistemological perspectives are important aspects to discuss in relation to this research. The ontological perspective is about how the very nature, character and essence of things in the social world that is investigated is understood. There are more than one ontological perspectives, and some properties are usually more common in qualitative research, such as social processes, interpretations, social relations, social practices, experiences, stories

and understandings (Mason 2018, p. 4-6). The ontological position which forms the basis for this research is constructivism which is based on the understanding that social phenomena and their meaning is something that social actors continuously create, social objects and categories can therefore be understood as being socially constructed. This can be put in contrast to objectivism which states that social phenomena and their meaning exists independently of social actors (Bryman 2011, p. 35-36). In this research, social and environmental sustainability in the urban development process and housing provision is understood as something which social actors continuously create.

The epistemological perspective can be understood as the theory of knowledge which refers to what might represent knowledge or evidence in the social world that is studied, including how knowledge can be validated and demonstrated (Mason 2018, p. 7-8). It is important to acknowledge that every researcher brings some epistemology assumptions into the research and that these influence how the data is understood and interpreted (Travers 2001). This thesis is based upon the assumption of interpretivism. The position of interpretivism emphasises people's understandings of their own actions and experiences, seeking out to understand people's meanings and interpretations (Mason 2018, p. 8; Travers 2001). This thesis is therefore based on a constructivist interpretivist framework which recognises the experiences and interpretations from people involved in the study as socially constructed and that their subjective knowledge is valuable in relation to the aim of this study.

4.1.2 The case study

A case study can be defined as an in-depth exploration of the complexity and uniqueness of a certain project, policy, institution or system in a "real life" context. The focus for qualitative case studies is to portray an in-depth view of the quality and complexity of programmes or policies as they are implemented in specific socio-political context (Simons 2020, p. 681). In addition to the general perspective on urban development and housing provision in Malmö, the case of Sege Park is used to further explore some practical examples of sustainable urban development and housing provision in the city. Sege Park is described as a test bed for future sustainability solutions with the key concepts of sustainability, shared economy and urban farming when Malmö generates almost a 1000 new homes through building and re-building in an already established area. Sege Park is located in the eastern parts of Malmö and is an

experimental workshop for climate-smart housing solutions for the future. Sege Park is described as a pioneering area for sustainability in terms of social, ecological and economic urban development (Malmö stad 2021b). The plan programme for Sege Park was approved in 2015, and it states that the area will have been developed into a precedent area in terms of sustainability, including social, ecological and economic aspects, by 2025 (Malmö stad 2021c). The case of Sege Park was chosen since it states the importance of sustainable urban development and is said to be a test bed for future sustainable solutions. It has been a few years since the plan programme was approved, the construction of the area has started and some households have moved in, which is also a reason for selecting this case. The reason for selecting the case of Sege Park was based on a purposeful sampling strategy, meaning that the selection was made because it can provide important information in relation to the aim of this research (Emmel 2013).

4.2 Collecting and analysing the data

4.2.1 Sampling

There are many different decisions about sampling that needs to be done to identify and gain access to the sources needed to answer my research questions. The documents and respondents were selected based on their relevance for the study rather than aiming to get empirical representation (Mason 2018, p. 59). For the document study I decided to include relevant documents from the case, which resulted in the plan programme and sustainability strategy for Sege Park. The reason for choosing the plan programme for Sege Park is because it describes the overall goal and vision for the urban planning in the area. Since the aim of this thesis is to explore sustainability in relation to the urban development process, the sustainability strategy was also chosen. I also decided to use the programme for housing provision in Malmö, since this document directly relates to how the city works with housing provision which is relevant for this research. There are many other relevant documents that concern sustainable urban development in Malmö, for example the general comprehensive plan. However, for this study I decided to focus on the documents that were directly written on Sege Park together with the programme for housing provision, since these are the documents that I found most relevant for this research. The following chart gives an overview of the selected document.

Document	Context
Planprogram Sege Park (Malmö stad 2015a)	Plan programme for Sege Park. Describes the overall vision and goals for the area that future planning should build on but is not legally binding.
Hållbarhetsstrategi för Sege Park (Malmö stad 2015b)	Sustainable strategy for Sege Park. The intention with the strategy is that it should guide the ongoing planning, exploitation and development of the area from a sustainable perspective.
Bostadsförsörjningsprogram för Malmö 2022–26 (Malmö stad 2023a)	The programme for housing provision in Malmö. The programme was accepted by the municipal council in February 2023 and has the aim to give an overall picture of the guidelines that Malmö will use to create opportunities for access to good housing for all residents in the city.

Table I – List of documents

In order to find the relevant respondents for the interviews I started by sending an email to the municipality, explaining the aim of the research and that I wished to come into contact with people that had been or were involved in the project of Sege Park or was working with housing provision in the city. Just like the sample strategy for the document study, this can be seen as a purposeful sampling strategy (Emmel 2013). I was then contacted by people that the municipality had forwarded my email to, and I also got a list with suggestions of possible respondents to contact that were relevant for the case. This strategy of coming into contact with possible and relevant respondents in relation to my research questions is called snowball sampling, which is characterised by well-situated people suggesting other people that can provide insightful information to the research (Emmel 2013). Once I started conducting interviews, I also asked the people that I interviewed if they had any suggestions of other possible respondents to contact. The following table gives an overview of the respondents that were interviewed in this study.

Interviewee	Background/Characteristics
R1	Sege Park, Miljöförvaltningen (The Environmental Administration), online interview
R2	Detail planning at Stadsbyggnadskontoret, (The City Planning Office), online interview
R3	Sege Park, Miljöförvaltningen (The Environmental Administration), online interview
R4	Sege Park, Stadsbyggnadskontoret (The City Planning Office), online interview
R5	Housing provision, Stadsbyggnadskontoret (The City Planning Office), online interview
R6	Assigning municipal land, Fastighetskontoret (The Real Estate Office), online interview
R7	Housing provision, Stadsbyggnadskontoret (The City Planning Office)

Table II – List of respondents

There are many different administrations within the municipality that have different responsibilities. The three administrations included in this sample were the Environmental Administration, the City Planning Office and the Real Estate Office. In short, the Environmental Administration oversees the environmental efforts in the municipality, including the work with sustainable development, the City Planning Office has an overall responsibility for the planning and building in the municipality and the Real Estate Office is in charge of and manages the land owned by the municipality (Malmö stad 2023b).

4.2.2 Data collection

There are different methods that can be employed in qualitative research, such as observation, interviewing, ethnographic fieldwork, discourse analysis and textual analysis (Travers 2001), and this research combines a document study with interviews. The reason for combining these two methods is because I wanted to relate the official plans and strategies for Sege Park and the

overall programme for housing provision to how people that have been working with this experiences the work with social and environmental sustainability in practice. According to Mason (2018, p. 41-42), this can be understood as a form of triangulation, studies that aim to integrate data and analysis, that draws upon corroborative knowledge. Mason highlights the many challenges with this approach, involving the fact that different methods and approaches seldom corroborate each other straightforwardly. However, different methods and approaches also have different strengths and potentials which in relation to each other can help us understand a complex world. This means that the research can produce intersecting explanations based on the dynamic relation and that different methods and approaches can be conceptualised by being in dialogue with each other (ibid.). The chosen documents are working as guidelines and therefore provide a context into which the employees are situated in. Analysing and relating the aim, goals and visions in the documents to how people working with this in practice experience it has provided a more nuanced picture of social and environmental sustainability in relation to urban development and housing provision in Malmö. Documents are created in a social context and are often bound up with the process of consumption, meaning that authors imagine the readers in the process of writing, the context in which documents are produced and consumed are therefore important (Prior 2011). The chosen documents have been produced within the context of Malmö stad, meaning that they are affected by overall goals, visions and objectives in the municipality.

