Questioning Public Green Space & Affordable housing in Times of Densifying Cities

- A case study of the districts Eriksberg & Norby in Uppsala, Sweden

Johanna Frennesson

Questioning Public Green Space & Affordable Housing in Times of Densifying Cities
– A case study of the districts Eriksberg & Norby in Uppsala, Sweden

Publishing and archiving

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis examines the perceived relationship between public green space inequality in districts and how that is perceived to affect housing prices as greeneries value in cities has increased. The purpose is to investigate these perceived values and provoke questions in the thesis on how planning is experienced by active planners in the profession and how green spaces are viewed by residents. These connections are investigated with the help of a case study in two urban districts in Uppsala municipality. Eriksberg and Norby are the districts that are investigated, these are in the western part of Uppsala and differ from each other by, socio-economic background of the residents and housing types, form and among other things. The districts are chosen to be able to look at the perceived issues in different forms of urban districts. And in Eriksberg it is discussed what the consequences potentially be as it faces densification with new housing and renovation of existing homes. Affordable housing and methods to reduce segregation and prevent gentrification are discussed concerning the development and the districts as they are today from different perceptions. Meanwhile discussing the work against segregation, it is also discussed how the planners from Uppsala municipality are viewing and working with social sustainability in the correlation to green spaces decreasing. To be able to investigate these connections, empirical study, interviews with planners from Uppsala municipality and questionnaires in which residents in both Eriksberg and Norby have participated are used. Results from the methods combined with theories from researchers on the same subject are discussed at the end of the study. Conclusions drawn from a planner's perspective are that they need to work more actively with affordable housing. However, the planners never present a concrete plan or actions they are willing to take to deal with the problems that exist. The residents in the area feel strongly about nature and value it, however, the future development in Eriksberg is making the residents unsure of what will be left of nature. The residents are also unsure if they will afford to still live in Eriksberg after the development as the rents will increase. The planners say that everybody will not afford but most will. The quality of green spaces is questioned by the residents on how the municipality will act on the issue due to the lack of plans on how planners will implement socially sustainable solutions. Eriksberg is perceived to be engaged in questions that involve humans and biodiversity, meanwhile, residents in Norby are only engaged in questions that involve a change in their district, this is a strong sign that Norby is and wants to be segregated from other districts. Planners together with the municipality's active choice and stance on making housing accessible to all will reflect how segregated districts will become or remain in the future.

Keywords: Green space, sustainability, affordable housing, gentrification, social segregation, renoviction and space.

Popular science summary

This essay examines the perceived relationship between public green space inequality in districts and how that affects housing prices as greenery value in cities has increased. The purpose is to investigate these perceived values and arouse thoughts and questions on how the planners in the profession and how residents value green spaces. This was investigated by focusing on two districts in Uppsala, Eriksberg and Norby. The focus is on social sustainability, which is about feeling included in society. This is investigated with the help of studying previous research, which highlights the connection there is between greenery and housing prices. Surveys are sent to residents to hear what they think if it affects the prices, and how they value greenery. Also, how residents experience it in their neighbourhood and how they see future development. People from Uppsala municipality that are working as planners are also interviewed about the previously mentioned problems. It is investigated how the planners work with affordable housing, which is about offering housing that allows the resident to save for a good economy and not maximize their financial assets. The planners are also asked how they think about green areas, with the maintenance and distribution of green areas throughout the municipality. Conclusions in the thesis are drawn that the municipality with the planners must work more actively to be able to offer housing everybody can afford, as today it is not something they work actively with. The planners discuss in interviews that they see a need to be able to offer cheap housing but do not mention plans on how to work with it. The residents in the districts feel strongly about keeping nature in and around the districts, the future development in Eriksberg makes the residents uncertain about what will be left of nature. The residents are worried that they will not afford to still live there. At the same time, the planners say that not everyone will always afford it, but most will. Norby's residents are only involved in issues that involve changes in their district, which is a sign that Norby is and wants to be separated from other districts when it comes to planning. The municipality's choice to work on creating affordable housing will affect how divided it will remain or increase in the future, between different groups of citizens but also districts.

Table of Contents

List of figures

Abbreviations

BBR	The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's building regulations
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
MP	Million Program
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBL	Planning and Building Act
SLU	Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United nations
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introductory research positioning

Public green spaces have for a long time been an important part of human life (Gehl 2006). Its importance is based on the role of social interactions it offers and improves mental and physical health. These benefits are important arguments to consider for preserving the strength of the green spaces that we have in the urban cities today, in this case, Uppsala city. These arguments on conserving public green spaces become challenging since cities need to densify or expand. This is due to the growing population, and more are moving from rural areas to urban cities both in Sweden and globally (Barchetta 2016; Madanipour 2019). The still growing phenomenon has changed municipalities' approach to densifying the cities, however, the densification is not distributed equally within the cities. When densifying, other issues occur, as the cities are on limited space, what is unbuilt are often only green spaces. These become built on and replaced. With many political discussions on the need to protect green areas in cities for biodiversity and human wellbeing, it is important to investigate what planners from Uppsala municipality think about creating social equality in public green spaces throughout the city.

Public green space is important that is accessible and remains for all citizens, both in distance but also available regardless of the obstacles on site. Public space is supposed to be welcoming to all, no matter their economical, ethnic, or racial background. Public places can have an important role to play in counteracting increased segregation, offering environments that are welcome for all and different groups can meet and be more diverse (Schreiber & Carius 2016). A homogenous district or city is when people only socialize with the same socio-economic background, which means that diverse groups do not interact. If these interactions do not occur segregation remains if not exacerbated due to the increased gap between social groups (Thörn & Thörn 2017). It is also important to investigate if public places today contribute to gentrification or can become more of a heterogeneous city, where social groups mix naturally. This is important since greenery affects price points and in that controls who affords to live close. If there is only expensive housing, the area becomes gentrified and low-income household moves further away and segregation increases. Gentrification creates a bigger gap between groups and complicates the work of a heterogeneous city. The question is if the heterogeneous city is the goal or just wishful thinking?

Citizens have often an uneven distance to public green space; less green space is equivalent to low access to public space (Schreiber & Carius 2016). This inequality of access to green public space indicates how important it is to work with social sustainability and to implement it more actively in planning (Sanandaji 2017). There is a need to see if there is a perceived correlation between housing prices and green space equality, and how planners from the municipality thoughts are on working against segregation and social sustainability. If this subject is not researched, society nor planners will not be fully aware of what effect our actions have in both the short-term and long-term since we are building for a better future. Housing prices and green space are well researched how it is in practice, but there is a need to research how actions are perceived by residents of the areas and planners' view on the issue.

It is important to investigate if access to public green spaces affects the prices in an area and how it is perceived by residents to be able to find where recourses need to be redirected to and what potential solutions that need to be implemented. This is important since increased prices affect the housing market supply of potential affordable housing (Schreiber & Carius 2016). The question is if planners and residents look at the need to work with affordable housing and how planners think that can help with the work against segregation and gentrification. As a

young researcher, I have experienced the difficulty to find housing, particularly affordable housing. Together with friends, we all have experienced the need to select housing that is not at our price point, and that limits our possibilities to build up economic capital. Based on my own observation many of my age are living at home longer than our parents did, due to a lack of affordable housing.

As the researcher, the interest in researching this correlation comes both from the difficulty to find housing. But it also comes from my interest and value to create equal and including the environment and to research if the citizens have a shared perception and appreciation of equal greenery in cities. When it comes to including environments, it means that all groups of society are considered and have a place that feels like theirs and have equal access to it (Sanandaji 2017). My interest in the municipal approach comes from my bachelor's studies as questions and includes the public opinions as the municipalities seem to be ignoring the opinions. In this study will collect municipal planners' shared opinions rather than representatives from the municipality.

1.1 Problematization

In the last decades, in global north cities, it has become more expensive and difficult to find affordable housing, especially for young people, people who have immigrated and low-income families (Larson 2018). Many districts in the cities are often homogenous in the view of different social groups, but also within the same district, there is no fluctuation of price point and level of income within the districts (Larson 2018; Madanipour 2019). Segregated cities are made of homogenous districts with an unequal distribution of citizens with different wealth, and cultural- and academic backgrounds (Ruddick 1996).

Today in European cities, studying previous planning uncovers how municipal planning has resulted in the low-income district losing green space due to densification meanwhile wealthier districts get high qualitative green spaces (Barchetta 2016.; Anguelovski et al. 2018). Cities have shifted toward creating more sustainable cities, the problem is to investigate if the value of green space has changed the planners and resident's view. This is important since green space has an important role both for humans and for the environment, however, it is also triggering the prices of housing in proximity to green areas (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). With triggering prices, it is a balance that needs to be researched on how the different value of greenery is are or should be handled in planning at the same time develop sustainably (World Health Organisation 2017).

1.2 Limitation on the study

During the period this thesis is written there is a global pandemic caused by Covid-19 that has been going on since 2020. The Swedish government has during the pandemic given recommendations for all citizens to follow, one example of recommendation is to socially distance. The pandemic can affect how crowded the places are due to many staying at home. See precaution that is taken in the method.

One aspect of social science is to analytically reveal how societies create (power) differences at the intersections, for example of class, gender, and ethnicity/race, or how they produce those categories (how gender, class and race are created) not for the sake of recreating them but to point out structures which create them to counter inequalities (Molina 2018).

1.2.1 Delimitation of scope

To be able to limit the research subject, I will conduct a comparative case study on two districts in Uppsala. The study delimited to two districts to be able to conduct a wider study during the short time period and collect several views on the subject rather than one. The chosen districts are Eriksberg and Norby. Eriksberg is the one representing the low-income districts. The socioeconomic definition of the districts is defined with help of the social compass as it presents the annual income, and unemployment, therefore the districts are qualified by being opposite and investigating for differences within the same municipality (Uppsala kommun 2021c).

Eriksberg and Norby are chosen because they have different structures of housing forms, there they are both interesting to look at since they both are urban, to compare what works and how it is shaped in different structures. So, they are quite different urban districts when it comes to character, housing forms, green spaces, and level of income. It is interesting to look at how the perception may differ or potentially be the same. Another factor that played a role when deciding on districts to work with is its closeness to the author who was staying in Uppsala at the time, this is due to there being conducted site visits. The initial idea was to interview on-site, therefore my level of comfort was considered where the author would feel comfortable spending a lot of time in the districts. In Uppsala, there are other districts that have a worse socioeconomic background but are less safe and therefore were excluded.

Green space is defined in this thesis as an area that is a park or municipal-managed public green space. Public space and green space importance in the city will be presented in the theoretical part. When green space later is discussed, the case study will be more focused on green spaces close to housing, to be able to have a more equal discussion on the green distribution with all residents in the districts. This is because the research aims to look at the perceived correlations and inequalities between green space and housing. This thesis will mainly investigate parks and green areas close to housing and use as a synonym for green areas which is the concept green space or public green space. Nature reserves are not included in the definition of green space hence the method should be able to be replicated in other districts in Sweden. However, the value and usage will be discussed later due to its location and as both nature reserves and green areas are included in allemansrätten[1].

In the study, there isn't Uppsala municipality that is answering the questions, since there are only planners participating and no politicians. The planners are working at Uppsala municipality but are not representing the municipality as they present personal opinions and what they have learned and observed in the profession. And the residents from the districts are also important to note that this is only collected opinions from the participated residents, and other residents in the same districts may disagree.

This study is to investigate the perceived value of public green spaces and how that affects housing prices, it will present a theoretical review that opens for discussions on the subject. Therefore, other views will not be presented such as what differentiates the districts, meanwhile, benefits and disadvantages will be discussed as the purpose is to research how much there is of each value.

---

[1] The right to move freely in Swedish nature, camp, and other factors, see more on Naturvårdsverket (Naturvårdsverket n.d.).

1.2.2 Eriksberg and Norby

As previously mentioned, the comparative case study is taken place in the districts of Eriksberg and Norby. The districts are in Uppsala. Uppsala city is located northwest of Stockholm and is in Uppsala County (Nationalencyklopedin n.d.). By 2020, Uppsala municipality had a population of 233 839 inhabitants and continues to grow (ibid). Two factors of the fast-growing pace are that it is a university city, and at the same time with a lot of citizens educated it contributes to new companies and jobs (ibid). The urban city Uppsala that is known today is from the 11th century, as it started to grow alongside Fyrisån that runs through Uppsala city (ibid). Eriksberg and Norby are much younger districts in Uppsala because they were built in the 20th century (ibid).

The two districts, Eriksberg and Norby are located approximately 5 kilometres southwest of the centre of Uppsala and are located next to each other, more information on the two districts will be presented in the result part, see 5.3.3 and 5.2.4. The districts are not only chosen based on the socioeconomic backgrounds but also because they offer different housing forms and green areas and demonstrate the issues within both districts. Norby is having clear boundaries and established green parks. Meanwhile, Eriksberg has blurred borders of green areas and facing renovation and redevelopment of the districts that will change the character and residents of the area. These differences are studied on how they will change and how the municipality handles the issues in these two different urban districts.

1.3 Purpose

The purpose of the thesis is to investigate the perceived value between green space inequality affects housing prices. At the same time focus on two districts with different average household incomes, Eriksberg & Norby which is in Uppsala, Sweden. The green space that will be studied will be close to housing in the districts. The purpose is also to investigate how planners from the municipality think and have observed how they engage with gentrification and its effect on green space, considering their ideal of green space equity and desegregation in connection to the sustainability goals. It is important to investigate how planners from the municipalities are approaching the problem today and its effect on the residents, due to be able to find tools that help create sustainable cities. The research aims to provoke questions on how planning is approached and perceived in the profession.

1.4 Research questions

- What are the planners from Uppsala municipality's views on green space in the context of densification due to the need for more housing in Eriksberg and Norby?

- What are the residents' views on green space in the context of densification due to the need for more housing in Eriksberg and Norby?

2. Background

A space can be both public or private, however, public space is accessible and open to all visitors (UNESCO n.d.). The accessibility should not be limited regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age, state of health or socioeconomic background (ibid). "Public space is primarily defined by what it is not: private space" (Mitchell 2017: 504). Madanipour argues that a place that is easily accessible affects how public it is (2019). In the terms of accessibility, it is both physical in the sense no matter of hinder or age, but also activities that could take place in different forms, such as a protest. What goes under the definition of public space are squares, plazas, and parks (ibid). However, sometimes these can also be private.

2.1 History of public space

For many centuries, public space has been an important place in the city, however, the public view, usage and planning have changed through time. The public spaces in history are defined as green spaces or squares, therefore the same history can be applied to both public and green spaces (UNESCO n.d.). Internationally, development such as in the USA also reflects the Swedish development of public spaces since the public places have been supporting the same activities and have been influenced by international planners. Public space is a place where the struggle between social classes has been shown, it has been a place for protest and where democracy was born (Larson 2018; Madanipour 2019). Going even further back in history it has been a place for commerce, socialising and even execution. Below I will present what the four discrete development periods look like to present an understanding of how it started, then jump back to focus on the present time.

Urban parks started to become a relevant topic by 1850 and have four discrete development periods between 1850 to 1970 but have continued to develop after (Madden 2010). Madanipour argues that parks are constructed for and by men (2019), this connects with the first civil city parks which were designed by wealthy landowners or industrialists, this means that today they would not be defined as public (Barchetta 2016). The first period started in 1850 and was driven by lifting the poor and the working class and shaping human behaviour, however, was created for the middle and upper class (Madden 2010; Larson 2018). The second period between 1900-1930 started to show as reform parks, which were located closer to the working-class areas and offered organized dance and playgrounds (Madden 2010). The third period was dominated also by reformed parks from 1930 to 1965, this period is driven by high unemployment since the usage of the parks increased the need for more parks (ibid). The fourth and final period continued from 1965 to 1970 and offered more open parks where the possibility for everybody to use and interact within the park boundaries, the aim of inclusion and equality between the classes guided the development (ibid; Larson 2018). However, the ideal did not reflect reality, it was only wishful thinking. The reality was an excluding environment towards for example people with disabilities, and the homeless as they were not viewed as an equal part of society, and their participation was hindered by planning for example by it being a gated park (Madanipour 2019). Urban parks were also excluding in since it does not match what a public park is today, through history the urban parks have become public, but when they were created, they were not (ibid). Meanwhile, it is stated by Larson (2018) that the planning of parks and other public spaces is based on connecting different social classes and contributing to integration. Improving and making the parks more aesthetically pleasing sought to help to attract tourists and promote economic growth and increase the citizen's well-being (ibid). Urban parks are still developing today and are more tied to densification, as the cities grow, and have developed last 50 years.

2.2 Industrialisation shift on public life

Industrialisation affected how and where people lived and worked, which added social, economic, and environmental pressure on recreational areas in the urban cities as they grew rapidly, this is due to before the recreational areas were only for the elite (Madanipour 2019; Barchetta 2016). The public places acted as a natural meeting ground and became a place for interaction, as they offered a place to breathe in the overcrowded cities (ibid). Green areas do not only provide health benefits, but it is also a factor of economic growth which is important to be able to continuously develop, as it is attracting tourism (Larson 2018). Well-designed green areas made urban cities more attractive, at the same time the pressure on parks being perceived as safe increased (ibid). The urban parks have been driven and maintained by people with money and power, whichever delimits the interaction of different classes, some were privatized or controlled (ibid). But the parks have also been driven by the aspect of health and well-being of the workers as it is heightening the productivity (ibid). In the view of biodiversity, it allowed wildlife in the cities to live and till provide a form of connection between nature and humans (ibid).

2.3 From excluding to including park

Historically, public spaces are not designed and aimed toward women (Ruddick 1996). Beginning of the industrial revolution, before women joined the workforce, women were kept away from the city due to safety reasons, as the women's role was to stay at home with the children (ibid). Racism in society made that white and black people did not mix for a long time in public, which affected the quality and distribution of public places, in a geographical and spatial context (ibid). Access to public space was based on a hierarchy depending on different factors, this could play out in different ways, it could, for example, be regulated on when or who will be able to access it. One example from Ruddick (1996) a woman is viewed and valued differently depending on her culture, class, racial and ethnic background. For example, a rich white and a black woman is viewed and valued differently, this is where racism is anchored in values. For many decades, there has been discussion about gender, race, and class as different things, however, these cannot be separated because they are intersected as seen from just mentioned example, they connect and change the view and value depending on multiple factors (Ruddick 1996).

2.4 Segregation in Sweden

In recent decades Sweden has rapidly become increasingly segregated in both ethnic background and household income, Hübinette & Lundström argue that Sweden could be viewed as a "white nation in crisis" (2014:423). The segregation gets inherited by the second generation of people who have immigrated to Sweden, this causes the line between Swedish and people who have immigrated to become more apparent (Hübinette & Lundström 2014). The statistic shows that 80 percent of swedes do not voluntarily socialize with people who have immigrated to Sweden which hinders integration (ibid). The difference in unemployment between native- and foreign-born in Sweden is the highest among all Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries which indicate discrimination in the labour market (OECD 2022).

Today the Swedish population consist of over 15 percent of people with non-Western background and most of them are in the working class (Statistiska centralbyrån 2010). Some are excluded from the job market due to their racial and ethnic background, which is substantiated by that most non-white citizens are in the working class (ibid). Today there is a difference in the lower-, middle- and high-income households, however, there is also a

difference within the classes depending on the racial or ethnic background (Hübinette & Lundström 2014). In Sweden, the lowest-income household has barely made an increase in annual income and those that are in the category of poor and low-income have increased from 7 to 15 percent of the Swedish population between 1995-2015 (Ahrne et al. n.d.) At the same time, the high-income households have drastically increased their income which haven widen the gap and the middle-income households have followed the high incomes trend of increase (ibid). Depending on the level of income, it reflects the social life, as different levels of income do not on an everyday basis mix (Hübinette & Lundström 2014).

3. Theoretical background

The theoretical chapter will present both Swedish and international perspectives. The international perspectives are included to provide an understanding of similar problems that occur globally, and to understand how they have been researched; this global perspective helps to understand how international work has been reflected in Swedish context. Some of the examples are from European countries that are members of the European Union and collectively working towards the SDG's goals that correspond to sustainability. Also, for example, America is also working with the SDG's goals and has written a lot of academic text about it.

3.1 Public green space

Public green spaces can be meeting places for people from different backgrounds, meanwhile, the spaces are not fully neutral and can be engaged politically by citizens' actions. Public green spaces are constructed as democratic spaces where all social groups can participate, this can take the form of an example a protest (Schreiber & Carius 2016). Public space can act as a space for conflict but also a resolution of conflict, it can be a conflict in the sense protests can take place, but it can be a solution by supporting all groups (Mitchell 2017). The physical planning of buildings and public space can influence the activities and how the public is used, better public space generates more and better outdoor activities (Gehl 2006). Public space helps to increase public health, social capital and promote integration, however, ecosystem services, for example, can help reduce the risk of flooding (Barchetta 2016; Anguelovski et al. 2018). The social aspect is that people will not meet different social groups equally spontaneous and integrate which will lead to segregation and the public health will be worse as they do not partake as much in activities (Tahvilzadeh 2021; Sanandaji 2017). Some groups meet at other places for example school but do not interact with as many or different groups (Tahvilzadeh 2021).

3.1.1 Increased pressure if space is lost

Green space's role in urban cities has grown since more than 80% of the population in Europe live or are moving to urban areas, however, the only issue with this percentage is that the definition of what is urban differentiates for all countries. Nevertheless, this increases the pressure on green spaces, especially the availability and quality, however, with higher pressure, unequal distribution in the city becomes apparent (Madanipour 2019; Schreiber & Carius 2016).

Regardless of the public health benefits, if the green spaces have an uneven distribution in the city, it will affect segregation as it affects the closeness to be able to exercise and breathe in the fresh air. With an uneven distribution, the gap between wealthy and poor districts increases drastically (Barchetta 2016). Research has shown that greener districts have healthier residents in the area due to the proximity of green space (ibid).

According to Barchetta (2016), public spaces have an important role in cities for them to develop according to the sustainability principles such as environmentally friendly materials and including spaces. However, it is argued that public space is not fully neutral since it is created by planners and property developers that have an agenda (Smith & Walters 2018; Madanipour 2019).

3.1.2 Negative & positive effects of green areas

The unequal proximity to green space can increase depending on the level of maintenance of green space as if it is neglected it may be built on and therefore lost and the distance increases. It has shown that estates that are located close to green spaces are more likely to have increased rent and promote redevelopment of surrounding areas (Larson 2018; Madanipour 2019). It may also work oppositely, green spaces that are not cared for, but has expensive housing around, will influence the commitment and management of the area (Larson 2018; Barchetta 2016; Madanipour 2019). This two-way influence on green spaces and rent creates gentrification because people with low income can no longer afford to live there and are forced to move since the area is renovated (Barchetta 2016). This can spill over to not only affect at a local, regional, and national level. The ones that occupy the vacant but renovated houses around the green spaces are middle and upper class (Barchetta 2016). Redeveloping projects can worsen rather than help to solve the inaccessibility to access affordable housing (Larson 2018). The role of public space plays an important role in who will be able to use and live in the areas as the design can limit people's access but also make it possible for people to play and interact on equal terms.

As presented in the previous paragraph, middle- and high-income households have easier access to green areas close to housing, due to the strong economy in the household. At the same time research has shown that public parks in the UK are more used by households with children and especially if they are living in areas where ethnic minorities live, at the same time those parks have the least maintenance budget (Madanipour 2019). Uneven distribution of resources creates inequality and segregation (ibid; Barchetta 2016). However, if the interest in public space increases the economic contribution to sites, it will lead to economic investments in the surrounding buildings and the long-term effects on who will benefit from the improvement (Madanipour 2019). The economic changes in an area have both a social and spatial impact on the rest of the city (ibid). However, even if improvements are made in an area, underlying issues remain to be handled including racism, poverty and homelessness are some examples (Larson 2018).

3.1.3 European ideal of public space

Madanipour states that there is a need to improve and preserve existing green space since the lack of green space is classified as an environmental issue, for example, as it supports ecosystem services and mental health (2019). According to Madanipour a sustainable city today is considered to have "[…] 'safe areas, green and other public spaces as well as ... short distances to facilities and services', to be 'sufficiently attractive to counter urban sprawl'" (2019:43). Sustainable cities are a keyword today to be considered an attractive city to live in (ibid). The United Nations are striving for the same goals as the WHO. The sustainable city and countering urban sprawl are challenging balances to work with since there is a lack of green space in urban environments but there is simultaneously a seen to be a need to sustainably densify.

3.2 Social Sustainability

Sustainability is an overarching concept for social, environmental, and economic sustainability (Sanandaji 2017). The concepts have an important role in today's urban planning (ibid). Sustainability is not defined by being either or not, it's a scale which can shift through time since there is no permanent solution (ibid).

Social sustainability is a complex concept to define as it is defined differently by many, but the following definition is how it is viewed in this study. Social sustainability is defined as when all marginalized groups have belonging in society and everybody can function on their own without economic support, where mental health issues and unemployment are low, in summary, everybody has a sense of belonging in the city (Hahn et al. 2016; Sanandaji 2017). Social sustainability is an essential component for authorities and civil societies as the concept are often viewed as a key to solving problems in society (Hahn et al. 2016). Compared to economic and environmental sustainability, social sustainability does not have an immediate result, long-term planning is therefore needed (ibid; Sanandaji 2017). However, municipalities don't always see the benefit to investing since the solutions are costly and first prove to be profitable after a decade, in the short term it is viewed as a waste of resources according to planners and politicians (Sanandaji 2017). The long-term effect can promote positive economic development, integration, and increased mental and physical health (Hahn et al. 2016). With positive development, it can lead to that marginalized people can leave the marginalized group and becoming functioning members of society (Sanandaji (2017). The public realm has an important role in social sustainability, since it creates, integration, and movement which promotes safety as people leave the marginalized groups that sometimes can create a dangerous situation, for example taking illegal substances in public places (ibid). Sanandaji (2017) writes that planners are not fully educated on how to work with sustainability and that can lead to increased marginalization, one reason for that can be because of the vague and encompassing definitions of the concepts and planners are not fully aware yet of what is fully sustainable. Sustainability is important in Swedish planning today are working with the Sustainable Development Goals, the goals it is stated for instance to build cities that offer affordable housing, and qualitative and quantitative levels of the green spaces to work against segregation (Project Everyone n.d.).

Municipalities that are working with sustainable development often end up providing only ecological and economic benefits, meanwhile, social sustainability is left out, then it is argued that is not sustainable since all three approaches to sustainability need to be implemented (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). Garcia- Lamarca et al. (2021) argue that is clear that people of colour and low-income citizens are not included or prioritised in the planning of development, those are often defined as marginalized groups.

3.2.1 Resource distribution between income groups

Differences in household finances reflect how they have been treated in planning. High-income households are favoured and listened to, and more likely to attend a citizen dialogue. With low-income households not attending and expressing their opinion on needed development, therefore the issues may not be highlighted to planners and politicians (Seamster & Purifoy 2020). With their low attendance, it has the consequence that resources may be taken from the low-income areas and directed to high-income areas (Seamster & Purifoy 2020). Seamster and Purifoy (2020) state that the distribution of environmental resources depends on power geometry based on racialized class structures, which eventually benefit white communities while underdeveloped non-white working-class neighbourhoods are neglected.

3.2.2 Driving forces of segregation in Sweden

The uneven distribution of resources is caused by the driving forces of segregation (Grange & Björling 2021). The housing market in Sweden is one factor that increases segregation most, according to Listerborn (2021) and Grange & Björling (2021) it is because many Swedish people do not want to live with foreigners. Another factor that drives the segregation is the

de-regulated housing market in Sweden, as it tries to adjust the urban cities according to global capitalism (Thörn & Thörn 2017). Entrepreneurial governance of the market has been launched in Sweden to attract more private actors and wealthy investors as the picture of a city with grand buildings are presented (ibid). With external actors, they can conduct the planning at a faster pace and control the cost of the development and therefore build for the desired rent (ibid). This approach is often viewed as problematic as it tones down the request for different forms of housing at different price points as the expensive developments only benefit wealthy residents in Sweden and simultaneously increase the gap between low-, middle and high-income households (ibid). Poor citizens do not choose segregation, the racial capitalism does (Tahvilzadeh 2021; Montgomery 2016). The gap in the market increases since the new housing is designed for middle- and high-income households (Thörn & Thörn 2017). Spatialized social inequalities in Swedish cities have emerged due to the development of the housing market (ibid).

Between 1965 and 1975 in Sweden, developments were built to address the housing shortage that would also be accessible for all incomes including low-income households and those are called the Million Program (MP) (Thörn & Thörn 2017). The MP consists of different housing forms, villas and lamella housing are the dominating forms, meanwhile, the tall apartment complexes are the distinctive appearance for many when they think of MP (Boverket 2020). After several decades, MP housing is in urgent need of renovation to match today's building codes, this need has a consequence that rents will be increased up to 80 percent and in turn, can cause "renoviction" (Thörn & Thörn 2017). Renoviction is a concept used when renovation causes residents to become evicted due to increased rents, this is due to the housing market driving force of segregation (ibid).

3.2.3 Housing market & desegregation

When it comes to segregation the housing market is not the only factor that plays a role. Segregation is dividing different groups geographically in society into different categories, and they are not given equal opportunities (Gould & Lewis 2016). One of the most important factors is the level of income as it controls where and how you can afford to live, which links to the need in the housing market. According to OECD, the income disparities increase faster in Sweden than it does in other OECD countries (OECD 2017). This affects the resident's ability to stay in their accommodation and their selection of housing is limited. It is argued that the work against segregation in Sweden does not work as planned (Tahvilzadeh 2021). To focus on another solution Tahvilzadeh argues that planners should aim towards a desegregated city, that is an equal city that includes diversity, resources are distributed equally and makes decisions for everyone's best (ibid). In a desegregated city it is irrelevant where you live in the city (ibid). However, there is no concrete plan or list of actions on how to achieve a desegregated city, this idea comes from scientists and activists that have written *Bostadsmanifest - 22 krav för framtidens hem,* which translates to Housing manifesto - 22 requirements for the future (2021). The authors direct the book to Swedish politicians and planners calling for a change to the approach to Swedish planning and how the housing market is managed (ibid). The authors of the manifesto claim that the cities will stay segregated and be gentrified over time as it excludes some groups (ibid). Even if the content of information in the book is valid, they aren't really showing where all the data is from and haven't given the possibility to politicians and planners to be able to answer the statements. However, what they present is that gentrification and segregation do not only affect the cost of living, but also surrounding green areas (ibid).

3.2.4 Green gentrification

Gould and Lewis define green gentrification as: a subset of urban gentrification. "The process of green gentrification is started by greening initiatives that create or restore environmental amenities. Environmental amenities draw in wealthier groups of residents and push out lower-income residents, thus creating gentrification." (Gould & Lewis 2016:23). When wealthy people move in, they are bringing status and capital to the area which attracts other wealthy to move in, and the area gets redeveloped and tidied up (ibid). The greenery affects the area, it raises the price when it gets refurbished, and it becomes more attractive.