Interviews have become a key method in human and social sciences (Brinkmann 2022, p. 1) and are used when you are interested in experiences (Mason 2018, p. 111; Brinkmann 2022, p. 8) and aim to understand something from the subjects' point of view (Kvale 2006, p. 481). The document study gave me an insight into what the plan and vision has been for Sege Park and the housing provision in Malmö. However, since I am interested in how sustainable urban development practically works and not just how it is described in official documents, I choose to also include qualitative interviews in this method. Conducting interviews is not a simple, but rather a complex task which requires planning (Mason 2018, p. 116; Brinkmann 2022, p. 4). To prepare for the interviews, I developed an interview guide with different themes and sub-questions that served as a help during the interview to make sure I collected data relevant to the aim and research questions. The themes that were used in the interview guide included a background section, to get some information about the interviewee and their role, one section on sustainability and what it could mean in relation to the development process and housing

provision, one section on practical examples on how social and environmental sustainability are included in Sege Park and finally a theme covering opportunities and challenges with sustainable urban planning and housing provision, see appendix. Brinkmann (2022, p. 16) states that it is quite common to make a distinction between structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, but argues that this should rather be understood as a continuum that ranges from relatively structured to relatively unstructured. Relatively is used since there is no form of completely structured interview, because people will always say something outside of the structure, or completely unstructured interview, since the researcher always has an idea about what the interview should be about. The interview guide that was developed can therefore be seen as a guide that provided some structure, but that was flexible enough for the respondents to raise their own questions and concerns in their words and from their perspective (ibid.). The interview therefore had some themes that I wanted to address in relation to the aim of the research but was also adjusted depending on the respondent and their role as well as providing a flexibility for new relevant themes to emerge. The interview was, with the consent of the respondents, recorded and transcribed after the interview was done, which is common practice to get a material for coding and analysing (Brinkmann 2022). Six interviews were conducted online, mainly because this was preferred by the respondents. The camera was on during all interviews, so that the respondent and interviewer could see each other, and no issues in relation to the interview was experienced because of this.

4.2.3 Processing and analysing the data

To carry out a focused analysis, the data have been processed through coding. The collected data are in Swedish and the translation to English was made by the researcher. To analyse the data, a thematic qualitative text analysis, as described by Kuckartz (2014), has been used. The first part of this process consisted of an initial work with the text, including highlighting important passages and writing a short case summary. In the next step, the main thematic categories, which were drawn from the research questions, theoretical perspectives and the initial reading of the text, were developed. This resulted in categories of social and environmental sustainability, challenges and opportunities, housing provision and human needs. After the main categories had been defined, I started the first round of coding based on the categories. The analytical software NVivo was used in the coding process. After the first round of coding, I elaborated the category system, which included modifying categories, defining new ones and creating sub-categories, based on the data before I conducted a second

round of coding using this elaborated category system. The category system was thus modified during the coding process depending on the data, for example new categories of sustainable functions and conditions in urban development were formulated. It was not always easy to identify which categories that different text passages belonged to, however, in thematic qualitative text analysis one text can relate to different topics, meaning that one text paragraph can be assigned to multiple categories. The different categories applied in the coding process were then used when analysing the material (Kuckartz 2014). Three main themes have been developed and used when presenting the results. The first theme includes an overview on how sustainability was understood and implemented in urban development, the second theme includes how different aspects in the city and our living environment affects the housing provision, our needs and the possibility to live sustainable lives and the last theme looks specifically at the housing provision in Malmö.

4.2.4 Ethical considerations

Brinkmann (2022, p. 79) states the importance of being aware of the ethical challenges, such as informed consent, confidentiality and consequences for the participants, both when it comes to conducting the interviews as well as analysing the material. When it comes to confidentiality it is important to reflect upon the possibility of fulfilling promises of full confidentiality and anonymity in qualitative research (Mason 2018, p. 93). Participants within an organisation might for example recognise themselves or other individuals in the study. Since a snowball sample was used, this means that other colleagues that recommended them might know and be able to identify their participation in the study (Israel 2014). Name or gender is not mentioned in the study, and I have only included characteristics that are important in order to understand the respondent's relevance for the study. Some of the respondents did not mind their name shown in the study, however, I decided to present all respondents in the same way. I have thus taken as many anonymity measures as possible in relation to the research and have also informed the respondents about what characteristics that would be shown in the study, so that the interviewee had the necessary information about confidentiality before agreeing to participate. This leads to another ethical challenge, namely gaining informed consent.

Gaining informed consent requires that participants comprehend and voluntarily agree to the research and their role within it (Israel 2014). There are many aspects to consider when it comes

to informed consent, such as what it means to participate in an interview, understanding how the data will be used and giving the consent to interpret, analyse and publish the data. However, there are also limits to how adequately you can inform the participants about every aspect, which leads to questions on how much you can and should tell your respondents and in what way so that it is comprehensible to them (Mason 2018, p. 95). Once I got the contact information to possible respondents I sent some information about the study before, including the aim of the research, that participation was voluntary, that I wished to record the interview and that the respondents name would not be shown in the study. I also encouraged possible respondents to get back to me if they had any other questions regarding the study. Before each interview, I went through the information about the ethical aspects of the study again to make sure before each interview that the respondent had understood what they were consenting to as well as to give room for further questions. In this study, all respondents agreed to record the interview.

Finally, there is also the ethical responsibility of producing good research that is valid and meaningful. For example, you need to think about the epistemological issues of using interviews as a way to obtain knowledge in relation to the study, which includes issues on how well such data and knowledge can shed light on certain kinds of issues and strengthen the validity of an argument (Mason 2018, p. 86). For this reason, transparency on what methods have been used and why, how data have been collected and analysed and what ontological and epistemological assumptions that has formed the basis for this study are all important aspects in order to help the reader understand and assess the presented results, which has also been the focus of this chapter. Before moving on to the results and analysis, I will briefly mention some advantages and limitations of this study.

4.2.5 Advantages and limitations of the study

If we first look at the sample, which includes three documents and seven interviews, it is not possible for me to draw any generalisable conclusions that are representative for the whole population. However, since this is a qualitative study, I did not have the aim to do this, but rather present the experiences and in-depth knowledge from relevant professionals and documents which generated insights related to Malmö and the case of Sege Park. With this aim in mind, the number of documents and interviews were sufficient to answer the aim and research questions, which was noticed since similar themes emerged in interviews and documents. Since

the respondents were mainly selected through snowball sampling, the sample selection was to some extent left in the hands of other professionals which can raise questions regarding why some respondents were suggested while others were not. However, in this case I believe that a snowball sample was the best way to get different perspectives and experiences in relation to the aim of this research since there are many people working with urban development and housing provision in the city and I did not know who would be most relevant to interview. One strength with this study is that I interviewed respondents from different administrations in the city, even though the number of respondents from the different municipal administrations are uneven. I did not interview any professionals from the private sector, which would have been an interesting perspective in relation to this research, however since the aim was to study how the municipality works with sustainable urban development and housing provision, I decided to only include respondents that worked for the municipality.

In terms of validity, meaning if I am observing, identifying or measuring what I say I am (Mason 2018, p. 236), I am continuously relating the results to the theoretical concepts and previous research related to the aim of this study. As for the reliability, which includes the accuracy of the research methods and techniques (ibid.), all interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the translation of the quotes was made by the researcher. When translating the quotes there is a risk that some of the original phrase was lost in translation, however, the quotes were double checked, and the translation was a direct translation of what the respondents said but where some words swapped place in order for the sentence to make sense in English. It is not possible to fully repeat the interviews and get the same results since the interviews were based upon different employees' subjective understanding, however by interviewing individuals working in the same field it would be possible to reach similar results. The documents can be retrieved by anyone, and thus it would be easier to repeat the document study. One difficulty that I experienced with this research approach was finding the right respondents to interview since I did not have in-depth knowledge of how the municipality was organised and what the employees of different administrations work with. However, the use of snowball sample helped me get in contact with employees that were relevant for this study. Overall, I experienced that this research approach was a feasible way in order to answer the aim and research questions of this thesis.

5. Result and analysis

In this chapter, I will present and analyse the results from interviews and documents through the theoretical concepts of sustainability and a theory of need. The analysis of the results will later be used to answer the aim and research questions of this thesis and the case of Sege Park will provide some concrete examples on how sustainability has been included in the development of an area. The chapter is divided into different themes with sub-themes. I will start with a theme on how sustainability can be understood and implemented in urban development and housing provision in Malmö. I will then continue with a theme on the sustainable city, including how the urban environment affects our lives and the possibilities to live in a sustainable way, before finishing with a theme on housing provision and the possibilities and challenges to meet the need for housing today and in the future.

5.1 Sustainability: what can it mean in urban development?

The comprehensive plan for Malmö states that the city should be both socially, environmentally and economically sustainable (Malmö stad 2018) and the plan programme for Sege Park emphasise that the area should be a forerunner for sustainable urban development (Malmö stad 2015a, p. 20). According to R2, emphasising sustainability in the urban development process is a lot more common today compared to how it used to be. Sustainability is a broad concept which can be understood in different ways. I will therefore start this chapter by presenting how sustainability in urban development was described, understood and implemented according to the studied documents and conducted interviews.