Gentrification may lead to a replacement of groups, those groups are often low-income families, people that immigrated, young people and homeless people (Madanipour 2019). Low-income and minority residents have issues affording to live in areas that do provide more opportunities, instead are pushed into segregated areas with residents that share the same economic condition (Sen, et al. 2017). When a neighbourhood gets gentrified in general, it tends to get an increase in the white population and higher academic background (Anguelovski et al. 2018). Gentrified areas are often interpreted as being greener, Gould and Lewis argue that gentrification leads to greening (2016). For example, redeveloped areas have an increase in rents, but are marketed as being green and having a sustainable focus, such as allotments and electric cars, which increases the prices, therefore allowing only specific income to move in. The one that benefits most from increasing prices is private developers since the cost of maintenance of the green spaces is covered by the municipality (Madanipour 2019).

3.2.5 Green space's effect on segregation

Segregation and green gentrification are intertwined when green areas as improved in low-income households become gentrified as it gets more attractive to wealthy households. Green space is to create affinity; however, they often create inequality for races, ages, gender, and classes furthermore housing segregation becomes more prominent (ibid; Ruddick 1996; Barchetta 2016). Barchetta argues that the metropolitan area feels the pressure of the housing market as land prices rise and green areas are considered suitable for housing development (2016).

Exposed groups are forced to move to environmentally hazardous areas because of gentrification since they cannot afford to live in areas that are considered 'good' and free from pollution (Gould & Lewis 2016). Urban planning could be argued as a tool to secure the whiteness and in other words, preserve areas that are viewed as 'good' while staying white (Martina & Schor 2015). However, the public green space has become a place where old social structures of remaining white can be confronted and challenged that all groups are free to use the same spaces (Ruddick 1996).

By developing or redeveloping an area, it attracts users with a certain level of income, however, the level will fluctuate depending on prices (Smith & Walters 2018). Public space located next to residentials can become privatised as an argument to clean up the area, on the contrary, it contributes to gentrification and segregation as it excludes marginalized groups (ibid). When developing green spaces, the focus is on creating a safe public, however, other qualities get lost such as social interaction (ibid). It is a complex paradox of where to fix and maintain green spaces as it increases the price of surrounding dwelling complexes. If it is not gated it can generate better public health and diversity.

20

3.3 Inequality

Diversity is a concept that is associated with politics of recognition around issues of race and ethnicity (Sen et al. 2017). Other dimensions such as age, gender, class, disability, sexual orientation, culture, religion, and family background are intertwined in the definition of diversity as it has multiple layers (ibid). When discussing racial inequalities, it is counterproductive if economic inequalities are not tied to racial or ethnic background (ibid). With a growing population in urban cities, diversity, and public space, the importance of equal spaces in urban cities has grown (Schreiber & Carius 2016; Ruddick 1996). Especially when the income gap has increased drastically over the last three decades (Schreiber & Carius 2016). Municipalities face challenges to mix diverse groups meanwhile work against socioeconomic polarization and segregation, these challenges need to be approached on multiple levels and focus areas to be properly addressed such as affordable housing in all districts and higher income (ibid). The challenge is to define all as equal citizens (Gould & Lewis 2017). One example by Hübinette & Lundström is a person who moves to Sweden and has lived two-thirds of their life in Sweden but is still not considered Swedish as the definition claims that you need to be born in Sweden (2014). People who have immigrated are viewed as a factor that is a negative effect on safety and potentially decreases property values (Martina & Schor 2015).

Low availability of green spaces is often found in more ethnic diverse districts (Schreiber & Carius 2016). Meanwhile, it is argued that an equal distribution will not solve social and economic problems and there is no evidence on how it affects prices (ibid). However, it is viewed by Schreiber and Carius, that it can create even respect for citizens and a consistent living standard (ibid). Planners can create accessible spaces that encourage interaction between people of diverse backgrounds and therefore create a mix of different house prices in the same area by building different housing forms and direct some housing for low-income families to provide an equal living standard (ibid; Larson 2018). It is suggested that urban planners should approach development through the lens of marginalized groups to be able to plan for all (ibid). Instead of trying to make a heterogeneous city, the planner should aim to have a diverse city with blurred lines where it is planned from the marginalised perspective and needs (Fainstein 2005).

> "In relation to the two broad purposes of urban policy— stimulating growth and achieving equity—it is now claimed that ensuring diversity is key. According to this view, diversity attracts human capital, encourages innovation, and ensures fairness and equal access to a variety of groups. Indeed, by this logic, the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment." (Fainstein 2005:4).

The way how the built environment is shaped establishes racial and gender hierarchy in city space (Martina & Schor 2015). The areas dominated by white people are viewed as safe and wealthy most of the time, however, not all white areas are safe or wealthy (ibid). The European white middle class in society is coded as the good and proper way to live a full life, in other words, a need to be middle- or upper-class and to be white (ibid). Uneven political power puts the poor, low-income households, and minority groups at risk for decreased public health (Gould & Lewis 2017). "If cities are being designed to attract the already successful, what becomes of those who aren't? And how then do cities begin to deal with seemingly intractable issues such as poverty, affordable housing, racism and equitable opportunity?" (Larson 2018:401).

Parks are in majority designed with anti-homeless design, with short benches, armrests, or other methods that can be viewed as controlling who has the right to the public space, some arguments behind it are often that all are welcome to visit in public space but not to live and make camps (Martina & Schor 2015; Mitchell 2017). Meanwhile, young people are considered a threat to safety (Madanipour 2019). Gould and Lewis argue that the division of green structures is unequal to benefit them at the top (2017). The groups that are often excluded in planning are most often in need of affordable housing and low income. Working against segregation is about making public spaces equal and more diverse.

3.3.1 Inclusion in Swedish planning

In Sweden, planners are expected to follow Boverkets guidance on how to create inclusive and diverse public places (Boverket 2021). Boverket is translated to the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. This guidance is established according to the United Nations (UN) convention that works with people's rights in society (ibid). Boverket mentions the purpose of the guidance is that everybody should have the ability to participate in society (ibid). In Swedish planning there is a standard that needs to be achieved, this is directed by different laws (ibid). Overall demands are defined in Planning and Building Act (PBL) to achieve accessibility (ibid). For example, it can be the need to remove easily remedied obstacles at the entrance of buildings and public places (ibid). The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's building regulations (BBR) specifies what is mandatory for new development or redevelopment in a building (ibid). This guidance is only partly related to public green space since it does not really have any specific regulations on how and where the public green space should be, compared to the guidance Boverket has on housing. Boverket has however quite clear guidance such as working for people's rights in society.

3.4 Relation between green space & affordable housing

With this uneven structure within cities, there is a need for diverse housing. Today's diverse world is still unequal economically, where segregation and accessibility of affordable housing vary in many countries. On ResearchGate Robathan discussed with other researchers that it is important to identify the difference between *social housing* and *affordable housing*, as some use them as a synonym for each other, however, this thesis will use the most common definition by separating them (2013). That means that affordable housing is all housing that is on the market and managed by private landlords or the municipality, meanwhile, social housing is provided by the municipalities to the less privileged, but this form of housing is not accessible to all (ibid). Buy being affordable means that low-, middle- and high-income households can afford the rent and be able to save for economic capital. All over the world, there is a need for affordable housing due to rental prices rising which can cause citizens to be unable to afford it (Schreiber & Carius 2016). Even in developed countries, this does not exclude Sweden from needing housing (ibid). Housing segregation is distributed based on wealth and which later affects health (Gould & Lewis 2017; Andreucci et al. 2017). Housing that is in environmentally hazardous areas will be lower in price and safe environmental accommodations are more expensive (ibid). Wealthier areas have more well-maintained parks, and less pollution and this affects the poor and low-income households since high prices limits where they could potentially live (ibid). With improved green spaces the areas tend to develop into higher-income neighbourhoods, and it has been shown those have higher access to trees and parks (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). Poor neighbourhoods have fewer resources available, meanwhile, the wealthier are often more engaged in society and attend meetings of those that direct resources for the wealthy's benefit (Gould & Lewis 2017). Highly educated citizens are located closer to parks, and the trend follows that people with higher income live close to green spaces (Anguelovski et al. 2018).

Property owners in New York discovered when the park next to the building where renovated, the attractiveness of the park increased (Madden 2010). At the same time, the buildings around the park had no more vacancies and the rents went up, the property owners' and planners' view are that if rents are increased there is a sign of a successful park (ibid). Announcing that green spaces will be developed has shown an increase in property values and cost of living, however, it is argued that the municipality needs to ensure a lower cost of urban living since the prices continue to rise (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). In Sweden, there is an enlargement of the amount of renovated housing, the renovations also affect the rents, and it is estimated that one-third of the resident will not be able to afford to live there after renovations (Richard 2021).

"If environmental gentrification is occurring, we expect to see an increase in household income relative to the district as a whole for the areas in close proximity to parks." (Anguelovski et al. 2018:479). The poor that stay in gentrified areas become "environmental refugees" because the areas in short term improve both life and property values and in long term, they are forcefully gentrified due to increased prices (Gould & Lewis 2017; Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021; Richard 2021; Anguelovski et al. 2018). Poor areas have scarce or poorly maintained green spaces, this moving of resources, such as movement of the amount of maintenance could be called "*value grabbing*" as it is directed to benefit the wealthy (Anguelovski et al. 2018; Andreucci et al. 2017:42).

There is a lack of knowledge if or how municipalities work with affordable housing and social inequality (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). However, urban cities are having a more green and sustainable approach when it comes to environmental strategies and policies that are implemented (ibid). Sometimes the green development can be taken advantage of to increase rents in areas, where the high rents have been conducted for bigger profit and having strong socioeconomic groups living there (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021; Andreucci et al. 2017). In the quote below Andreucci claim that both landlord and the municipality have a responsibility when it comes to handling these issues.

> "In both cases, we argue, the state plays a key facilitating and regulating role—not only does it establish, modify or enforce property rights regimes and relations, but in some cases, it also acts as a de facto landlord or asset owner and therefore becomes the main terrain of class struggles over the rent it accrues." (Andreucci et al. 2017:32).

The Swedish housing market has shifted through the decades and today is divided into two sections, first part is the middle- and high-income households, and the landlords (Listerborn 2021). Meanwhile, the other part is the low-income household struggles to afford the increasing rents and at the same time tries to build up a fortune (ibid). As mentioned before according to OECD the income disparities increase faster in Sweden than it does in other OECD country, simultaneously the rents and prices raises. For example, between 1996-2017 the prices increased by 232 percent in Sweden compared to other OECD countries that had approximately 110 precent increase (Valli 2021; OECD n.d.). In Stockholm between 1990-2010, the number of tenancies decreased from 73 to 36 percent (Listerborn 2021). Today many are forced to buy condominiums instead of rent tenancies due to the small supply (ibid). Because of this decrease in supply the housing queue has become decades-long and extends when new development condominiums are being prioritised (Valli 2021; Listerborn 2021).

Sweden faces the biggest housing shortage in a half a century, however, if too many dwellings are being built Sweden both the renters and loan institution will face a potential

economic crisis due to much-decreased prices does not match the cost of building (Grange & Björling 2021; Listerborn 2021). In Swedish law, it is stated that the housing market should reflect and provide the need for housing in Sweden in the context of citizens (Philipson 2021). It is argued by Philipson that it is the market that controls the supply rather than the Swedish government (2021).

The housing market in Sweden is one of the strongest factors that increase segregation, as non-white and women tend to get less paid and therefore it will reduce the range of housing they can choose from (Listerborn 2021). There is not only injustice in the housing market but also in planning. Bradley et al. (2008) gives other examples in Sweden where 'richer and nicer' areas are treated differently when development often cost more to meet the areas existing standard. Affordable housing is intertwined in a complex pattern with different views.

3.5 Theoretical review summary

The public space approach of being accessible to all has not always been an obvious approach to planning since the upper class created parks and public spaces as a way of controlling behaviours of the society in public.

Low- and high-income districts have a noticeable difference in accessibility to green space, the higher the amount of availability the more attentiveness it gets from the municipalities. Today children and people who have immigrated and low-income families are the ones that use the green spaces to a greater extent.

Social sustainability is an important concept when developing inclusive cities, however, they are often profitable in the long term. Green space can promote benefits such as well public health, but it also affects the prices of housing around green space. With different prices, it creates segregated districts as different groups do not mix.

Sweden has great issues with segregation, one issue is that 80 percent of Swedes do not want to interact with foreigners and the gentrified areas consist of white wealthy citizens, most of the time with an academic background. However, with the lack of affordable housing, the housing market is one of the biggest driving forces of segregation. Old housing needs renovation in Sweden and low-income households would not be able to afford the increased rent. With increased rents it will not help with the issue of segregation, it needs to be affordable but also diverse.

An even distribution of green space would not solve segregation however, it can mix different groups and be a helping hand in desegregating the city but is not the only solution that needs to be implemented. Other solutions such as the mix of housing forms and affordable housing are needed, the green spaces will provide an understanding of a diverse city.

The theoretical overview is related to the case study as the theory touches on both parks and green areas in an urban context, which both Eriksberg and Norby are in. The theory also helps to understand why and how the logic may have looked when districts have emerged when Norby is characterized by villas and parks while Eriksberg is a mixture of villas and apartment buildings with elements of nature throughout the district. The theory also helps to highlight problems that exist in all global societies, including Sweden and problems that municipalities struggle to work with, such as social sustainability and affordable housing.

4. Methodological approach

The methods that will be used are theoretical review but looking at what previous research has found, document analysis of empiric material such as municipal documents, articles and webpages of landlords, interviews with planners from Uppsala municipality that work with green spaces or housing prices and questionnaires distributed to citizens. These methods help to collect the different perceptions and viewpoints on the subject as it collects the researcher's and planners' views but also residents' views from those that live in the districts. Observations were conducted to gain a better understanding of the districts. Together with these methods, it is possible to present and attempt to answer the research questions from both planning and citizens' viewpoints, in a combination of discussing what the research says. All questions are related to the methods since it collects the planner's and residents' view and how they value different perspectives combined with how it looks on site. The study is taking a social constructivist abductive approach. This focus argues that reality is constructed by human interaction and that the world is constructed socially (Patel & Davidson 2011).

The study is trying to interpretative theory and how citizens' values possibly reflect the values of the planner's reality (Patel & Davidson 2011; Kvale & Brinkman 2014). Therefore, the researcher needs to be subjective to interpretation and understanding. As an investigator, our empathy or compassion is used to understand the object and the people we study (Patel & Davidson 2011). The abductive approach brings in different viewpoints since it is a mix of deduction and induction, therefore, enabling to define the correlation between different components and the whole picture (ibid; Creswell 2014). It is performed as the researcher both takes the collected information and theoretical standpoint into consideration. The purpose of the study is not to provide a single theory that can be applied to planning, instead will use several sources. The intention is to get an understanding of how the correlation is interpreted. Working abductive helps to shape the case to reveal differences of power in Eriksberg and Norby. Triangulation is used to strengthen validity by bringing different viewpoints into the case study. It helps to give an overall picture of the interviewed people's experiences through empiric material together with the theoretical background, which is the method to work abductive (ibid). This approach is important to get all viewpoints from society and planners and researchers, to be able to discuss an occurring issue, by mixing these methods is enable me to get an overview of the perception rather than only considering the planners and researchers' thoughts and opinions, as the citizens are the one that is living in it.

4.1 Data collection & analysis

To maintain a high validity there is a need for a wide range of material to be collected, to be able to analyse the phenomenon from many data sources (Patel & Davidson 2011). To secure the validity the study will use triangulation, which is when using multiple methods to work with different perspectives, for example when mixing interviews and questionnaires, see figure 1 (ibid). There are several benefits of triangulation when conducting a case study, as it helps to provide a broader view of the phenomenon by bringing in empiric material (Yin 2007). To ensure the quality, the data needs to be diverse, the triangulation helps to provide a good analysis since all the methods are processed with an analysis strategy by looking up the sources and validifying the information from several sources and not only trusting one side blindly (ibid). The triangulation is implemented by asking similar questions of the subject in all methods and then analysing the same or different answers and setting the arguments against each other, merging different opinions and angles makes the arguments and conclusion stronger and more reliable as the different source's question each other.

The analysis strategy is done in a descriptive kind, this is when you are reading some sources multiple times, pulling out relevant information from sources or being summarized into themes (ibid). With the help of this analysis strategy, it is possible to use different techniques. In this essay, the technique of non-equivalent dependent variables such as patterns will be used. This technique is suitable for case studies that can accommodate several variables which can generate several results and patterns, if patterns do not occur, they need to be questioned why (ibid).

Figure 1: Triangulation (Made by author)

Data that is collected are theoretical reviews from researchers that have studied different viewpoints of what researchers have proven. Empiric material is collected also to provide an understanding of the location and background of the case study. Information is collected from planners from the municipality by conducting interviews. Residents' view is collected by questionnaires this is done to be able to get their perception of the topics that are discussed. Observations are conducted for an understanding of the area instead of looking at a distorted map and for me as the researcher to get a better understanding of what planners and residents are mentioning in their interviews and questionnaires.

4.2 Theoretical review

Before going out on the field and starting to conduct interviews or observations there is a need to expand the knowledge of the subject. This was done with the help of a thorough theoretical review, with both printed and electronic sources. Most of the research was conducted in the beginning; however, it was supplemented when needed, as there is a need for interplay between constant research and working with the empiric material (Patel & Davidson 2011). The selection of the literature took place during the preparatory work before the start of the study, but as mentioned earlier, where supplemented if needed. Literature from previous courses, SLU library, bachelor's degree programs and proposed by supervisors have helped to find relevant sources, some articles are in databases that are accessible to an SLU student. With the help of literature search and reading, a foundation was developed for the theoretical review that contributed with knowledge of history, the research area and theoretical background about the research subject. The theoretical material that was studied was published material; the abstract was first read to see the relevance to the topic. If it was considered relevant for the thesis the whole text was read, and simultaneously was taking notes to be able to keep track of what each author stated.

The sources that are used are either in English or Swedish, most of the Swedish research is about social sustainability and the Swedish housing market. When writing the thesis, source critique has been an important part and using multiple sources to strengthen the validity.

4.3 Empiric material

To expand the study's data, document analysis was performed. The empiric method has a connection to the research questions as it collects information and perception from multiple sources and the document helps to strengthen the data and evidence in the research (Yin 2007). Using empiric material, especially the interviews and observation, they provide a historical timeline and give an understanding of the locations that are studied (ibid). However, specific documents can sometimes be hard to find, or their content of them can be

intentionally skewed (ibid). Therefore, it is important to not only rely on the document analysis but also to be observant that they may not show the whole truth, if not observant the validity may be lost. Therefore, a mix of empiric materials is beneficial.

The document analysis is conducted by doing qualitative processing, this is done by having a continued analysis of the work, instead of waiting until all material is collected as you do in a quantitative method (Patel & Davidson 2011). The reason why it is a qualitative method is as the purpose is to study the perception of these questions from different groups, Therefore, it is more relevant to collect the thought than numbers or simple yes/ no/ maybe answer, since the study seeks to question the reasons why. This method is beneficial since it is easy to adapt if something is misunderstood, however, this requires more processing of the work (ibid). When analysing the documents, it is important to be critical of the sources, why and whom it was written by and for (ibid). The amount of information that is needed to be collected relies on how reliable the source is (ibid). The documents are read by focusing on the introduction and looking at the table of contents to find appropriate subheadings to read from, then the whole text is read, during the time of reading, notes have been taken on relevant information.

The material that is being studied are public documents from the municipality such as planning documents, maps, articles, and webpages of landlords, for specific material see the result and reference list. Other material that was also collected from fieldwork was observation notes, voice recordings, transcripts, and pictures but also interviews and questionnaires. Some public documents have been recommended during interviews and have later been studied. To be able to prepare for the interviews, the document analysis has been conducted first, and documents that were hard to find have been sent by planners from Uppsala municipality.

4.3.1 Interview of municipal authorities

One method that is used is qualitative interviews, interviews are viewed as a method to understand the phenomenon that is being studied from the interviewed person's perspective (Kvale & Brinkman 2014). And is an important source of information in a case study, therefore some of the research questions are shaped around this method (bid). The methodical approach of interviews is distinct as it means being active participants of the produced knowledge (ibid).

The interviews are semi-structured, a semi-structured interview is when the questions are prepared but other questions can be added during the interview's course of action to expand and elaborate on the topic (Kvale & Brinkman 2014). This is beneficial in this thesis since it leaves room for thoughts to be expressed and to ask follow-up questions that may lead to new and valuable information, this proved to be a good approach as it contributed to valuable information. The interviews are held on the basis that the interviewed person has time and has given permission, this requires that the researcher is prepared (ibid). The interviewed people in the thesis are planners that work at Uppsala municipality that knows Eriksberg and Norby. The interviews are focusing on their view and definition of concepts, such as social sustainability, affordability, the planner's view and how they act and think in terms of planning connected to sustainable development. When discussing the concepts, they are asked how they define them and make sure we are discussing the same definition to avoid misunderstandings. I got in touch with the planners by emailing Uppsala municipality and they guided me to the right persons, some were recommended during the interview that could fill the gap of knowledge the interviewed person had.

These interview with planners is considered interviews with people that are experts in their field, where technical concepts are needed to be able to have an in-depth conversation about the research topic (Kvale & Brinkman 2014). This is applied in my interviews, where they were adapted to the profession they are in and their knowledge. By using these concepts, it is easier to get planners from the municipality's ideas and facts. However, as mentioned before concepts were first defined to be able to make sure we are discussing the same thing. It is a fact-finding interview, which is a method for gathering information and facts about the phenomena where the expert has insights about the profession (ibid). The question that is asked is about the professional viewpoint on municipal decisions and planning concepts and how that is applied in the context of Uppsala (see examples under 4.3.2, figure 2 and appendixes). The interview with the planners is linked to the document analysis method, as it compares, validates, or denies the information Uppsala municipality has published. The questions that were asked were almost the same, but some were adapted to their expertise in the field, for example, Örjan Trapp had more questions about how he sees that the municipality works with housing since that is his expertise area.

4.3.2 Course of action
Interviews can be approached in different ways, however, the method used is a controlled conversation with a focus on the questions in the thesis, at the same time giving an insight into the interviewed values and experience (Yin 2007). A weak side of interviews is if the questions are poorly formulated or leading questions (ibid). This is prevented by preparing questions and doing thorough research about the subject (see an example of questions in figure 2). However, even after preparation, it is difficult to not have some sorts of leading questions. Afterwards, when transcribing the interviews, I can see that some were still leading. It is important to be aware that the answers can also be skewered and affect the result in a negative way (ibid). It can also contribute to a broader interpretation in the discussion (ibid). Another issue could be reflexivity, that which the interviewees answer what they think the researcher wants to have as an answer, hence the importance of not having leading questions (ibid). To prevent misinterpretation of the interviews they will be voice recorded with permission from the interviewed people with the opportunity of being anonymous.
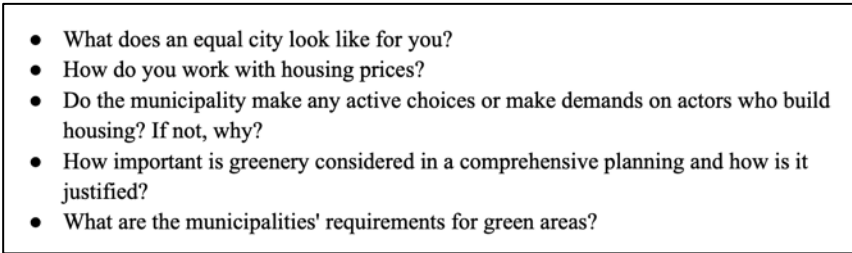
- What does an equal city look like for you?
- How do you work with housing prices?
- Do the municipality make any active choices or make demands on actors who build housing? If not, why?
- How important is greenery considered in a comprehensive planning and how is it justified?
- What are the municipalities' requirements for green areas?

Figure 2: Example of questions. (Made by author)

The interviews were semi-structured and were approximately 60 minutes long and voice recorded. Those that participated are working as or with community planning, park unit, city gardener and strategic community planning. It was held in a total of four interviews with four different planners from Uppsala municipality and there were three physical and one digital meeting. The interviews were manually transcribed, however, small details that do not contribute to the study were not transcribed, for example when someone coughs. This process can be time-consuming therefore small details were left out. All interviewed people are asked to review the material before it is published and was shown the final summary that is made of their interview with the possibility to make changes, see appendix for full summaries. Collectedly the interviews are analysed as they are working as planners at the same municipality.

4.3.3 Ethics

When conducting a qualitative interview there is a need to understand and follow rules about ethical issues. This thesis follows the guidelines of working humanities-social science research. It is about consent, informing the interviewed role in the research and all participants are volunteering to participate (GDPR.EU 2022). The interviewed person can decide if something should be "off-record" (Kvale & Brinkman 2014). In the thesis, the interviews are offered to be anonymous, however, all participants agreed to have their names, and the summaries are approved by the interviewed person. Offering being anonymous is for the interviewee's protection, since the participant should not be at risk and feel comfortable expressing their opinions (Kvale & Brinkman 2014).

As the researcher, it is important to be prepared, how prepared you are affect how rewarding the interview will be (Kvale & Brinkman 2014). The ethics concerning voice recordings hold both advantages and disadvantages in being able to retell the interview (ibid). Issues that could occur are that the interviewed person does not consent to be recorded or gets affected and insecure when the recorder is on, disadvantages could also be that the researcher does not pay attention to the answers which could affect that no supplementary questions would be asked (ibid). Advantages are being able to reproduce the conversation correctly. During the interviews there was no issue with attention, the voice recording was only found beneficial to cite and summarize the interview since they contained much information.

4.4 Qualitative questionnaire

An internet-based questionnaire with open questions follows the same structure as a qualitative interview as it collects soft data, in the form of opinions (Ahrne & Svensson 2015). Since it follows the same structure as interviews it is important to consider and follow the same ethics as for an interview that is conducted (see 4.3.3), by offering the questionnaire participants to be anonymous to be able to express opinions freely. And this is the reason why it is a qualitative questionnaire rather than a quantitative one as the opinions and perceptions on the phenomena are the focus of this thesis. When creating the form, it is important to formulate the questions in a way that will limit the amount of misinterpretation or leading questions. Questions are therefore shortened or divided into several questions to increase the chances to get longer and more responses to what is being asked (ibid; Yin 2007). Almost all the questions are constructed with a text box where respondents can write their opinions to be able to collect as qualitative answers as possible, see appendix 6 for questions. The two different questionnaires were shared in two Facebook groups, one for each district that already existed. I asked for permission from the administrator of the groups to publish the link to the questionnaire. In the post, I explained who I was and came from SLU as a student and why I wanted their participation and the aim of the thesis and clarified that it was voluntary and anonymous to participate.

Two difficulties are taken into consideration when conducting this method, the first one is that is harder to help the interviewed person if they do not fully understand the questions that I could see some participants did, but not in the sense that they couldn't answer the question. The second is that the older generation may not be as active on social media, in this case specifically Facebook. However, the benefit of having the survey online is that the participants can freely decide if they want to participate and when.

4.4.1 Citizens' level of participation

The questionnaire is constructed in a way that the citizens can express themselves in text, however, they cannot express themselves in other ways as they would be in an interview, for example with help of body language. The questionnaires are structured with questions that concern the research questions. However, most questions offer the possibility for long answers, so the responders are free to express themselves and write what is on their minds. With help of the triangulation method, will help to collect citizens' perspectives on rent, green space, and social sustainability in the context of Eriksberg and Norby. The answers are varying in length, but all question was answered. The questionnaires are shared in two Facebook groups, one that is for the Norby district and one for Eriksberg. The administrators for the groups have given permission to share information about the surveys. 55 participated in these questionnaires, 26 from Eriksberg and 29 from Norby.

The reason for two different questionnaires is to be able to separate the different districts' answers. The two questionnaires had in the majority the same question, with one differing between the districts. The answers are later summarized and presented in the result of the case study and are presented in two parts as there are two districts in the case study to be able to have a comparison in the discussion.

4.5 Observation

Observations have been conducted in Eriksberg and Norby. The observation method is anchored with scientific research as presented earlier since it collects information about behaviours, natural situations, or connections (Patel & Davidson 2011). The observations follow an ethnographic approach. Bell (2007) believes that the ethnographic approach means that as a researcher the goal is to develop an understanding of the selected topic, on how it works and looks, and this is something I agree with. The observation method is a complement to understand the answers from the municipal interviews and questionnaires of the citizens. The researcher's goal is to get an understanding of how it looks in the districts. However, some assumptions are hard to observe during the observation, therefore, interviews and questionnaires are a good complement, together they strengthen and increase the validity (ibid).

During the preparation phase of the method, it was decided to perform unstructured observations in the case study for exploratory purposes. This is decided on the basis that I wanted to observe the most natural state of the area and not interrupt any behaviours. In this sense, I most likely aren't creating any deviating behaviours.

The observations were conducted in Eriksberg and Norby several times and were conducted during daytime with good weather to be able to observe the highest level of movement and get an understanding of the area. The observation was done both on four weekdays and two weekends to see if there was a difference in movement and activities, which turned out that the districts had a bit more activities on the weekends.

4.6 Evaluation of adapted methods

The initial idea to collect information from the citizens was to conduct interviews in both districts. However, during site visits to the areas, it was hard to talk to people as they were in a rush or didn't want to talk. For example, at one site visit that lasted over two hours only one interview was made. This made the collection of data much harder and in the long run, it would be a too time-consuming method, therefore the method was changed by consulting

with my supervisor to try questionnaires with qualitative questions on social media before deciding if there would be a need to exclude citizens entirely. The change of method gave instant response and therefore the citizens are still a part of the method. However, this contributed to not spending as much time as initially planned and losing the face-to-face interaction and possibility to read residents' body language. Norby was quick to reply to the questionnaire and had well-developed answers, the questionnaire where just open for a few days until I got a lot of answers and had to close it. My original goal was 20 from each district. Eriksberg residents were slower in participating, however, there were still well-developed answers. There was a need to share the questionnaire three times, compared to one in Norby.

With the changed method, it may have contributed to different age groups being unintendedly excluded, due to uneven activeness on social media between age groups. However, I see this could also happen during on-site interviews as different age groups are active at different times, but this is only speculation and would be hard to tell who and what may have been missed. As previously mentioned, there was a good response to the surveys. However, it differed in how committed the districts were, in Norby the survey was open for barely a week and was only shared once. Meanwhile, in Eriksberg it was shared three times and was open for three to four weeks.

5. Description of case study

The study is delimited into two districts, a wealthier district and the poorer one and is decided with the help of the social compass created by Uppsala municipality, for example, the statistic of average income (see the social compass 5.1). The chosen districts are Eriksberg and Norby. Eriksberg is the one representing the low-income districts. The wealth is measured in annual income, unemployment, health, and education level. These districts are qualified by being opposite since the districts differentiate in previously mentioned categories as one is above the municipal average and the other below. They are quite different urban districts from each other regarding character, housing forms, green spaces, and income level. It is interesting to look at how the perception and how they value green space in the context of affordable housing may differ or potentially be the same.