5.1.1 Introducing the concept of sustainability in Malmö and Sege Park

On a general level, the programme for housing provision declares that the city of Malmö should promote climate neutral and environmentally sustainable housing when building and maintaining. This includes the choice of building materials, how residential areas are supplied with energy and how available they are for public transport. The programme for housing provision also says that it is important to make sure that the living conditions are safe and attractive, since this is vital for people's well-being and health. The programme formulates the national goals for the housing market:

The national goals for community planning and the housing market is to give all people in every part of the country a good living environment from a social perspective, were long-term good care for national resources and energy are promoted and where the construction of houses and economic development are facilitated (Malmö stad 2023a, p. 10).

The programme also describes the importance of planning for today's and future citizens and to promote a mix when it comes to different forms of housing to meet the needs of different stages in life (ibid.). When looking specifically at sustainability in Sege Park the plan programme states that environmental sustainability is about protecting the environment, which means that emissions should not hurt people, animals or plants. When it comes to the construction of buildings this includes considerations about how building materials affect the environment during its lifetime and using renewable energy, such as solar cells. The plan programme describes economic sustainability as a responsible use of resources and that smart energy solutions with a long life-span and low maintenance cost should be promoted rather than the cost of production. "That which is built should last for many years and be used by many generations" (Malmö stad 2015a, p. 21). Further, the plan programme highlights that new solutions should be experimented with in Sege Park, including solutions for recycling, self-sufficient street lighting, carpool, sharing bicycles and reducing car use (ibid.) and the sustainable strategy declares that the carbon dioxide load will be measured once the area has been fully developed in order to see what the outcome was (Malmö stad 2015b, p. 29). The plan programme express that Sege Park should be a precedent area for sustainability:

Sege Park shall until 2025 have developed into a precedent area for sustainable urban development locally, nationally and internationally, in a way that gives people the prerequisites to live a good life with a high quality of life and good health that is also climate smart and resource efficient (Malmö stad 2015a, p. 20).

The plan programme states that social sustainability focuses on democracy, justice, human rights and lifestyles and that trust and compassion towards other people are essential for social sustainability (ibid.). The sustainable strategy states that working towards sustainability is not

just for Malmö, but for the whole planet and our common responsibility:

All targets in this sustainable strategy contribute to meeting the sustainability challenges that we face of living and working within a reasonable share of the world's resources. By achieving the targets for Sege Park, the possibilities of achieving WWF's goal of One planet living, where resources and consumption is in symbiosis and where the yearly need does not exceed the corresponding resources that exists on one planet, increases. [...] On the local level it is also a way for Malmö to create an ecological, economic and socially sustainable city. The concrete results from Sege Park is that it should be possible to live a good and sustainable life with low environmental and climate impacts (Malmö stad 2015b, p. 6).

Thus, when the different sustainability aspects are described in the documents, the focus seems to be on living good and sustainable lives with smart solutions. The goals for Malmö in general as well as Sege Park aligns with how Mete and Xue (2021) conceptualise environmental sustainability in housing development, namely that there needs to be a reduction in the absolute environmental impacts of housing development, housing-related transportation, energy use and green-house gas emissions if we are to have environmentally sustainable housing in the future. In relation to the different discourses of sustainability, green growth and degrowth, the narrative can be understood through the perspective of green growth when looking at the focus of how new smart solutions will allow people to live good lives that are sustainable (Mete & Xue 2021; Sandberg et al. 2019). It says that economic development should be facilitated but it also says that a long life-span and low maintenance cost should be promoted over the cost of production. This suggests that housing construction that is sustainable should be promoted over housing construction that is cheap. A good life or high quality of life are not defined which makes it hard to know if it aligns with a degrowth theory of basic needs and social foundations as key priorities (Mete & Xue 2021) or if it rather aligns with a green growth perspective where living conditions and habits can be more sustained with smart technical solutions.

5.1.2 Implementing sustainability in practice

The interviews provided insight into the work of implementing these sustainability goals in practice. On a general note, R3 explains that it can be more expensive in some cases to build

environmentally sustainable houses and that the economic situation with increased inflation might lead to a situation where you must compromise with the quality of sustainability. However, R3 explained that the investment cost can be high, such as installing solar cells, but that this can reduce your energy costs in the long run. R4 said that social sustainability can mean many different things formulated in different goals, such as working towards mixing housing types or affordable housing, activities for children and youths or questions related to safety. R3 argued that social sustainability is something that should include everyone and both R1 and R2 mentioned that it is not always clear what is meant by social sustainability. R2 said that the goal is to achieve social and environmental sustainability in a city district, but that social sustainability might be harder to measure compared to environmental sustainability: “When it comes to social sustainability it is more... well my interpretation is that it is more, more visionary, more inspiring (R2).” R1 raised the question of what is meant by social sustainability and stated the importance of thinking about different aspects when working with urban development and social sustainability, so that it does not lead to more social segregation. This includes creating areas where people can live good lives, which is best achieved by a mix of people with different incomes. R6 gave an example on how they can work with social aspects in practice and described that when they assign land to building companies or property owners, they set social sustainability requirements for those actors. R6 explained that this could be to include an association as a partner in the building project, such as Fritidsbanken which is a place where people can borrow things for activities and sports:

They include Fritidsbanken on the ground floor of their building, as an increased value for those who live there. [...] And you get some service for those that might not be able to afford a lot of things for activities (R6).

In relation to Sege Park, R4 explained that the sustainable strategy is still something that they are working with, even though it was written in 2015. Today there might be other questions that are more essential, but, according to R4, it has still been helpful to have the strategy to fall back on since sustainability is such a broad concept which is hard to use in a general way:

They are very superior goals, but in order to understand them and be able to work with them in a coordinated and synchronised way, we need to concretise to make sure there is a consensus about what we mean with social sustainability, in my opinion (R4).

R4 continued to explain that the sustainable strategy has been a way to concretise the sustainability goals that they wanted to work with in Sege Park. However, R4 also stated that they need to be aware of the long processes in urban development and that politicians might prioritise other goals today which means that they also need to reformulate some of the goals in the strategy. R3 works with the implementation of the sustainable strategy in Sege Park and explained that it was developed as a result of the work in the Western Harbour. The Western Harbour is an area where sustainability was emphasised in the development process and that is still, 20 years later, a forerunner for sustainable urban development. However, the critique against the area is that housing became very expensive. R3 explained that the idea with Sege Park therefore was to develop a sustainable area for reasonable costs:

The idea with Sege Park was to develop sustainable solutions, giving people the opportunity to live good and sustainable lives but at reasonable costs. That is the main idea with Sege Park, everyone should be able to afford to live here (R3).

Thus, sustainability is described as a broad concept including many different meanings and interpretations. Social sustainability was described as something diffuse, which aligns with how the term have been described in previous research (Winston 2022; Stepanova & Romanov 2021). However, the sustainable strategy for Sege Park was, according to R4, a way to concretise the sustainability goals so that it is possible to work with them and share a common ground with the many involved actors. Thus, both social and environmental sustainability is promoted in urban development in Malmö and Sege Park in the documents and interviews. R6 also discussed the terminology behind the word sustainability: “I promote that we should rather start talking about climate and climate change because I think that in the terminology you have more of a feeling that it is acute. I think sustainability is very like this, protracted (R6).” This reflection about the word itself is also interesting in relation to the long processes in urban development as well as being a broad concept with many different interpretations. Since

sustainability can include many things, it also becomes a question whether enough or the “right” sustainability efforts are being made to ensure housing for all.

5.2 The sustainable city

Something that became clear during this study is that there are many surrounding aspects relating to the urban environment which affect the possibilities to create a sustainable city where people can live sustainable lives. In order to understand the work with housing provision it is therefore important to reflect upon sustainability in the city as a whole. In this section I will therefore present the result in relation to three different themes that came up during the study, namely how different areas in the city and how they are valued affect the work with sustainability, the emphasised goal of working towards city districts with different types of housing and counteract segregation and finally the aspect of changing lifestyles.

5.2.1 Different areas in the city

The effect of different areas in the city and how they are valued was something that mainly was discussed in the interviews rather than in the documents. The first thing which was highlighted was whether the municipality owns the land or not. R1, R2 and R6 explained that if the municipality owns the land, they have more impact and control of the planning and development process because they can select builders based on certain goals, for example in relation to sustainability. R1 also discussed the fact that planning is just one part of developing new areas and making it possible for people to live good and sustainable lives. For example, R1 mentioned another area in Malmö, Hyllie, where a lot of new houses have been built:

In Hyllie, a lot of houses have been built during a period. It started with the bridge and then the city tunnel with the infrastructure in Hyllie and the arena and all of that. And then you have a big shopping mall and a lot of houses around there now. [...] Then people start complaining that there is no soul in Hyllie. It is nice and you have the shopping mall, you are close to the station, but you miss the soul. And that is also something that I find interesting, how do you create areas with a soul where people feel like they want to live. Live a good life (R1).

This example shows how there are a lot of different things that can affect an area and how it might not be as simple as just building new houses if you want to create sustainable areas in the city where people want to live. The location of an area and how the area is experienced was also raised in interviews as something that affects the sustainable urban development process. R1 explained that some areas are seen as “A” areas, meaning that usually you can invest more money in the development of the area compared to a “C” area. R1 explained that Sege Park, which is in the eastern parts of Malmö just beyond Kirseberg, was considered to be a “C” area by the Real Estate Office who also said that they could not afford too much sustainability there because they feared that not many actors would want to build there. R3 also raised this fact, that in some areas where the city can sell the land to a higher price you have the means to invest in sustainable development and sustainable solutions. However, if you do not have that money, sustainability is not prioritised, “we cannot afford sustainability here” (R3). In the case for Sege Park, R1 explained that they argued for the importance of including sustainability in the development of Sege Park and that it could create more value in the area as well as to the adjacent district of Kirseberg, which is a place that used to have many socio-economic challenges:

It is all about the economic conditions in both the planning and development phase. If you want to change this, you need to find something that can create areas, or create new areas. This is what we tried to say in Sege Park, that even if it is a “C” area, that if we create something really good here that many people are interested in, it can drive the whole development process in Kirseberg. Maybe make it more attractive to live in Kirseberg (R1).

The discussion regarding different areas in the city and how sustainability was seen as something that could not be afforded in certain areas aligns with the narrative for green growth, as described by Sandberg et al. (2019), where economic growth is prioritised over environmental sustainability. However, sustainability was then framed as something that can create value in an area and was used in the argumentation for developing a sustainable Sege Park.

R3 explained that there is a map of Malmö which shows emissions based on consumption on the level of city districts. One of the areas which has the highest emission through consumption is the Western Harbour, which is an area that has been seen as a forerunner for sustainable urban development. On the other hand, areas with a strained socio-economic situation, where more people live in a smaller space, share resources and do not have the economic means to consume or travel, are very close to the goal of emissions. R3 argued that these people deserve to increase their quality of life but without increasing their climate impact. On the other hand, those that contribute the most to emissions need to be motivated to decrease their climate impact. R3 explained that it is around these theories that the work in Sege Park has evolved around, namely climate justice and a good life for everyone. This example illustrates that it is not just about planning and developing sustainable areas with sustainable housing, the life of people within these areas ultimately influence the level of emission. The ideas that R3 raised can be seen through the perspective of degrowth, namely focusing on equity and climate justice (Sandberg et al. 2019), and where those that contribute the most to emissions through consumption needs to change their way of living

If we return to the example of Hyllie, living in an area with a “soul” might not be prioritised when trying to meet the need for housing for those that do not have a place to live. However, as described in this example, how areas feel are important in relation to if people want to live there for a longer period of time. People that do not have a place to live might not have the luxury to choose between certain areas, however, if we want to work against segregation and other social issues related to the urban environment, these things become important. It also aligns with the discussion about “A” and “C” areas and the challenge of creating areas where different groups of people want and can live sustainable lives. If this discussion is linked to the theory of need, is living in a specific attractive area or in an area with a “soul” a want or a need? In relation to the satisfier characteristics of housing, including protection from climate extremes, exposure from pests, adequate heating and sanitation (Doyal & Gough 1991), the newly built apartments in Hyllie can be assumed to fulfil these conditions and that the lack of “soul” must be seen as a want. But if this affects people’s willingness to live in the area it might affect other aspects and needs related to the urban environment. Thus, planning and developing new or existing areas is not just about building more houses to meet people’s needs. Other factors will also affect the city, including different social aspects such as segregation, due to

certain wants that people with the economic means can demand in relation to their living environment.

5.2.2 Mixing forms of housing

Another aspect that was raised in documents and interviews, which also relates to the previous section on different areas in the city, was aiming to get a mix of different forms of housing in an area and counteract segregation. The programme for housing provision states that the city of Malmö should counteract segregation, for example by enhancing diversity in new city districts as well as when complementing forms of housing in existing areas. The programme also says that the municipal housing company, MKB, should aim to achieve a reasonable price for newly built apartments and at the same time contribute to building a mixed city which reduces segregation (Malmö stad 2023a, p. 11). R2 talked about wanting a mix in an area, for example when it comes to the size of houses, since this attracts different kinds of people. R1 explained how MKB has an obligation to receive people in the order of the housing queue system and also needs to house people that the social services assign to them. R1 mentioned some negative consequences that can emerge in areas where most apartments are from MKB:

And there are some examples you can find where people rent out so that it lives 20 people in a three-bedroom flat for example, that someone pays the rent for, but then rent out to a lot of people. If we take Augustenborg as an example it is almost 100 per cent MKB, only rental apartments (R1).

R1 continues to explain that Augustenborg is now one of the poorest areas in Malmö and that many people live together in small apartments, which for example affects children's opportunities in school and integration in society. In this example one of the satisfiers characteristics in relation to housing, namely that overcrowded buildings can undermine the health of citizens (Doyal & Gough 1991), is not fulfilled. Thus, when trying to fulfil the need for housing, for example through rental apartments with lower rents, other needs can be affected, such as a right to education or adequate housing. This reflection can be related to Baeten and Listerborn (2015) study on the major renovations in the city of Landskrona and the discussion of "renoviction" and how affordable housing was seen as a problem. In

Augustenborg, which mostly consists of cheaper rental apartments, other social problems have emerged. However, in this case it is the overcrowding that is raised as an issue and R1 argued that it would be better to establish more rental apartments in areas where people have a higher income and where there might not be so many rental apartments, rather than having districts with only rental apartments. Thus, creating a mixed city which counteracts segregation was argued as an important goal.

When it comes to the development of Sege Park, the sustainable strategy and plan programme stated that the area should have different forms of housing, including co-housing, and other functions to attract households with different wants and needs (Malmö stad 2015a, p. 46; Malmö stad 2015b, p. 14). The sustainable strategy for Sege Park also states that every building company should provide apartments for people that for different reasons cannot obtain rental contracts by themselves (Malmö stad 2015b, p. 13). R1, R3 and R4 also explained that the strategy for Sege Park has been to try and get a mix of different forms of housing in the area. However, R1 expressed that there has become too many rental apartments in Sege Park, around 70 or 80 per cent, and explained the negative consequences that has been seen in other areas of Malmö with mainly rental apartments: “Many of these exposed areas consists mainly of rental apartments and there, mainly people that might not have such large incomes or can afford comes there, so it becomes... it segregates the city you could say (R1)”.

R4 also talked about how the municipality put in a lot of effort into making Sege Park an area with many different forms of housing, for example by choosing a lot of different actors to build in the area. However, R4 experienced that the feeling at the time when actors in Sege Park was chosen, was that many owner-occupied apartments were being built and that the municipality had to make sure that there were enough rental apartments. Thus, the municipality tied up the actors who wanted to build rental apartments while leaving it more open for those who wanted to build owner-occupied apartments. R4 expressed that this in combination with the surrounding society, the fact that Sege Park is not considered to be an “A” area and that many actors wanted investment support for their buildings, has steered the development towards smaller rental apartments, and R4 questioned how sustainable that will be:

Spontaneously I think it might be beneficial to be able to offer housing types for different groups, and different groups within an area. So that it does not become too homogeneous. It tends to become quite economically homogeneous maybe, but still there are possibilities for those that want to live in smaller single households, but also to be able to stay in an area if you have a family, or if you have lived there with your family but have separated. That you might not have to move so far if you like it (R4).