5.1 Social compass

The document of the social compass defined 124 areas in Uppsala and presented their statistic about average income, the amount of post-secondary education, the need for financial aid and financially vulnerable people between the ages of 0-19 (Uppsala kommun 2021c). The document is created by the Uppsala municipality which has looked at and collected statistics in the municipality that is summarized in this document. The purpose of the document is to highlight socio-economic similarities and differences within

Figure 3:Statistics between the two districts and average for the entire Uppsala municipality. (Made by author)

the municipality (ibid). By it being created by the municipality it was found to be relevant for the thesis and the most reliable source. The document does not consider for example how many are students in a district, which could be a cause of why it is considered a low-income district. However, I used the document to find districts that are different and to be able to tell if there is a potential difference in the perception depending on the level of income in selected districts. The findings on the level of income there was also presented the statistic on unemployment, post-secondary education, need for financial aid and financially vulnerable youths, it is demonstrating how the income in the districts can differ due to other factors. Some of them automatically equal lower income such as unemployment meanwhile post-secondary education can imply higher income and be a factor for segregation. Eriksberg and Norby are defined as their own areas and therefore could use said statistics, see figure 3. The average income in Eriksberg is 267 000kr per household and Norby has an average of 657 000kr (ibid). Eriksberg's low average income can be due to students. Important to clarify that average income involves salaries, child- and housing allowance and income support is included (ibid). The average income for the whole municipality is 456 000kr (ibid).

5.2 Empiric findings

5.2.1 Uppsala municipality

Uppsala municipality is working with several visions that set the focus and motivation for development within the municipality, one vision touches upon urban planning (Uppsala kommun n.d.). Their goal in urban planning is: "In Uppsala, city and countryside will develop together. Urban planning must provide equal access to housing, communications, community services and public places, and we must plan with the least possible impact on the
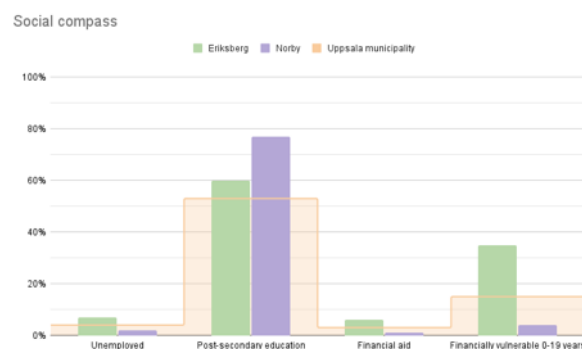
environment, climate and human health." (Uppsala kommun n.d., translated). Uppsala municipality is working towards these goals since it is estimated that the whole municipality will grow to approximately 350,000 inhabitants by 2050, which means more than 100,000 new inhabitants, and the city faces the challenge of creating more housing (ibid). By planning for an increase in the population they are still working towards creating equal and social and safe living conditions that everybody can take partake in (ibid).
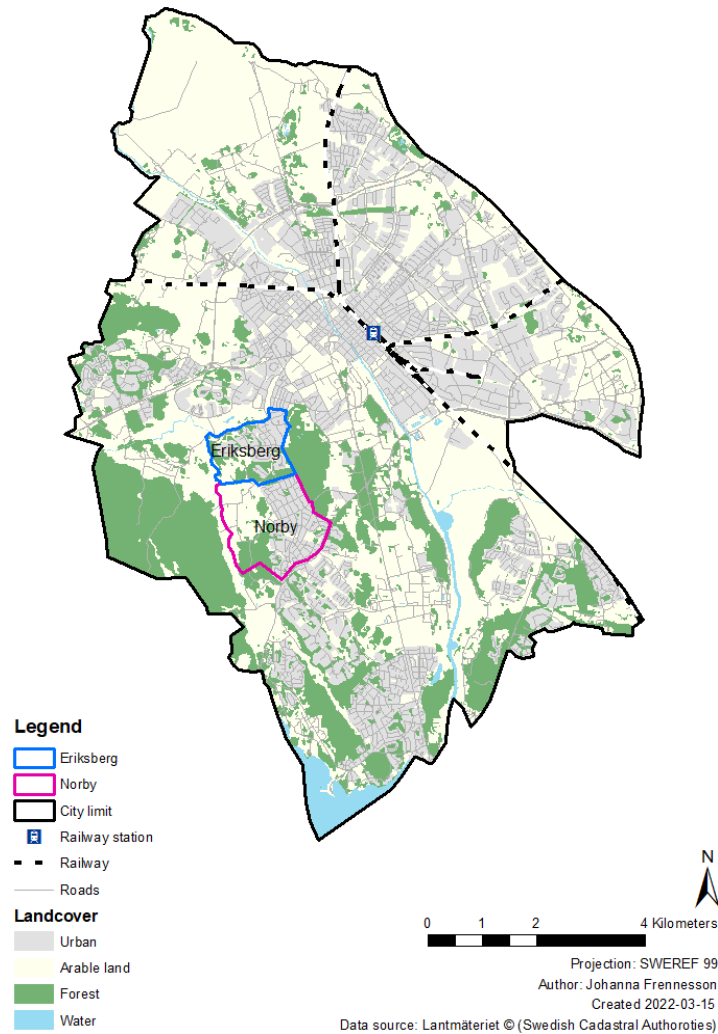
Figure 4: Map over Uppsala city and focus areas are highlighted (Made by author)

The municipality has a vision for residents to have access to the green area within 300 meters to their homes (Uppsala kommun 2020). Uppsala municipality defied green structures as everything that is not hardened such as parks (Uppsala municipality 2022a). See figure 4 on where case study areas are located. In Uppsala, there are a total of 260 parks (Uppsala kommun 2021b). The municipality budget for Parks, nature, and biodiversity for 2021 was set at 1,7% of the yearly budget (Omsorgsförvaltningen 2020).

5.2.2 Uppsala's living conditions and health

The document *Levnadsvillkor och hälsa i Uppsala kommun* (translates to Living conditions and health in Uppsala municipality*)* from The Municipal Board is presenting statistics and results from surveys on the difference there is in health and living conditions divided into the different districts and groups in Uppsala (Kommunstyrelsen 2017). Uppsala is working towards the goal of equality within the genders to reach social sustainability, improved health, and education (ibid). They are working toward decreasing the gaps between humans and the decreasing gap between districts.

In Uppsala city, apartment buildings are dominating, with a mix of condominiums and tenancies. However, the mix and housing size vary furthermore special housing for the elderly, people with disabilities and students are only located in limited districts and residential areas (ibid). In Uppsala city, there are 103 000 accommodations, and approximately a quarter are tenancies (ibid). As shown in the diagram below the distribution of housing in both Norby and Eriksberg together with the diagram that illustrates the variation of housing sizes, see figure 5. In the entire Uppsala, 8% of all housing forms are less than 40 square meters (sqm), see figure 6. What is not shown in the diagram is that Eriksberg has 6% of special housing, it is not included as it is not defined on what form of housing it is. Norby only has a few tenancies as shown in figure 5.
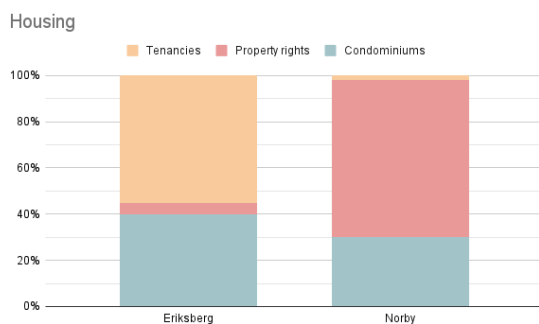
Figure 5: Distribution of housing in Eriksberg and Norby. (Made by author)
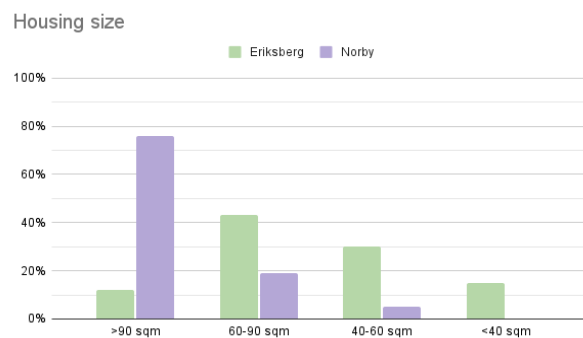
Figure 6: Housing sizes in Eriksberg and Norby. (Made by author)

The municipality has goals where they are working towards a region for everybody, that has a foundation in social sustainability where the goal is that the differences between groups become decreased (ibid). The municipality does acknowledge that they may direct sources more on problematic places to achieve previously mentioned goals (ibid).

In Uppsala, there is lower unemployment than in the rest of Sweden, however, there are still four groups that have it harder to become employed. Those groups are the residents that only have pre-secondary education, disabilities, are foreign-born and unemployed between 55-64 years old (ibid). Those four groups represent two-thirds of the unemployed in Uppsala, however, it is important to note that residents can overlap and be a part of several groups at the same time. Foreign-born are five times more unemployed than citizens born in Sweden (ibid). In Norby the majority that have employment are born in Sweden, however, in Eriksberg it is quite even distribution between foreign-born and born in the country. Norby is considered one of the high-income districts and has low unemployment meanwhile Eriksberg with a lower level of education compared to Norby, and high unemployment, however, Eriksberg has still higher level of education compared to the municipality (ibid). In Eriksberg 6% have sometimes needed income support, and in Norby, it is 2%.

34

5.2.3 Norby

Norby is located south of Eriksberg and started to be developed into a district by 1920 (HSB n.d.). When it started to grow it did without planning from the municipality, compared to what is found in the study Eriksberg is with for example with the million programs (Norby.org n.d.). The district households approximately 3 500 residents (HSB n.d.). Norby is located within a short distance of green space as presented before and is defined by the municipality by a surface that is not hardened (Uppsala kommun 2022b; HBS n.d.). For example, Skivlingparken, Murkelparken are established parks in the district and Stadsskogen nature reserve and Hågadalen nature reserve are in proximity (Uppsala kommun 2022b; HBS n.d.). In Norby, you can find a small supermarket, small shops and a bakery and a few self-employed businesses. The housing in Norby is set to be a maximum of two floors by the Uppsala municipality, this is set to keep the character of the area (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2002). In Norby there are a lot of villas that have private gardens otherwise it is a few public parks as previously mentioned, see figure 7.

In Norby there are no future development plans pending, there has been added a few houses in recent years but that for now seems to be the end of development (Uppsala kommun 2022b). Due to the lack of development, there is no chapter in the thesis that will address it. The few rentals are in the south part of Norby and only villas are in the north part (ibid).
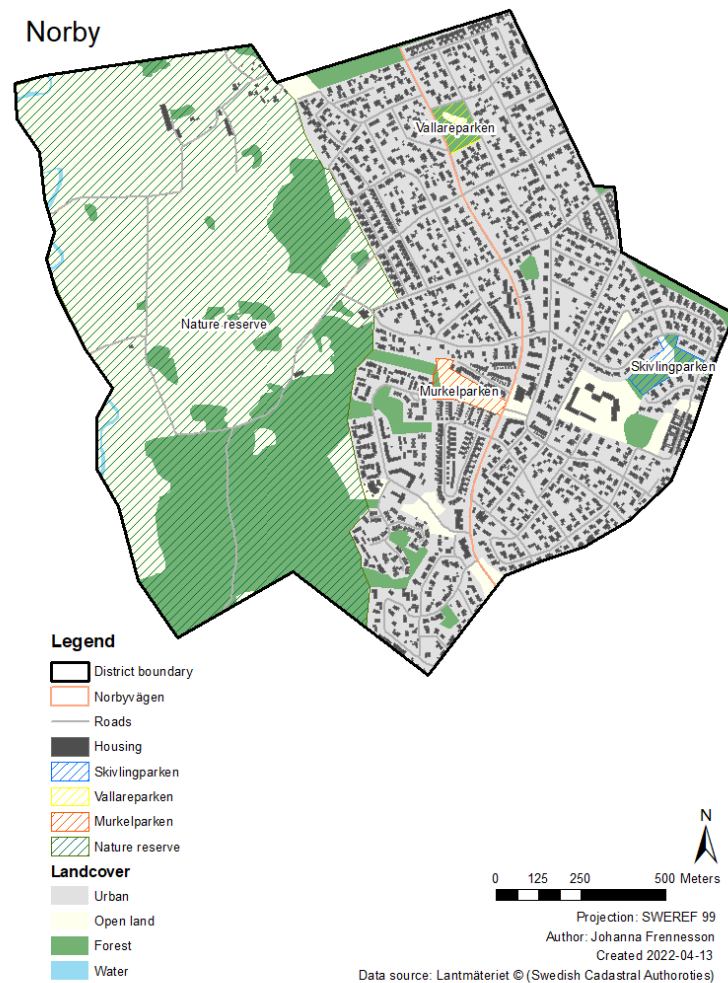
Figure 7: Map over Norby. (Made by author)

As previously seen under social compass 4.1, Norby is a stronger socioeconomic area that has lower unemployment than the municipal average, also financially vulnerable teenagers and the need for financial aid are lower (Uppsala kommun 2021c). The level of post-secondary education is higher than the average and approximately 15% higher than Eriksberg (ibid). The stronger socioeconomic background is potentially higher since the majority are villas in Norby, which require a steady and high income.

5.2.4 Eriksberg

The district Eriksberg is located approximately three kilometres from central Uppsala (Uppsala kommun 2018a). Within the district it is divided depending on the form of housing, for example, villas are placed together, see figure 8. In total, there are 7 000 residents in the district (ibid). Eriksberg offers also sporting facilities, allotments, schools, and healthcare, overall Eriksberg is described as a green district (ibid). Closes public park and nature reserve to Eriksberg are Ekebydal, Norbyvreten, Stadsskogen nature reserve and Hågadalen-Nåsten nature reserve (Uppsala kommun 2022b).

Figure 8: Map over Eriksberg. (Made by author)
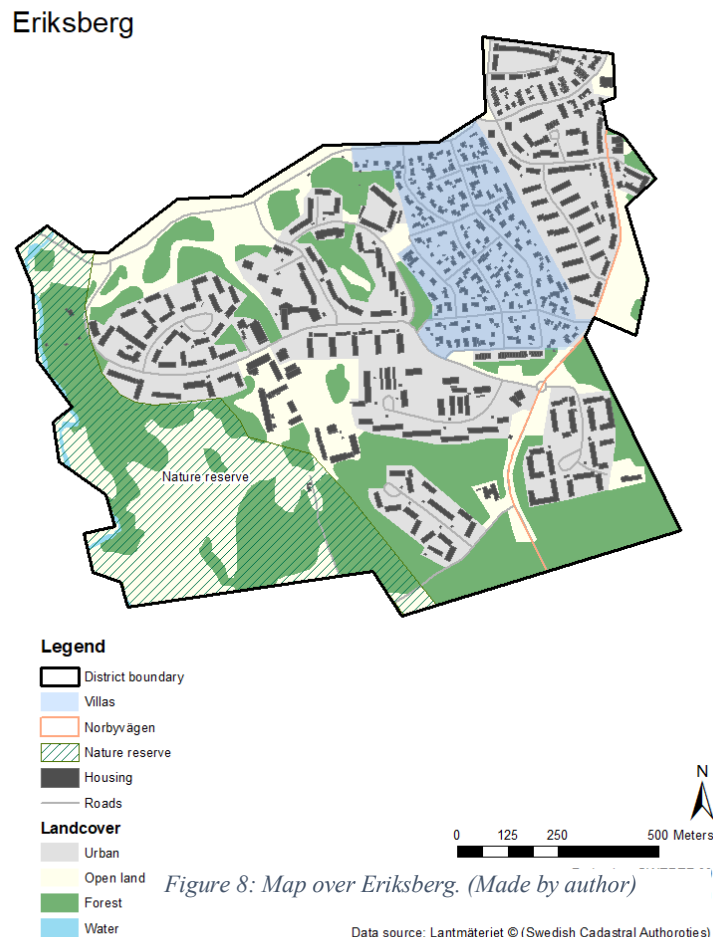
The residential area of villas was built in 1920, and by 1940 the apartment complexes in Eriksberg were built as part of the million program (Uppsala kommun 2018b). The late built part of Eriksberg is designed on the principle of "house-in-park", where the apartment is built around or near public green space (ibid). During the 60s and forward the district has become condensed and other services have been added (ibid).