R4 also said that when talking to building contractors, R4 has gotten the impression that with smaller apartments there is also usually a bigger relocation, that people do not stay for such a long period of time, which might also affect the social relationships in an area. This discussion is also interesting in relation to the community and sharing functions which they are trying to establish in Sege Park. If there are many people moving to and from the area, the social relations might be affected and thus also the implementation and maintenance of the sustainable solutions which has been integrated in the area. R3 talked about another challenge that has been faced while building in Sege Park. Some of the apartments that people have bought became a lot more expensive than was estimated at first, which has led to some people not being able to move there. R3 also explained that the state removed its investment support from one day to the next, which has resulted in higher rents for rental apartments. R3 and R4 explained that some property owners managed to get the investment support for their buildings while others did not, which has resulted in two quite different rents in the completed projects. R3 explained that it remains to be seen how much this will affect the rents in Sege Park but says that the signals from the property owners is that there is a high risk that the rents will be more expensive than planned. The fact that the rents might be higher than expected and that it seems difficult to build new houses that people with the lowest income can afford suggests that Sege Park will not be an area where everyone can afford to live, even though this has been the goal when planning the area. However, it remains to be seen how Sege Park will develop and who will afford to live there.

5.2.3 Living sustainable lives

Another aspect which influences our possibility to create a sustainable city is the possibility to live sustainable lives, which is also highly affected by where we live and how. This was something that mainly came up when looking closer at the case of Sege Park, where sharing

different functions to live more sustainable lives has been emphasised in the development of the area. First, when looking at the documents for Sege Park the sustainable strategy states that Sege Park should test how sharing functions can work in the area and that new techniques and solutions should be tried in Sege Park (Malmö stad 2015b, p. 9). Both the sustainable strategy and the plan programme writes that urban farming should be available for the people living in Sege Park (Malmö stad 2015a; Malmö stad 2015b) and the plan programme highlights the positive social effects of urban farming, including neighbourhood community and safety (Malmö stad 2015a, p. 28).

R1 explained that the idea with the sharing functions in Sege Park is that people can share and borrow things instead of owning everything themselves. R1 explains that for housing this could mean that you might cut down on size when sharing functions, which can be understood from a degrowth perspective on housing (Schneider 2019), where one way to reduce the size of dwellings is to limit the private functions (Stefánsdóttir & Xue 2019). R4 raised the practical challenges with sharing functions, which has taken up a lot of energy in the project of Sege Park, namely the fact that there are many different actors that need to cooperate. R4 explained that some sharing functions, such as carpools, are usually already integrated in newly built projects, but that the difference in Sege Park is that all sharing functions are used in the whole area and not just for one building. One successful example from Sege Park that R1 mentioned was the parking garage, which was one of the first buildings to be finished in the area. R1 explained that it is the world's biggest parking garage made of wood with smart solutions, such as circulated water systems. The idea is that everyone can use this parking garage instead of having their own attached to their building, which will be more efficient and take up less space. R1 also explains that the parking garage can serve as a mobility solution for people since it can be used to borrow other things, such as bikes. R3 also states that the idea with the sharing functions in Sege Park is that you should not have to buy everything, but that it should be easy to borrow. R3 says that a higher cost for housing can be motivated if you have sharing functions, such as electricity, since it can cut down on other living expenses. R3 also said that living a sustainable life should not have to be about giving up a good life, but that it can rather be about reconsidering what a good life is:

There is a lot of talk about one planet living and that we need to get down to a level where we drastically reduce our emissions and that there is a resistance towards this because we are used to the lifestyle that we have, which is difficult to give up. And one planet living, or the good life, is about not giving up the quality of life in that transition. Rather reconsidering what quality of life is. Maybe it is not that you have to physically own everything that you want to use. Or maybe you do not have to travel far off in the world to get this kind of relaxation for example. That you find or re-evaluate the view of what a good life can be (R3).

This quote from R3 captured some of the aspects of degrowth, for example in terms of reduced consumption and a decrease in production (Mete & Xue 2021), and also raised the questions of well-being in relation to a transition towards a sustainable life. R3 said that it is not about giving up a good life or reducing the quality of life, but that it is about reconsidering what it is. This reflection also relates to the challenges with degrowth, which are raised by Büch and Koch (2019), namely that well-being is connected to growth. In Sege Park they are trying to change the lifestyles of people where sharing things instead of owning it yourself is argued as something that can fulfil your needs but still reduce consumption on an individual level.

R4 also talked about the sharing functions in Sege Park and how they hopefully will contribute to both social community and that people will need less space and own less. R4 expressed that it will be exciting to see how these ideas will work in practice and if they will be able to change people's lifestyles. R1 raised the challenge with implementing sustainable functions in an area, namely of making people use the sustainable solutions that are offered. It might not matter how many climate or energy smart opportunities that you have if they are not used, which can be related to the critique against the Western Harbour where sustainability was emphasised in the development process, but which is now one of the areas with the highest emissions based on consumption.

In the end, even if you include some sustainable solutions in areas such as the Western Harbour, with high costs and rich people that move in, it easily becomes ruined if you do not use these opportunities, if you just consume more or... It might not always help that you have climate and efficient smart solutions if you do not fully use it (R1).

R1 continued to explain that it is not enough to plan and develop areas in a sustainable way. In the end, it is the people living there that makes it sustainable or not, for example by using the sustainable functions that have been developed in the area, and that they hope that Sege Park will be a good example of this. R1 explained that they therefore have a project where they will try to follow what happens when people move into Sege Park and to try and help people to take advantage of the opportunities that exist in the area. R3 are working with this project called Sege Park Living Lab, which was established around a year ago. The idea with the Living Lab is to work with sustainable lifestyles and consumptions, how to strengthen the community and promote the sharing functions in the area, and the residents will be included in the project once they move in. R3 explained that it is about seeing how these different sustainable aspects, such as the sharing functions, that they have developed based on theory work in practice when people move in. R3 explains that it is a work in progress and that they will focus on the involvement and engagement of residents: “It is also about what kind of engagement there is among those who move in. Do they for example want to create a group for farming, study circles or teams for cooking (R3)”.

Another example from Sege Park is a co-housing project. People are rebuilding an old house in the area where the idea is to share different functions and live in a more collective way, for example by cooking together. R3 explained that the people developing this project of co-housing have tried to include as many sustainable functions as possible in order to reduce their climate footprint, such as measures to save energy and reusing rainwater when flushing the toilet. R3 also explained that they have included rental apartments in the building so that more people could afford to live there. The collective thinking, co-housing, sharing functions and the innovative solutions which are being used in Sege Park clearly link to sustainability, both in terms of green-growth and degrowth. Social sustainability has been emphasised for example through community, social relations and involvement from citizens, but also in the planning process where the aim has been to create an area where more people can afford to live. However, it remains to be seen who will afford to live in Sege Park, since housing in Sege Park might become more expensive than was expected. It is interesting to see that many of the solutions that are being tried in Sege Park align with a degrowth perspective. For example, in the discussion about re-evaluating well-being (Büchs & Koch 2019) and eco-collaborative living and collective sustainability, which Nelson (2019b) argues has the most degrowth potential. It

is also interesting that they are focusing on sustainability in an “C” area and trying to work together with the people that move in so that the sustainable functions are being used.

5.3 Ensuring housing for all, today and in the future

As has been explained earlier, municipalities in Sweden have a responsibility regarding the housing provision in their municipality. In the last section of this chapter, I will therefore go through and analyse the results regarding housing provision in relation to sustainability more specifically. This section is divided into sub-themes starting off with the responsibility that the municipalities have in relation to housing provision, continuing with the housing situation in Malmö and a section on the challenges of building for all before finishing with a section on matching the type of house to certain households.

5.3.1 Municipal responsibility for housing provision

The programme for housing provision states that housing is an important part of urban development and that it involves different sectors, such as urban planning and environment, finance, labour market, social sustainability, climate and sustainability aspects. The programme further explains that building houses is dependent on the conditions on the market and households’ ability to pay, rather than on what the needs are. The main tools that can be used when working with the housing provision is the monopoly for urban planning, owning the land and assigning municipal land for new apartments, the public good, housing agencies and the social services (Malmö stad 2023a). R7 explained that the municipality has a general responsibility for housing provision according to the law, but that the concrete responsibility that the municipality has is mostly related to the social service act which says that certain groups, such as victims of domestic abuse and elderly, have a right to get help with housing from the municipality. Otherwise, R7 stated that they are very limited in what they can do when it comes to the responsibility of housing provision and ensuring housing for all since the tools that they used to have, have been reduced successively: “Yes, we have an extremely limited command to do what I personally and many people think that a municipality could do according to the responsibility that is expressed in the law (R7)”. The limited tools that R7 describes demonstrates how the current housing market, which has been increasingly market oriented (Listerborn 2021; Hedin et al. 2012) affects the work with housing provision in practice.