As previously seen under social compass 5.1., Eriksberg is a weaker socio-economic area that has higher unemployment than the average in the municipality, also financially vulnerable teenagers and the need for financial aid is higher than average (Uppsala kommun 2021c). However, the level of post-secondary education is higher than the municipal average, which can be because of the mix of housing and mixed economies in the area (ibid).

5.2.5 Future development of Eriksberg

Uppsala municipality has a detailed development plan for Eriksberg and Ekebydal, information below refers only to Eriksberg. In the overall city planning documents the vision of the development is stated to supposedly create an urban, green environment that is close to nature (Uppsala kommun 2017). One of the strategies of the development is to link the existing greenery and develop the landscape by becoming denser with housing and preserving valuable green corridors (ibid). Green passages are planned to be added and are supposedly meant to lead to surrounding nature such as Stadsskogen (ibid). Today the presence of flowering bushes, trees and playgrounds is low but is supposedly intended to increase. The green spaces today offer places for the citizens to meet, however, there is a harsh division between the different forms of housing (ibid). It is presented that not all green spaces are unproblematic, therefore in the proposal, it presents that green space will be lost due the area gets a more urban character, see figure 9 (ibid). Playgrounds are proposed to be combined with nature and larger areas of parking will be built over (ibid).

Figure 9: Black boxes show new housing, and grey is representing existing. Example of potential densification and lost green space. Screenshot from document, scale: unknown. (Uppsala kommun 2017).

The municipal argument of Eriksberg as the chosen location for development is that the city needs new housing and needs to develop inward towards the city centre according to the 2016 comprehensive plan and the district has the required geography to be able to densify (ibid). This development is happening at the same time as the Uppsalahem renovation, which is presented more about the renovation in next paragraph. Uppsalahem is today Uppsala's biggest housing company. The new buildings are suggested to be somewhere two to nine floors high and in total will provide 2 400 new accommodations (ibid). The municipality strives for a bigger mix in the form of housing to supposedly provide more housing opportunities and decrease segregation (ibid). Social housing such as nursing homes is a necessity in the short-term and additional ones in the long term (ibid).

As seen in figure 8, as it shows the existing housing and green spaces, you can later compare it with figure 9 which shows the proposal of densification in Eriksberg. Some buildings are replaced by new ones; however, most of the black houses are in existing green spaces. Figure 10 shows how denser it will potentially become where the apartments are located, courtyards will become smaller and small green corridors will be saved, however, there is no designated green area or new parks in the plans.

Figure 10: Proposal on development, black houses are representing new development. Screenshot from document, scale: unknown. (Uppsala kommun 2017).

The development and the situation of rent increase have been an issue lifted by Upsala Nya Tidning (UNT). The tenants' association and Uppsalahem have been having a negotiation about what levels the rents will be increased to (Lindström 2018). It resulted that all renovation would contribute to the rent increase by 25 percent and that is mandatory (ibid). With communication with the builders, the residents can decide if they want the builders to do a more extended renovation, and then the rent will be increased by 55 percent (ibid). It is argued from the tenant's associations that the increase is lower than other landlords have done in the area. Single parents with children and the elderly will not be able to afford to live in the renovated or new apartments therefore they state that Uppsalahem does not take their social responsibility for housing (ibid). Many in Eriksberg have already moved because of the increased rents (ibid).

5.2.6 Uppsalahem statement
The company that is the majority owner of housing in Eriksberg are Uppsalahem, in 2018 they started to renovate most of their buildings since they are in poor condition (Uppsalahem n.d.a) The extent of the need for renovation differs and are in need to fulfil legal requirements such as accessibility (ibid).

The level of need for renovation varies and the tenants can decide on some level of what they want to implement (Uppsalahem n.d.a). Uppsalahem has a statement that they do not renovate to be able to increase rent, but so that the houses do not decay (n.d.b). Uppsalahem is being forced by law to bring the buildings up to fulfil legal requirements, it requires a big investment that will affect the rents no matter what. Uppsalahem claims that they try to hold the costs down (ibid).

5.3 Observations of the site

More pictures from the observations can be found in Appendix 7. All pictures are taken by the author.

5.3.1 Eriksberg

During the first visit to Eriksberg, the first impression was facing the tall apartment complexes that leave a big imprint by shadowing the space in between the buildings. In Eriksberg Norbyvägen lingers through on the east side, see figure 7. The only thing Norbyvägen divides is the playground that faces Stadsskogen and a few houses.

Figure 11: Apartment complexes in Eriksberg.

Figure 12: Playground in Eriksberg

Eriksberg has been growing into the forest, as big trees surround the houses and uneven ground is left in-between, see figure 11. During the visits, Eriksberg is a vibrant place where people socialize, play on the playground, or sit outside the grocery stores, see figure 12. The pictures may not look to vibrant since they are mostly empty, however, this is because there were only underage children playing alone and no parents around to ask for permission to take pictures, this aligns with the ethics section in the method.

Figure 13: Courtyard at Million Program houses in Eriksberg.

Figure 14: Courtyard at MP houses meets the forest in Eriksberg.

The MP complexes are big structures that no one can walk past without noticing, see figure 13. By being so big they are interrupting the area's green character and being observed by all, making it hard to have some privacy between the buildings. When walking between the complexes you feel tiny and that everybody can see you. The green areas are old and consist mainly of grass and tall trees, some play areas have recently been updated. Building material is spread out and showing signs of the started renovation of Eriksberg, see figure 14.

Figure 15: Garage areas that will be developed in Eriksberg.

Figure 16: Villas in the area Sommarro in Eriksberg.

During the observation I observed and try to figure out where the future renovation is planned, one of the places is this parking garage as seen in figure 15. My observation is that the distance is surprisingly small. As seen in figure 9, many of the bigger courtyards will have one or several buildings on them. When walking a little north-west in Eriksberg I come to the area called "Sommarro" and it is a completely different area to walk in since there are only villas, see figure 16. If I wouldn't see the tall MP buildings poking up in the background, I would have thought I was in another district.

5.3.2 Norby

When conducting site visits in Norby, it became obvious that it is dominated by villas that are a maximum of two floors high. The low housing allows the sun to warm the whole district, however, the noise from Norbyvägen affects the calm presence you feel in the housing blocks. But just walking next to it, it gives away a lot of noise. Norbyvägen divides Norby into two parts, east and west, and if there is a difference between the two sides is not noticeable.

Figure 17: Murkelparken in Norby.

Figure 18: Apartments complex in Norby.

The nature reserve Hågadalen takes up almost half of the geographic area of Norby and contributes to almost all public green space. Other green areas in Norby are hard to stumble upon except Murkelparken as it is right across from the grocery store in Norby. When walking along Norbyvägen you walk past Murkelparken, see figure 17. Around Murkelparken the structure of the housing uncover that this is some sort of apartments, see figure 18.

Figure 19: Row house in Norby.

Figure 20: Villas in Norby.

Other building types around the Murkelparken are row houses, see figure 19. However, if they are rentals or condominiums is unsure. The rest of Norby is dominated by villas with private gardens, see figure 20, residents have been building private greenhouses and barbeque areas.

Figure 21: Vallareparken in Norby.

Figure 22: Skivlingparken in Norby.

North in Norby you find Vallareparken, see figure 21. This park is quite hidden from all sides, and you need to have a curious mind to be able to find it since it's hidden in a forest grove. The last park in Norby is Skivlingparken, see figure 22. This is a park that has been financially invested in. This park is full of children and families that live within walking distance, it is especially full on a sunny day.

5.4 Planners from Uppsala municipality view

Each topic and pattern that occurred from the responses from the interviews with planners working at Uppsala municipality will be presented under each subheading. Full summaries can be found in Appendix 1- 4 alongside the questions in Appendix 5. The text below is only presenting the planner's answers that touch on the research questions. All interviews have been in Swedish and translated.

It is important to note that the planners are working at Uppsala municipality but aren't representatives of the municipality in the interviews. The reason behind this is that for example, politicians are not interviewed. The interviewees are sharing their thoughts and options that they have collected during their time in the profession. The interviewees are Karin Åkerblom, Viviann Blomgren, Elisabet Jonsson and Örjan Trapp. Karin Åkerblom currently works as a coordinator at Uppsala Municipality and is a landscape architect. She works a lot with the early stages of projects and has lived in Eriksberg for a decade or so.

Viviann Blomgren works as a unit manager at the operations unit and has a gardening education. She has worked at Uppsala municipality for about 20 years. Elisabet Jonsson is a trained landscape architect and works as a city gardener today in Uppsala municipality. Örjan Trapp works at Uppsala Municipality as a strategic community planner.

5.4.1 Planners perception of Eriksberg and Norby

All four planners agree on what distinguishes the districts Eriksberg and Norby from each other. Norby is a distinct villa area and in Eriksberg there are apartment complexes and a mixture of condominiums and rental apartments and both districts are located close to nature. In Norby it is very homogeneous about what background you have, there are very white residents there. Eriksberg it is also homogeneous when it was built but over the years the planners have seen it has become a more diverse district. Which was also observed during site visits. All four interviewees agree that there is a socio-economic difference between Norby and Eriksberg and within Eriksberg. Residents with an academic background live in both districts. Jonsson shares that many in Norby have very good finances, but you can find some of the most expensive villas in Eriksberg.

Åkerblom is unsure if there are any direct parks in the districts, Åkerblom guesses that in Norby there is Murkelparken and maybe two more, but in Eriksberg she will not think of anyone, except the courtyards and the park that borders Stadsskogen. Meanwhile, Blomgren estimates that there are about 2-3 parks in Norby and 3-4 in Eriksberg. Åkerblom thinks it is strange when asked, that the municipality does not have more parks in that district based on when the areas are built but guesses that the forest and the proximity to the nature reserves may have been considered as compensation. The planners perceive that the municipality does not fulfil their vision that everyone should have 300 meters to greenery, which is a not hardened surface according to the municipality.

5.4.2 Challenges in planning

Åkerblom talks briefly about densification in Eriksberg and Norby. Åkerblom supports densification that can make it possible for different backgrounds to meet, but at the same time criticizes the plan proposal that it is too dense. The densification of Eriksberg is motivated by Trapp of having the ability to mix different forms of lease and reduce segregation within Eriksberg. When renovating, Jonsson argues that there is a risk and a fear that rents will be raised, and the tenant will not be able to stay. However, it is argued by her that Uppsalahem talks with residents about the level of renovation so that the tenant can influence future rent. According to Trapp the new homes that will be built and renovated in Eriksberg will be more expensive, but that will not be the only reason why people will move, other reasons may be that you do not want to live in the construction for several years. According to Trapp gentrification are a very strong concept that the municipality like to avoid using. With new housing, there is a risk of slightly stronger socio-economic groups moving in.

The desire for mixed backgrounds goes hand in hand with Åkerblom's view of social sustainability as she sees that you should be able to live a good life in the city you live in, you can meet others and feel a sense of belonging. Jonsson talks about the same concept on how it is about integration, security, and variety in the city in housing and meeting places where all different structures of people and families can interact. Strengthening security and investing in parks and meeting places in socially disadvantaged districts and offering different housing forms aim to strengthen social sustainability. Trapp rather defines social sustainability as providing housing for all and good living conditions to live in, however, he mentions that

social sustainability comes with challenges such as crime, insecurity, and segregation. Blomgren talks about social sustainability as about equal work, for example, equal maintenance of public environments throughout the city. The interviewees talk about the municipality directives that are goal formulations which are like the global goals and social sustainability. Why the municipality's directives are not fully matching the global goals is because the municipal ideal was created before the global goals existed, however, the end goal is similar. With municipal directives, they try to work to achieve an equal city, according to Jonsson the municipality is aware that this is the most difficult task they have. Today the municipality works mostly from the children's perspective.

In further discussion about Eriksberg, Blomgren justifies the development that the area is close to nature reserves, however, there will probably not be new green areas. Meanwhile, according to Blomgren existing ones will be upgraded to be able to handle the increased wear and tear which will increase the operating cost of the parks. Blomgren sees the proximity to green areas means that prices rise and that it is considered more attractive and more pleasant, when asked what impact green areas have. Greenery in areas is used as an important part of marketing, especially in densification. As previously interviewed with Blomgren, Jonsson sees the importance of being careful about removing existing green space, they are now trying to clarify this in their work when they develop a new general plan.

5.4.3 Housing conditions & Affordable Housing
To work towards an equal city, Uppsala municipality builds 1% of the stock and follows the control of the overall content when building homes. Where at least 30% are to be built are tenancies and 30% of them are to have lower rents according to Trapp. When it comes to motivation to project and set requirements for rents within the municipality, it is a complex issue as it is a long-term and short-term perspective that must be weighed against each other. To maintain in the long term that different socio-economic groups can afford to live in the city centre, against the short-term where renovation may cause people to move and be forced to break social contacts because they cannot afford to stay. Jonsson perceives that Norby is a segregated district and would have been good if older people who live there wanted to move to the newly built district Rosendal which has younger residents. Norby would benefit from it because Jonsson believes that there is a bigger shortage of villas than there are apartments in Uppsala. But when it comes to buildings, it is very much about attractiveness according to Trapp, a stronger socio-economic area has in most cases greater purchasing power. Helping those who have difficulty entering the housing market today is helped with youth housing. Trapp points out that it is important to continue building housing, when the need is equal to the supply it helps to keep prices and queue time down.

Jonsson informed during the interview that when the municipality looked at price levels in the housing supply program, an analysis was made of how many of the population would be able to afford new production, 17,000 did not have the finances for it according to her recollection. Jonsson believes that this is a terrible result, but unfortunately, it is the market economy that rules. Jonsson says if you want to live in cheap housing, it is in the oldest apartment buildings that apply. During the interview with Trapp, I was informed that he was involved in making this analysis and believes that they looked at several different aspects, especially those who live too crowded. He thinks that it can be a bit misleading as some people choose to live smaller too, for example, to afford a summer cottage. Then, of course, many in the survey do not choose to live crowded. Therefore, Trapp says that the housing queue is a challenge as it is straightforward and based on the number of years you have been in line. Trapp says that they have slowly started to look at whether they could change the system to help the

vulnerable. Trapp does not fully agree with the number Jonsson has stated that cannot afford it.