However, even if the concrete tools that the municipality can use are limited, R7 also expressed that one important informal tool that they have is cooperation and dialogue with the market and that the municipality and the market have a mutual goal and interest of creating an attractive city.

5.3.2 The housing situation in Malmö

The programme for housing provision states that housing construction in Malmö has been on historically high levels, which means that in terms of quantity there is not a significant shortage of housing in the city. However, there is a shortage of affordable housing which means that the housing provision in Malmö is highly affected by the fact that many households have a limited ability to pay. This situation has led to many people living in overcrowded households or having costs that are too high in relation to their income or living both too crowded and too expensive. Around two out of three households cannot afford to buy a newly built apartment and the housing supply is therefore unavailable to a large share of the population. Therefore, there is a competition over apartments with affordable rents, which in turn has led to struggles for people with the lowest income or debts to enter the regular housing market. The lowest rents can be found in the existing housing stock, but the rents go up successively, often due to standard raising measures, which means that the supply of affordable housing decreases over time. However, the programme states that there are enough rooms in the city to house the whole population:

Overall, there are enough rooms in all houses in Malmö to house the whole population without anyone having to live too crowded. But the distribution of housing is unequal which means that some households live in large areas while others live in overcrowded apartments (Malmö stad 2023a, p. 8).

This situation confirms what Winston (2022) illustrated, that affordable housing was found to be one of the most common housing challenges in Europe and that it is often accompanied by overcrowding. The programme acknowledges the satisfiers of acceptable housing when talking about the fact that some people live in overcrowded dwellings, which Doyal and Gough (1991) argues undermines the health of its residents. From a degrowth perspective one solution in

Malmö could be increased equality in housing consumption (Metz & Xue 2021), since there are enough rooms to house everyone without people living too overcrowded. However, this is not something that the municipality can regulate. Instead, conditions on the market affect the housing provision in the city. One aspect related to this is in regard to the residents of elderly people. The programme for housing provision says that elderly people usually have a need for housing that is adapted to their needs, such as its physical construction as well as being close to food markets, healthcare and public transports. During 2019, more than 1400 small family houses, 9 percent of all small houses, were inhabited by people over 79 years. The programme argues that stronger incentives and better opportunities for older people to move to apartments that are more adapted to their needs can help to make larger apartments available for families (Malmö stad 2023a). This also relates to Grander and Sandberg (2022) who stated that the lack of large apartments in the existing housing stock has led to overcrowding, which means that people with limited economic means are forced to live in houses that are too small for them. The way of thinking about movement and a better match on the housing market might be understood through a degrowth perspective since it is about using the existing housing stock in the best possible way in order to meet people's need for housing. If there are already enough rooms in Malmö to house the whole population, it also becomes a question from a degrowth perspective of how many newly built apartments that are needed. But since the municipality does not have the opportunity of distributing rooms between citizens, trying to release affordable housing in the existing housing stock might be a good way to ensure housing for more people. The plan for housing provision states that increased movement with a better match on the housing market can ensure that the existing housing stock, where most affordable housing can be found, is used in a better way:

Some investments to generally promote the housing provision can provide improvements for all groups. For example, a high construction of housing with reasonable rents can contribute to more people being able to demand newly built apartments and thus in some sense decrease the competition of the cheapest apartments in the existing housing stock (Malmö stad 2023a, p. 6).

However, the programme for housing provision also states that it has not been possible to show that newly built apartments actually leads to this kind of movement where affordable housing in the existing stock is released (ibid.). R7 also explained that it is hard to prove that newly built

apartments release affordable housing for those that cannot afford the more expensive apartments and also stated that cheaper apartments are constantly decreasing, for example due to renovations. R7 explained it like this when talking about building new apartments to ensure housing for all:

No, it is questionable if we need to build more new apartments, at least in Malmö. It is the match that is lacking. The shortage is not over the whole supply today I would say, maybe we even have a surplus of mainly newly produced rental apartments. [...] Then it is not more of that kind that we really need. So, it is an educative thing to say that we have a surplus of housing, but we also have a housing shortage (R7).

R7 explained that in terms of the social aspects of the housing provision, we might not be so helped by more new and expensive housing. When asked about what might be done, or needed, to ensure housing for more people R7 said that there are different things that are needed. According to R7 it is not necessarily building that many new apartments, however, when new apartments are being built it is important to work with concepts to get lower rents. One of the most important aspects however is to get more people into work, according to R7, especially since the income generally is lower in Malmö. Another aspect is to make sure that those that cannot afford housing by themselves get some kind of benefits. R7 also discusses the fact that in many other countries they use social housing, so that the state or other actors subsidise rent, however it is not something that is considered in Sweden within the foreseeable future. R7 also described the current situation, with high inflation, and how the building construction has completely stopped and how more households have less money and might need more support. In the next section, I will continue to present the results in relation to the challenge of newly built apartments and the fact that most people in Malmö cannot demand these apartments due to a low ability to pay.

5.3.3 Building for all?

As already mentioned, according to the programme for housing provision around two out of three households cannot afford to buy a newly built apartment (Malmö stad 2023a, p. 4) and as mentioned in the introduction, other rental clauses applies for newly built apartments which

allows for cost-bases rents that are higher than utility-value rents (Granath Hansson 2021). In this section, I will therefore take a closer look at how the interviewees talked about newly built apartments from a sustainability perspective and its possibility to ensure housing. When R5 started to work for the municipality in 2014, housing construction was still affected by the financial crisis and many projects were standing still. R5 explained that they had guidelines for the housing provision and that one of their biggest challenges was how to get more affordable housing. What they also saw was that a lot of money was used in social assistance for households that needed help with housing or paying rent. R5 explained the insecurity that these people lived with:

And then we also knew from experience that for these families that live from day to day, their highest wish was to have an apartment of their own, their own contract. [...] You can be placed anywhere. So, there is no safety in your everyday life. Many of these families had a difficult time thinking about applying for more jobs or maybe finishing an education in order to get a job. Instead, it was mostly about not knowing if they could stay tomorrow, not knowing if they could pay for food for their children. Therefore, we said that we needed to provide some mental air and economic air for these families (R5).

This example can be linked to Listerborns (2021) study on precarious housing in Malmö, since these families might have gotten help from the social services to live somewhere, but where they did not know for how long they could stay. R5's description of how they saw this as a problem where they tried to find solutions in order to get these families on their own contract shows how this precarious housing situation was seen as an issue and something that they tried to counteract. In relation to this, it is also interesting how a stable or permanent housing situation is not mentioned by Gough and Doyle (1991) when they are describing the three satisfier characteristics of housing which affects mental health negatively everywhere if not met. Given how a precarious housing situation seems to affect peoples' health negatively, one might also argue that a permanent housing situation should be a satisfier characteristic which should be fulfilled in relation to adequate housing. R5 continued to explain how they in relation to these experiences started to develop some ideas about building cheaper apartments with a lower rent and let the families with the greatest need get access to these apartments first, with the condition of trying to get rid of their social assistance. The idea was that having a contract for an apartment

with a lower rent would provide some “economic air”, as R5 phrased it, which would also provide the energy to accept the support to be able to live without social assistance when not having to worry about the economic aspects as much. However, R5 explained that this idea quickly fell when they tried it in theory because of the law. Since social assistance is based on the level of your rent, the kind of “economic air” or stability that they were aiming for would not happen. However, they continued to work on these ideas formulating a model called Mallbo, a way to produce newly built apartments at a lower cost. They came to an agreement between the municipality, property owners and builders to produce newly built apartments with a certain cost per square metre and the idea was that these apartments would go to families with children and with a certain maximum income per year, no matter their place in the housing queue system. However, R5 explained that they faced some challenges with their idea:

What happens when you work with these ideas that are quite innovative is that you always bang into a wall somewhere, and it was what we did in the end with the first Mallbo-model. And it was that we banged into a political wall. In the end we were not able to deviate from the housing queue (R5).