5.4.4 Difficulties in planning

In municipal planning, Åkerblom shares her thoughts that she sees the difficulty of arguing to preserve green areas, but when green areas are preserved, it affects prices, and it becomes long-term exclusive as the area will be too expensive for low-income households. However, according to Blomgren favourable arguments for preserving green space are not considered strong enough when it comes to planning areas, she believes that short-term economic goals are considered more important. In a short discussion about the municipality's budget for greenery, Blomgren believes that it is not enough, management and operation are not deficient, but a stronger economy could have allowed them to plan to strengthen and preserve more green land in the long term. She especially sees it as problematic as the city grows but not the number of green spaces, which will put great pressure on the existing. In a short discussion about greenery, Trapp sees that it has been given higher priority in planning in recent years in both health and climate aspects. At the same time, they can sometimes be in conflict that more homes need to be built, where agricultural land is to be saved, and then believe that it is better to use parts of urban greenery. However, greenery can also be seen as an increase in the quality of an area. Housing prices and the link between greenery are somewhat positive as it increases attractiveness and willingness to pay, but not so inclusive as not everyone can afford it. When it comes to operating costs of green areas in Uppsala, according to Trapp, the municipality does not have a verified statistic about what the costs look like and what they should look like. According to the planners, it is a difficult balance to decide as all districts in Uppsala have uneven access to greenery.

Housing it was previously financed by investment support from the government and disappeared when a new budget went through, but the goal remains to create a proportion of affordable housing in new development within the municipality according to Trapp. Trapp further discusses what demands he perceives that the municipality can make on actors change, it is if the municipality owns the land, and they can make what demands they want, but today the municipality does not own that much land anymore. In the detailed plan, the municipality can control the design, where and how high they are allowed to build, and how the entrances are to be designed. However, they cannot control leases when other actors own the land, an exception is if there are special reasons and then they can only affect the size of the home. On the other hand, according to Trapp, the municipality can influence when they have a planning monopoly and ensure that actors meet the municipality's goals and can be prioritized for approval. If the municipality wanted to control the form of lease, it needs to be included in the master plan, but Trapp believes that there is an external sensitivity as there is a housing shortage in Sweden and the government want housing to be built. However, as far as Åkerblom knows, the municipality does not put much pressure on specific rents but believes that the municipality needs to be more courageous.

The interviewees are only planners and not politicians that could answer and defend these statements the planners have made. But the politicians are not interviewed due to time limit and the focus is on the perception of the planning and not on the final decision-making.

5.5 The views of the residents in Eriksberg and Norby

The views of the two districts are presented individually since they are being compared to each other, also there was one questionnaire per district. Questions stated in the

questionnaires are to be found in Appendix 6. The questionnaires have been written and answered in Swedish and translated.

5.5.1 Eriksberg's residents

From Eriksberg there were 26 participants, 18 women and 8 men, 21 participants have been living in the district for two years and five participants have been living there for over 25 years. Some grew up here, and some moved to be close to their partner but most of them moved here for the closeness to nature and still being close to the city at a reasonable price. The overall tone in the responses to the questionnaire is that the residents enjoy living in Eriksberg and find it wonderful, only 6 are planning to move. The residents in Eriksberg are a mix of young, couples, pensioners, and mixed socioeconomic backgrounds. One resident writes in the questionnaire: "Families with children, young couples, students, old, black, white. Love that it's so mixed." (translated). The mix is explained by the variation in housing and cost. Within the district, the residents perceived it as it is segregated as the housing forms are divided.

Almost all residents value the green spaces highly, some are unsure of what green spaces exist in the districts and are worried about coming development because many moved here for the green surroundings. The need and appreciation of the green areas are great because most residents of Eriksberg lack a garden and some express gratitude for the closeness to the nature reserves. The pine trees are mentioned as valuable and part of the area's character. A lot of participants also mention the value it gives biodiversity.

Few participants have witnessed that greenery has been removed but never replaced. The green spaces are visited multiple times during the week or daily and during the summer they are visited more frequently. The number of green areas is satisfactory for residents but see the importance of preserving existing ones. If that will be reduced, it would affect the quality of life in the area. However, some see that if the nature reserves were non-existing, there would be a need for more areas.

Half of the participants are prepared to pay more to live close to green areas, how much varies due to socioeconomic background. Some say that they are not having the economy to be able to pay more. When it comes to the correlation between green areas and housing prices the resident does not perceive that there is a connection since there are mixed housing forms in Eriksberg and share the same green areas. One participant writes: "Housing is a right." (translated). When looking for new housing they want the green spaces to support playgrounds, exercise areas, and a short distance to parks and allotments. The quality of today's green areas reflects what it costs to live in the area and is supported by 7 participants. 6 participants find a lack of green areas and regard that the renovation will affect it even more. 10 people are unsure if the quality of green space correlates to the price of housing due to the mix of housing in the district. The residents in Eriksberg are against more tenancies since there are already many, and they are against any form of densification since they want to keep the quality of the green areas.

The new development of Eriksberg (see 5.3.5) has a mix of opinions and feelings since it provides more housing, but it decreases the green areas and increases rents. It is considered by the residents that it will create gentrification in the area. There is a worry that the area may become homogeneous since low-income households will not be able to afford it. Renoviction is something the residents can see at the rentals already today as low-income households and pensioners are moving, due to gentrification.

The densification is not desired by the residents. Sometimes there is a need to expand the city on the surface rather than only densifying according to the residents. "The densification program is a disaster for human health, for biodiversity, for climate adaptation." (translated). The densification is also considered an opportunity to create a bigger mix of housing and residents, the residents hope the new housing will be affordable. The densification is commented on that in the long-term it will create social problems that will be costlier, meanwhile, they see the opportunity for more services to be established in the district as a positive side of possible densification.

5.5.2 Norby's residents

The participants from Norby consisted of 23 women and 6 men, 11 of the residents have been living there for 20 years or more and the rest have only lived there for one or three years. The reasons why they moved there is mostly the closeness to greenery more specifically the nature reserves, the parks are not used as a reason. Another reason is the closeness to the city centre is perceived as being a cheap price for a villa. Norby is described as a child-friendly, calm area. Many of the residents have no plans of moving, however, 24% are considering moving when they are getting older. Even if it is in the future and because of age, one-fourth of the residents is a large group that consider it. Those that live in the area for a long time and are from older generations write in the questionnaire that they can see a generational change with more families with children moving in. In other words, the average age in Norby is decreasing because of the change. Their residents are described as middle- to high-income households that are doing well financially and are white of Swedish origin. Many have an academic background, are civil servants or are self-employed.

The green spaces are highly valued in Norby and even described as invaluable, however, they are often referring to the nature reserves. Many values the nature reserves, and the parks are more valued by families with children and dog owners. Some residents see that the private green gardens on each plot contribute to the overall value it brings. Parks that are considered maintained to a good level are Skivlingparken and Murkelparken, while Vallareparken is considered the opposite. Even if the nature reserves are overall more desired, the parks are used multiple times a month or multiple times a week. Some only pass by the parks but appreciate that they get past them on the way to their destination. The residents are divided on the question of whether there is a need for more green space, but they wish they would have kept more when building before. Many agree that the existing greenery is important to preserve and is supporting residents' need for public space.

The residents are asked if they can see a correlation between housing prices and green spaces and if they view it as something positive or negative. Many perceive that they can see the correlation and value greenery bring, but only three view the correlation as a positive thing, all the other sees it as negative. One resident wrote: "Definitely believe that green areas and well-managed ones contribute to raising an area's attraction and thus the price development for housing." (translated). One resident believes that greenery is affected and desired when there is no risk of being exploited, therefore having an impact on the prices. Four of the residents think it is rather the closeness to the city centre and nature reserves rather than the parks that affects the price. Ten agree that the quality of green spaces reflects what it costs to live in Norby, on the contrary, eight residents disagree, and six residents have no opinion.

When looking into buying a new property many prioritize the accessibility of other important services, such as school and public transport. However, the residents are prepared to pay 15-

30% more for housing close to greenery. What is important to note is that when they answer the percentage, they are prepared to pay they are not defining what kind of greenery, which may include the nature reserves. One resident is open and shares: "We would never be able to afford today's house prices (our house has basically doubled in price in eight years)."(translated), this is due to the increase in prices on the housing market. 15 residents are open to Norby to have a more mixed housing form, as long the character of the area is preserved, the rest of the participants do not want to change the area or are having a hard time seeing where it would fit.

5.6 Summary of case study

The case study has shown that there is a mix of housing forms, especially in Eriksberg. Those that have the biggest need for them are low-income households, foreign-born, and other marginalized groups representing two-thirds of the unemployed. When it comes to the development in Eriksberg single parents, and the elderly have already started to show signs of not afford to live there and have started to move. Many residents are critical of Uppsalahem and Uppsala municipality that they do not take the responsibility for resident and social sustainability. The critique comes from the minimum of 25% rent increase and those green spaces will be lost, noise of construction is also argued by the municipality to be a reason why people are moving.

Eriksberg is often under the municipal average in the social compass and is also a weaker socioeconomic area, however, one factor can be students living in the area. There are different housing forms, but no established parks except one next to Stadsskogen. Most of the buildings in Eriksberg are old and are facing renovation. Between the old buildings, new buildings will be built. Which will produce higher rent both in the renovated and the newly developed housing that not all residents will be able to afford and can already see renoviction that is occurring. The residents in Eriksberg value the nature and biodiversity in the area highly and are critical to important values that will be lost. And if they could pay more to live close to greenery, they would but not all in Eriksberg have the economy.

Norby is above the municipal average and is socially economic strong. The residents in Norby can see that most of the residents are old, however, can also witness a generational change that is happening in the district. The connection between housing prices and green spaces is stronger in Norby since the same form of housing, however, the residents are split in the opinion if there is a positive or negative side to the correlations. No matter the opinion they value the greenery and are willing to pay much more for greenery compared to Eriksberg. During the conducted observation it was also made clear that Norby has more prominent borders compared to Eriksberg and in Eriksberg you can already find traces of the started renovation.

The planners from Uppsala municipality perceive to have equal values and working methods but also much of the work they claim to do that they cannot answer concrete on how they do it. The planners also define the concept of social sustainability differently. Affordable housing is not something they work actively with, but there is a stated need, however, on the land they own, they try to create more affordable housing, however, the municipality does not own much land. The municipality together with the planners sees difficulties with the government and planning as it is the aid that hinders to sets greater demands, including green space being also de-prioritized. This happens even if they have done an analysis in Uppsala about the need for more affordable housing as many live too small and too expensive.

6. Discussion

6.1 Perception of green spaces in Eriksberg and Norby

In Norby, three parks are having a clear structure of where they begin and ends, and it is Murkelparken, Skivlingparken and Vallareparken. The rest of the greenery in Norby is Hågadalen nature reserve and the gardens. The quality of the parks according to the residents in Norby shifts between the parks. However, the quantity of parks is quite satisfactory to the residents as the majority see the nature reserve as a completion. It is difficult to say that nature reserves act as a completion, especially when reading that Uppsala municipality has the vision of having 300 meters to green space, as it gives them a pass of not fulfilling their goals as all residents in the districts does not have a distance under 300m. However, as we have seen from the theory that through history the definition of public space has shifted and this can be that the municipality includes the nature reserves when they take this into account and find that they fulfil the goal of 300 m, therefore can include more locations in Uppsala.

Compared to Norby, Eriksberg's green space borders are more diffused according to Viviann Blomgren, she thinks it is hard to tell where it starts and what belongs to what. No matter if it is unclear what belongs to what, a lot of Eriksberg's quantity of green space will be lost during the development of more housing since the district will be densified as they will build on courtyards which are strengthened by the planners' statements. During site visits, I was surprised at where the development was taking place since the municipality writes and talks about how there is so much open space where the parking garages are, but at the site, it feels too narrow. However, no parks are established in Eriksberg, during an interview with planners from the municipality they cannot name any parks in the district except one right next to Stadsskogen. That park is on the outskirts of Eriksberg and looks rather looks like it belongs to Stadsskogen rather than Eriksberg. It is hard to see how they have weighted the value of green space versus more housing.

It is clear in the questionnaires from both districts that the residents state that they think the nature reserves compensate for the lack of greenery nearby since it is based on their own values compared. Potentially there will be added more qualities to both districts when the Uppsala municipality analysis is finalised on how economic resources are divided into Uppsala's green areas and all green areas can become equally valuable. It was presented by Trapp that he perceives that the municipality has no clear overview of the maintenance budget which could be a factor in this uneven view. There is scientific evidence that districts that have fewer resources will contribute to worse public health and worse health can contribute to negative social development (Tahvilzadeh 2021; Sanandaji 2017). Areas with low social status are often considered less desirable to citizens with stronger socioeconomic backgrounds and are easier exploited (Anguelovski et al. 2018; Andreucci et al. 2017:42). This potentially uneven distribution could perhaps be a factor in districts' attractiveness in the city. The questionnaire shows that residents in both districts highly value closeness to green areas and see health benefits from it. And research confirms that public green space can contribute to economic growth and safer spaces, however, seems to be viewed as a weaker argument in this development (Larson 2018). This should be a stronger argument since the theory has presented that around 80% of the population in Europe are living or moving to urban areas, which increases the pressure which should make these arguments stronger and more urgent issues to address since research has shown that not preserving green space will contribute to more segregation and that fewer groups meet (Madanipour 2019; Schreiber & Carius 2016; Barchetta 2016; Tahvilzadeh 2021; Sanandaji 2017).

6.1.1 Resident's perception of their districts green space

The district's residents are valuing their green areas highly as shown in the questionnaires, especially Eriksberg residents not only valuing it on a personal level but also for the biodiversity and the whole district, meanwhile Norby has more of an individual perspective. This shows that the residents are aware of the benefits greenery brings on different levels. However, in Eriksberg what they value is the greenery between the buildings since they have only one established park. Eriksberg trees are appreciated by the planners and residents and were appreciated during observations as they are tall and help to bring nature to the area. In Norby, many families appreciate the parks, meanwhile, other residents prefer the nature reserves and do not care for the parks. Those that appreciate the parks often visit them frequently and with their children and see them as valuable as they make it possible for the children to play freely. However, this appreciation could one think that it should be as strongly in Eriksberg, but unfortunately not based on their densification plans or what it looks like today. In both districts, the residents perceive that they are starting to see a generational change where a lot of families with young children are moving in. This puts higher pressure and wears on the parks that are in the districts today and will faster be worn down, this requires that Uppsala municipality is prepared to increase or rearrange the budget for public places, so the value of the places does not decrease, this goes in hand what been mentioned in the theory that more moving to urban areas increases pressure on current green spaces (Barchetta 2016). If this pressure and tears are not handled it will increase segregation and the gap between rich and poorer districts will be even more apparent (Barchetta 2016). However, the generational shift can also contribute to seeing the importance of green areas and potentially partake with a stronger value in the planning. With increased pressure on public green space, the actions on the densification plans become important in Eriksberg to make sure the playgrounds on the courtyards are kept.

Meanwhile analysing the questionnaires about green space, it was found to be difficult to exclude the nature reserves, as the value of the nature reserve is much higher than the parks and it is often the reason why they moved to the district. The interest in parks is lower in Norby, one other factor could be that most residents have private gardens, where they can partake in desired activities. This can also explain Eriksberg's strong opinions about preserving the green areas, since that they lack gardens.