R5 continued to explain that this meant that they were not able to target these apartments for those with the most needs, however, the idea of building new apartments at a fixed cost per square metre was kept. R6 explained how they would be able to produce newly built apartments at a lower cost and said that the idea was that the municipality would rent out the land for a lower cost instead of selling it to the actor that is going to build and that the actor in return needs to offer lower rents. R6 also said that they have just reserved the land to two actors that are going to build according to the Mallbo-model, so it remains to be seen what kind of rents they will end up with. R5 explained that the idea also was to evaluate what qualities that are really needed and what qualities are not as to see if there are ways to lower the cost. However, R5 also stated that it should not be about giving up on qualities in housing, but that you should still build in a sustainable way. “Today they talk about how you should build so that the house can stand in 30 to 50 years which is actually terrible. I live in a house that is 100 years old” (R5). R4 also discussed the eventual conflict between building new apartments with low rents but that might result in the fact that they are not very sustainable:

Should we build something quickly, wear and tear, because it is affordable here and now, and maybe almost be able to help someone that needs it now. Or should we have another perspective in the built environment, which actually has a very long time-perspective, or should have in my opinion (R4).

R7 also talked about this aspect where there is a dilemma between social and environmental concerns, that many houses need to be upgraded due to environmental aspects, but that this increases the rent. R4 stated that newly built apartments are generally expensive and that it is difficult to build something that those with the lowest means on the housing market would be able to demand, and that R4 do not think that newly built apartments will solve the housing provision for these people. R4 said that newly built apartments might rather be important in order to get enough housing and result in people moving and releasing apartments in the existing housing stock, but that these then will not be renovated to top-standard. This discussion about the dilemma with building environmentally sustainable housing or renovating affordable housing in the existing housing stock with the consequence of higher rents is an important aspect to consider in relation to environmental and social sustainability. This dilemma can be associated with the fact that the climate crisis puts more pressure on producing, building and maintaining housing that is more efficiently effective (Holgersen & Wallstam 2022).

From a green growth perspective, where economic growth and environmental preservation are compatible normative ideals and where economic growth is prioritised over environmental sustainability (Sandberg et al. 2019) the question about building environmentally friendly but to a higher cost or building less sustainable housing to a lower cost becomes a dilemma since there are these two competitive goals. Since green growth is still the major solution, it is not surprising that this dilemma emerges. However, if we were to look at this from a degrowth perspective, economic growth would not be prioritised, but environmental sustainability, human well-being and social equity would be seen as the primary goals (ibid.). From a degrowth perspective sustainable houses which can stand for a long time and which people have equal access to would be the goal. However, then it would also become a question of how people with less income would afford to live in these sustainable houses. From a degrowth perspective the distribution effect would be important, including solutions to make sure that everyone could

afford to live in these houses.

The theory of need including the questions about adequate housing (Doyal & Gough 1991; Max-Neef et al. 1989) and a degrowth perspective on dwelling quality in relation to well-being (Stefánsdóttir & Xue 2019) is also important in relation to the discussion on the quality of buildings. For example, when R5 talked about not giving up on qualities in housing but discuss with builders and property owners which qualities are needed and which are not could be a way to reflect and focus more on what we really need in our house for it to fulfil our need for shelter, so that both environmental and social concerns are included and we do not have to choose between one or the other. Using the needs theory and assessing what we really need in our home might be a way to avoid unnecessary renovations which increases the rent of the affordable housing in the existing housing stock. The framework of dwelling quality presented by Stefánsdóttir and Xue (2019) could also be used to assess the quality within a dwelling to make sure that luxury is avoided but that basic needs are satisfied. Thus, when talking with people who work with housing provision and urban planning in Malmö it becomes clear that social and environmental concerns are prioritised and that the professionals try to find ways to ensure housing for all, in a sustainable way. However, there are different obstacles in doing this leading to dilemmas between social and environmental aspects.

5.3.4 The match between house and household

Finishing off this chapter, I will return to the question of matching specific houses to households. As was mentioned before, there seems to be enough rooms in Malmö to house everyone and one example for a better match that was raised in the programme for housing provision was how motivating elderly people to move to houses that are more equipped for their needs could release larger apartments for families (Malmö stad 2023a). An example of trying to create a match, namely in the Mallbo-project where the newly built apartments with lower rents were suggested to go to households with lower income, did not go through. R5 stated that they were quite critical of the fact that they were not able to deviate from the housing queue system for the Mallbo model, since this means that people that have a good financial situation can move into one of these newly built “Mallbo” apartments with a lower rent. However, R5 was also happy about the fact that they are working with the fixed cost per square metres and said that it is not always that the time is right for the whole concept. R6 also talked about the

Mallbo-model and thought that it was a political question of not wanting to deviate from the original housing queue since the politicians do not want to make exceptions and point out certain groups. R6 and R7 explained that the concept of social housing is very sensitive in Sweden and R5 and R7 also said that the question about deviating from the housing queue was too sensitive for the politicians. R7 expressed the questions about social housing like this:

You can express it like a sort of fear in Sweden when it comes to social housing. It is like a swear word across the whole political spectrum, I think. It is something that we should not have. And then you can wonder, why not. When every other county has the same challenge. To suggest that we do not have this challenge in Sweden is really to bury one's head in the sand, I think (R7).

When talking about prioritisation in the housing queue system, R7 also said that it is mainly in relation to limited economic means that the politicians have been strictly saying no to. The question about prioritisation in housing queues has also been raised in previous research stating that the effect of this strategy is unclear since it can create a vicious circle where other households, who previously gained access to housing on their own, will need assistance (Granath Hansson 2021). This is an aspect which I also think is important to consider, however in this case the prioritisation in the housing queue was argued from the perspective that apartments with lower rents should go to those with lower income, which might be seen as more socially fair from a social sustainability and degrowth perspective. R7 expressed that property owners could take the initiative to have an upper limit for income, just like they have a lower limit, but that it might not be any company that has the interest of doing this. In relation to social housing, R7 also mentioned that a system like that comes with other challenges, such as if people should be allowed to stay if they increase their income. This discussion on social housing can also be related to Aduwo et al. (2022) demonstration on how social housing in many countries have been targeted to low-income households, but where challenges with segregation and poor public image have emerged. The question of matching type of house to household can also be related to degrowth, since redistributing housing and matching it to certain households (Schneider 2019) could be seen as a way of using the existing housing stock in order to ensure housing for all. However, the questions about when the house no longer matches your

household, for example due to higher income or children moving out, becomes a relevant question and presents a challenge in relation to matching the type of house to the household.

In this chapter I have presented the results from the documents and interviews that were conducted in this study. I started off with a theme on how sustainability can be understood in urban development, continuing with how the city as a whole affects our lives and housing provision from a sustainability perspective, finishing with a theme on housing provision and the possibility to meet the need for housing in Malmö. I will now finish this thesis with a concluding discussion where I will answer the aim and research question.

6. Concluding discussion

The aim for this thesis has been to explore how the city of Malmö plans for housing provision from a sustainability perspective by studying social and environmental sustainability in the urban development process, with the focus on housing. The first research question asked how social and environmental sustainability, and the relationship between them, is understood and included in the urban development process and housing provision in Malmö and the second research question asked what opportunities and challenges that are presented when analysing the housing provision in Malmö from a sustainability perspective and how this might affect the basic need for housing today and in the future. The results from conducted interviews and documents have been analysed through the theory of need and the concept of sustainability, including the discourses of green growth and degrowth. In relation to the first research question, social and environmental sustainability were highlighted as important goals, both on a general level in Malmö as well as in Sege Park. The term sustainability, especially social sustainability, was emphasised as being a broad concept which could include many different things. In relation to the housing provision, affordable housing and the risk of segregation was raised as issues and different measures were taken in relation to this, such as trying to include different forms of housing in city districts and aiming to create areas for people with different economic means. The municipality is limited in what they can do to ensure housing for all, which aligns with the situation described in previous research, but other sustainability measures were included or recognised in the development process, such as social communities and involvement of citizens, safety, transportation, sustainable housing and sustainable functions. The case of Sege Park

demonstrated some concrete examples of how sustainability can be implemented in the development of an area, such as sharing different functions and co-housing. The development of Sege Park and the sustainable solutions that are being integrated there can be understood through both green growth and degrowth perspectives since smart solutions to live sustainable lives are being emphasised as well as co-living and co-housing which is said to have the most degrowth potential (Nelson 2019b). However, it remains to be seen how Sege Park will develop once people have moved in and if the sustainable solutions will be used, but efforts are being made to try and maintain sustainable lives in Sege Park. The fact that sustainability can be understood in different ways and include many aspects also raises some reflections in relation to sustainable urban development. Many different sustainable solutions can be included in the urban development process since many aspects can be seen from a sustainability perspective. However, it is not clear if the most pressing challenges in relation to sustainability are being prioritised and that the actions taken actually will create a sustainable city where the need for housing today and in the future can be met. However, the respondents were open about the fact that the municipality is limited in what they can do and that there is no easy way to ensure housing for all. Regarding the relationship between social and environmental sustainability it was both seen in symbiosis, for example when it comes to the sharing functions and community in Sege Park, but conflicts between social and environmental aspects were also raised in relation to how building environmentally friendly houses could be more expensive and thus increase rents further.

In terms of the second research question, both challenges and opportunities were highlighted. In terms of opportunities, Sege Park is an area where they have included many sustainability solutions and even though it remains to be seen what will happen when people move in, they are working towards finding ways to make sure that the sustainability solutions are being used, for example in Sege Park Living Lab. The project of Mallbo was another example of trying to build new houses at a lower cost, which will also be interesting to follow since it might be a way of working with more affordable housing in the future. In terms of challenges, there are many different things that affect the possibility to develop sustainable cities and housing for all. The discussion about rental apartments with lower rents was interesting since it can be understood as a way to ensure housing for more people but was raised in the interviews as something that might also come with other challenges, such as segregation. Another interesting example was from the Western Harbour, where even though many sustainability measures were

being taken in the development process it is now one of the areas where emissions from consumption are the highest. Thus, the opposite effect can be reached if social and environmental aspects are not fully integrated when working with sustainable development. Finally, one pronounced challenge is that the municipality do not have the necessary tools to make sure that housing for all can be ensured.

In the current housing market, it does not seem possible to ensure housing for all, but there are some interesting aspects in relation to what came up in the documents and interviews to reflect upon. As was established in the theory section, green growth does not seem to have the same potential to stop environmental degradation compared to degrowth (Sandberg et al. 2019). From a degrowth perspective there might be things that could be done to ensure housing for all within planetary boundaries in Malmö. One thing could be to match the type of house to the type of household, since there seems to be enough rooms to house everyone in Malmö without anyone living too crowded. The ideas with Mallbo can be seen as one way of trying to do this where it was suggested that by deviating from the housing queue system, the newly built apartments with a lower rent within the project would go to households with a lower income. However, this was not supported by the politicians. Trying to match type of house to household, both in terms of cost and size and use some sort of financial support to make sure housing is sustainable but not too expensive are solutions that could help to ensure housing today, and in the future, but would require more fundamental changes to how we organise society (Sandberg et al. 2019) and is not something that the municipality currently can do. When it comes to the adequacy of housing and linking it to the need satisfiers, these were also discussed in documents and interviews. The quality and what we need in our house was discussed and the satisfier which was raised as not being fulfilled in some cases was overcrowding. The quality of small buildings, which was examined by Stefánsdóttir and Xue (2019), is important in relation to this, so that small dwellings do not result in overcrowding. The risk with precarious housing is not mentioned as a part of the satisfier characteristics to fulfil the need for shelter (Doyal & Gough 1991) but have been emphasised in previous research (Listerborn 2021) and during an interview (R5) and might thus be an aspect that also should be fulfilled.

In summary, sustainability in relation to urban development and housing provision is highlighted as important when analysing the collected data and there are many different aspects

which affect our living conditions beyond our house, such as social relations, segregation and the possibility to live sustainable lives, that needs to be considered. When it comes to housing and ensuring housing for all it was also confirmed that the municipality is restricted in what they can do to fulfil their responsibility for housing provision and there is no easy answer to how housing can be ensured within planetary boundaries. This is for example demonstrated through the fact that it is not possible to build for those with the lowest income, the fact that the rents in the existing housing stock is successively increasing and since it is not possible to match the apartments with the lowest rents to the households with the lowest income. In relation to the study conducted by Kahn et al. (2020), about how ecological and social welfare concerns are integrated in urban planning in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, the result from this study confirms that there are some projects where the integration of social and environmental aspects are quite developed, such as in Sege Park. In this study the distributive and equity effects were considered, such as in the Mallbo project and in Sege Park, but were met by challenges, for example not being able to deviate from the housing queue due to political decisions.

There are few questions that became apparent in this research and that would be interesting to explore in the future. First, it will be interesting to see what will happen in Sege Park when people start to move in, will the sustainability solutions be used? It would also be interesting to further investigate the possibilities and challenges of matching type of house to household, such as through the housing queue system, and interviewing politicians and/or private actors about this. This could include a deeper investigation on the sensitivity surrounding social housing and how politicians or private actors interpret different solutions of trying to accomplish a better match between house and household. It would also be of interest to explore how citizens feel about different forms of collective living, sharing functions or co-housing, since this might constitute more sustainable housing in the future. The future of housing and sustainable cities affects, and are affected by, many different areas of our life and the welfare state, such as employment, segregation and education. Thus, there are many things to explore from other perspectives in relation to sustainable housing, such as how social workers are, or could be, included in the urban development process. Further, I think that the relationship between the private market and the municipality would have been interesting to study since that is where the solutions or ways of working in the future might be found. Thus, there are many alternative or complementing methods that could have been used to study different perspectives of sustainable urban development and housing in Malmö, but I found that the method used in this

thesis provided a good insight both at the general level as well as with examples from the case of Sege Park.

In terms of the theoretical concept used in this thesis, they helped gaining a deeper understanding in relation to the aim and research questions. However, I do believe that it would also be of interest to further link the concept of precariousness to sustainable housing and the need satisfiers, since this is an aspect that might be lacking in the current theory. I also think that different concepts or theories in relation to qualities that we need in our home or quality of dwelling size would be interesting to focus on more deeply and explore further, for example on how different actors within the municipality or the private sector reflect around this. It was raised in interviews that the municipality should discuss with the builders about what qualities are needed and what qualities are not in order to decrease the cost of building. This is something that could be explored together with the framework of quality in dwellings and needs theory more deeply, which is something that is lacking from this thesis. In the end, it seems that there is a will to integrate social and environmental aspects in urban development. The fact that a collective way of living, which might have the most degrowth potential, is emphasised in Sege Park was also interesting. However, the current housing market does not make it possible to ensure housing for all and the long process of developing a city makes one wonder if we have enough time to develop sustainable cities through the current measures or if only more drastic degrowth solutions, which does not seem to be on the political agenda, would suffice.

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8. Appendix - Interview guide

Background

1. What is your role/background in the municipality when it comes to sustainable urban development and housing provision and/or your involvement in the project of Sege Park?

Sustainability in the urban development process and housing provision

2. Is there a mutual understanding of what is meant by social sustainability and how it can be implemented in the urban development process and housing provision?
 - a) If yes: How is social sustainability understood?
 - b) If no: What is your experience or understanding of social sustainability?
3. Is there a mutual understanding of what is meant by environmental sustainability and how it can be implemented in the urban development process and housing provision?
 - a) If yes: How is environmental sustainability understood?
 - b) If no: What is your experience or understanding of environmental sustainability?
4. In your experience, how does social-and environmental sustainability relate to each other, is there a connection or are they rather seen as separate goals?
5. Examples on how social-and environmental sustainability are included/implemented in urban development and/or housing provision?

Practical examples from Sege Park

Only for respondents involved in Sege Park

6. What aspects of sustainability was considered and/or included in the planning process for Sege Park and what was the motive behind them? (*transportation, green spaces,*

gardening, co-housing, co-owning, size on apartments, building materials, public/private and rental/owner housing, affordable housing, safety etc.).

a) How is the development of the area going, for example in relation to the goals in the sustainability strategy?

7. What aspects have been considered in relation to housing in Sege Park? *(for example in relation to people that experience difficulties to enter the housing market or rental/owner occupied apartments)*

8. Sege Park today, where are you now in the process?

Opportunities and challenges

9. How do you experience the opportunities or the positive effect that sustainable urban development can lead to? For example, in terms of including social and/or environmental needs?

10. What challenges or obstacles are met in sustainable urban development and housing provision? *(cost of building environmentally friendly, conflicts with other actors, segregation, affordable housing etc.).*

11. What changes/policies/reforms do you think are needed in the future to be able to plan for sustainable cities where the basic need for housing is met?

12. Any other insight or information that has not been covered?