6.1.2 Argument on green areas in planning

In interviews with the planners from the municipality, it almost sounds like they find it as a reason to not implement more greenery or preserve more because of the short distance to nature reserves in both districts. In this case, I refer to parks, playgrounds, and courtyards. Also, it is mentioned by the planners that other districts have it worse, as it would act as an argument to not act in other districts. However, by not working to preserve or create new green areas, it is found that in the long run, it will be a problem in the whole Uppsala municipality for citizens to access green areas, which was confirmed by the planners that were interviewed due to the increasing densification where green space is lost. Less green space has shown to increase segregation and not taking a standpoint is that a decision in the wrong direction as greenery will become a luxury item (Barchetta 2016). Perhaps the arguments in planning are yet too weak, even if the planners see a shift towards the attitude of preserving green space as it brings qualities such as social sustainability, health, and environmental and biological benefits. However, there is still a challenge to exhibit and persuade the builders of the health benefits and the economic benefit it brings to the area in the aspect of preserving green space. But today the builders only see land to build on as the

only solution to increase the profit, rather than understand what closeness to greenery can bring in economic growth (Madanipour 2019). Madanipour (2019) also argued in the theory that lack of green space is classed as an environmental issue. That many other researchers have also acknowledged the need to work towards more sustainable cities. Madanipour summarized it well what a sustainable city could be "[…] 'safe areas, green and other public spaces as well as ... short distances to facilities and services', to be 'sufficiently attractive to counter urban sprawl'" (2019:43). When looking at the planners and theories statements it could draw the conclusion that the planners in Uppsala does not really have the same sustainable focus and having a much shorter timeline, mostly what it is today and not what it should become.

6.2 Perceived correlation between housing prices and the quantity of public spaces

Green spaces and housing prices have a clear correlation that is it triggers each other; low quality of green areas equals "uglier" housing (Madden 2010). This is because the uneven distribution of resources that the planners have acknowledged that they are not aware of how that looks, and the theory has been bringing up an example from the UK where districts with low-income households have low maintenance of public spaces (Madanipour 2019). But if the area becomes gentrified and people with higher socioeconomic background move in it trigger the prices in the area and maintenance of green spaces increases or get refurbished. This is exemplified by Madden (2010) of how the renovated and maintained park in New York increased the attractiveness of the area and the cost of living there just by maintaining the park. We could question if green space can be beneficial in the other way, that it becomes more of an inclusive environment and once again become a space where different people meet, but that seems to be wishful thinking. Except for the health and environmental benefits green space contributes, planners from Uppsala municipality say that it increases the purchasing power of housing, but also local services increase the district's wealth. The theory has clearly stated that green spaces equal more expensive housing, this also includes renovation as it brings old housing up to modern society's standard which is problematic since the prices only continue to rise which confirms the planners' statement of "most will afford" (Richard 2021; Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). However, Örjan Trapp agrees that it can also be excluding as it increases the gap between when a citizen can afford housing near green areas. Qualitative and quantitative levels of green spaces need to be equally distributed throughout the city to work against segregation which aligns with Tahvilzadeh (2021) argument that planners should aim towards a desegregated city, that is an equal city that includes diversity, resources are distributed equally and makes decisions for everyone's best.

6.2.1 Similarities between Eriksberg and Norby

A lot of residents in Eriksberg said in the questionnaire that they would not be able to afford to move to a new area nearby due to increased prices. The question is if residents are still able to afford to live in the area after the new development and renovation. As it confirms Garcia-Lamarca et al. statement that just announcing future green-space development can trigger a rise in property values (2021). Redeveloping projects can worsen rather than help to solve the inaccessibility to access affordable housing (Larson 2018). However, in this case, it perhaps is a change that the area needs, to decrease its value by a lot of green spaces being built over. In Norby, the correlation near green spaces is more of a blur, however, as the residents answered in the questionnaire, the nature reserves play a much bigger role in Norby than in Eriksberg. At least for the residents that participated in the questionnaires as they only represent a small proportion of the residents. Even if the nature reserves were not a focal point in the study it

still needs to be addressed since it has shown that a deficit of closeness to greenery nature reserves is viewed as an argument for why not it is important to implement and protect greenery nearby. Green parks and nature reserves both are affected by allemansrätten and therefore valued by residents in scale, as the reserves are bigger, they are more valued. Furthermore, the nature reserve still acts as an attraction and triggers housing prices in a combination with the lack of villas in Uppsala according to Elisabet Jonsson.

6.3 The ideal of green space equality in the context of gentrification and densification

History has shown public spaces have been created to exclude some social groups (Madden 2010; Larson 2018; Madanipour 2019; Barchetta 2016), the focus on public parks has shifted as today the SDGs and social sustainability have become an important part of developing the society we have. Society today needs more time to become enlightened about the importance of a mix of all groups in society, however as Sanandaji (2017) have written these solutions to support different groups often pay off after a long time which shows the need for action now.

In the future, as the cities continue to grow the number of green spaces can become even greater exclusivity than it is already, this is a problem that is noted by the planners and the same worry is also expressed by residents on Eriksberg's oncoming development. Seamster and Purifoy (2020) mention how different social groups are good in attend municipal meetings which causes uneven distribution within the city of such as green spaces. Otherwise, as Gould and Lewis (2016) write that it can be caused by gentrification as it pushes out low-income families from green areas. Green spaces become more exclusive in high-income areas and also could direct resources even more to high-income districts will increase segregation.

As previously mentioned, the districts see a generational shift, which is especially good in Norby that have much older residents, and as Elisabet Jonsson said the shift is needed due to the lack of villas in Uppsala. Even if there is a need for a specific socioeconomic background to afford housing in Norby, it could arguably say that Norby is taking the step of a less segregated district. Because there is happening a generational shift it opens the possibility for different backgrounds to move in and possibly become more diverse. This is based on Tahvilzadeh (2021) that Swedish planners should work for a desegregated city, and this sense is that different ethnic backgrounds mix. However, Norby will still be a segregated area since it lacks variation in forms of housing and rental and there is also a need for a specific level of income. This puts the pressure on the one that can move in needs to be able to get a loan and have some sort of capital since only 5% in Norby are rentals.

The upcoming development in Eriksberg and its effects are yet to come. The question is who will afford to stay and who will move in. Residents have stated that they cannot afford to still live there and will be forced to move elsewhere in the municipality and would not be able to move into the area today due to prices compared to when they bought it. And this is one effect that drives the segregation in the cities, as Thörn and Thörn (2017) are discussing is that the housing market today is only beneficial for middle and high-income families as new housing is expensive and just a few forms of housing if prioritised. The cost of material and also regulation in that are in PBL that needs to be followed are costly which also increases the prices (Boverket 2021). A lot of residents are afraid of renoviction since they aren't in full control of what it will cost in the end. And the residents in Eriksberg can already see that renoviction is happening in the most exposed groups, Tahvilzadeh (2021) and Montgomery (2016) have written that this is one group in society that cannot control what is happening to them since they have no extra-economic capital to use.

I can see that the development could affect the area in two main ways, first is that it becomes gentrified, where strong socioeconomic groups move into the area, which will raise the property value but also the green value and its level of maintenance. The residents perceive that they can already see the tendency of gentrification in the area, the question is if they know what gentrification is or are just unhappy with the development. However, if it is correct that gentrification is happening the question is then when the municipality notice and if they will act on it. The second way is that the lack of green areas after development forces the rents to go down since the area is losing its attractiveness due to less greenery, as previous research has shown that green areas increase property value, but also low access is found to provide more diverse districts which could be beneficial in another aspect (Schreiber & Carius 2016). And if also different socioeconomic groups can move in, which will become a more diverse area than it is today and desegregated. One challenge will remain and that is the border near villas and apartment complexes which creates segregation within the district, but the change needs to start somewhere. From what we have seen in the questionnaire, Eriksberg is already today a diverse area, but the area could benefit if there were to be greater diversity. Due to this current mix, it is harder to tell if it is gentrified today, a mix of housing forms seems to benefit inclusion in the district as it can help residents to feel as if they share an equal living standard but unclear if this aligns with the clear border within the district (Schreiber & Carius 2016; Larson 2018). As seen in the interview the municipality does not put any pressure or demands on different housing forms or green areas unless it is on their land which could affect the whole city's living standard in the long run.

6.3.1 If no more Affordable housing

With affordable housing, it would make it possible for more residents to enter or continue to make a housing career in the housing market since they will be able to save up economic capital. However, it will probably not be possible for all citizens to live in affordable housing, but at least it will open doors for possibilities. Deciding on which route the development takes is on how the builders look at the issue if they see the benefit of saving green areas or see it as extra land to expand on. The problem with some tenancies is that social security contributions are not allowed in the calculation of income. Families may need that for several reasons and therefore would be able to afford the housing, but due to it is not allowed on housing therefore not qualify for it. This limits those households' opportunities on where geographically they could live, which can contribute to segregation.

To expand the possibility for a housing carrier it is important that the new housing and renovated housing are not set to the same price points. If it is set to a high price point, the area will be more gentrified as it becomes a part of value grabbing and less diverse and less diverse districts are often viewed as safer (Martina & Schor 2015; Anguelovski et al. 2018; Andreucci et al. 2017). What housing forms are being built play a big role in who will have the possibility to afford and move in there. Since tenancies are based on the housing queue system and it is based on the amount of time you have been in line but also the level of income, this makes people that have been standing in line for several decades first in line, rather than those who need it. This has been a growing problem since the number of tenancies has decreased drastically in Sweden over the last two decades which increased the demand for tenancies (Valli 2021; Listerborn 2021). This is where a potential restructuring of the queue system would benefit since today there are fewer tenancies, and the queue only becomes longer (Listerborn 2021). If it is condominiums or villas, it is only controlled by economic capital and not the queueing system. In the category of economic capital, it has been presented that Sweden is one of the OECD countries that has the most drastic price increase which also limits who affords to buy or loan money for housing (Valli 2021; OECD n.d.).

6.4 Development in Eriksberg and Norby

The development of Eriksberg is mainly motivated by planners due to its present nature and the need for densification. However, many residents from the questionnaires perceive that this development is considered aggressive and of a grand scale, which worries a lot about what green space will be left for residents and biodiversity. This viewpoint is also agreed with the planner Karin Åkerblom that lives in Eriksberg, but it is important to notice that her opinion may be mixed with residents' and planners' opinions, particularly on this question. Meanwhile, in Norby, there are no development plans in action right now and are pretty much against it. Planners and residents have a hard time seeing where they would find the space to densify, also residents in Norby are quite eager to keep the character of the area. Perhaps it goes in line with Listerborn (2021) and Grange and Björling (2021) state that Swedish people do not like live with foreigners, and that the district wants to remain homogeneous as they do not seem to be open to changes or diversity. As informed by the planners, both districts are active in citizen dialogues, however, Norby has gone to the extent of continuously opposing the municipality due to the residents do not like what Uppsala municipality will develop or implement. Even if Norby is bigger in size with half of the amount residents compared to Eriksberg, they have more opinions. As Norby is a stronger socioeconomic area and higher level of educated residents, it makes the possibility to think it is a factor that drives the engagement. High income often translates to more responsibility and perhaps, therefore, they have it easier to speak or write their opinions to the municipality and low-income barely participate (Seamster & Purifoy 2020), and this is supported by what planners have spoken about in interviews that high-income houses are more engaged and have it easier to communicate. It is important to highlight that Eriksberg is also an engaged and knowledgeable district which is informed by the planners, but since it is weaker socioeconomic and has fewer residents with an academic background can be a factor in the difference and a reason for fewer resources being visible in Eriksberg.

The engagement could also be different in the sense the residents in Eriksberg have a much higher percentage of tenancies and fewer villas. Those who live there in the apartments do not own and are responsible in the same way for the accommodation. Of course, there are condominiums and villas in Eriksberg as well, it can be a contributing factor to the fact that engagement is still quite large in Eriksberg. While in Norby there is strong participation, where the ownership and feeling of "mine" can have a stronger drive to get involved in what is happening. Since they have invested capital and, on many occasions, the investment is intended to be over a long period or forever, they have opinions of what will surround their plots and potentially affect the value.

6.4.1 Economic Motivation

When discussing the development in Eriksberg Örjan Trapp states that the economy for renovation and development of new housing are separated when asked about the Uppsalahem statement. However, Uppsalahem states that the renovation is only possible to finance because of the new development, no matter what it is presented by both planners and Uppsalahem (n.d.b.) that the development will happen and will raise the rents in the renovated apartments and the new development will have a high rent from the start is confirmed by both parties.

Many that live in an apartment that will be renovated may not be able to afford to stay in the apartment according to the questionnaire in Eriksberg. According to the planners from Uppsala municipality, not everybody will afford it, but most people will. They see the benefit

of new development as higher rent will bring in more people with a little bit higher socioeconomic background than some residents. However, it is challenging to make different groups live in the same districts since there is resistance to mixing due to unspoken judgement but is also difficult to make happen since ethnic groups are often segregated and have a lower income and therefore will have a harder time to afford the increased rents (Hübinette & Lundström 2014; Grange & Björling 2021). But the planners are looking at it positively as being able to mix social groups. This can be good for the districts, but one factor that is important is that the renovated apartment makes it possible with different backgrounds and economies to afford to live there, and then the area is in the potential of being desegregated. If the opposite will happen the district faces potential gentrification and segregation will increase. How the green spaces are managed can affect the renter's economic view, it could be potentially beneficial if some of the area's character with the forest gets lost as that will decrease its value on the housing and more diverse incomes can live in the same district.

6.5 Towards social sustainability

The planners have been talking about the importance to follow the government's plan of building 1% of the population every year, however, this is no excuse to overlook other factors. Such as planning for social sustainability where the goal is to decrease marginalized groups and achieve SDG goals (Sanandaji 2017). These goals have an important part in European documents it stated the importance of green areas, sustainable cities, and inclusive places and to create a sustainable city. Investing in sustainable developments often only has ecological and economic benefits meanwhile diminishes the social and does not become sustainable in the long run (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). However, to work towards these goals there needs to be at least an agreement on how the same municipality defines it, as seen in the interviews the planners identify it as different things. However, this does not mean that they aren't working towards it unanimously, but the municipal messages they want to convey become cluttered. And therefore, it is not clear if the planners understand that socially sustainable solutions are costly and take time before improvement becomes visible (Hahn et al. 2016; Sanandaji 2017).

6.5.1 Planners from Uppsala municipality's view on social sustainability

The planners from Uppsala municipality have acknowledged the issue of not working to preserve nor create green areas, but at the same time, they have no agenda to preserve and protect them. The planners have expressed that they are very keen to preserve the existing structures, however, do not see a need for expanding the existing ones. This is perhaps because the planners do not see that the arguments for preserving green areas aren't strong enough or not taken seriously. The planners are now starting to see a shift in the attitude toward green areas, however, planners still see the challenge to change the builder and landlords' attitudes towards the benefits green areas bring. At this pace, it will be too late to preserve the green areas when builders and landlords have understood its value, and then social, economic, and environmental values will be lost.

From the interviews with the planners from the municipality, there is no clear strategy on how the municipality is working with the sustainability and SDG goals, the municipality and planners are working with the directive that in some sense is connected to the goals. However, when the planners state that they are not fully aware of how the economic resource is divided it opens the question of how they are including and know if Uppsala municipality is creating sustainable environments. But looking at it on a positive note, the municipality has noted the

problem and is looking into it. By not creating an inclusive public environment is the same as working against creating socially sustainable environments.

Social problems affect the housing market and green areas. People that are not included in society, unemployed, have poor mental health, are addicts or others worry (Hahn et al. 2016; Sanandaji 2017). These people often live with a weaker economy and sometimes need support. This means that they can only move into areas that have low socioeconomic status in the area. This contributes to the area being considered unattractive or damaged. This means that it becomes a homogeneous district as people with a higher socio-economic background do not want to move in and that the municipality stops investing in something that breaks down all the time, which segregates the districts even more. Alternatively, gentrification will occur in the long run, which repels the socially disadvantaged even more.

6.6 Planners' thoughts on affordable housing

Affordable housing could be a possible approach to reduce segregation and increase diversity in districts. Also, could contribute to being able to live with mixed socioeconomic backgrounds in the same districts and be able to make a career in the housing market. However, this is something that the planners find to be a good concept but are not familiar with.

That the municipality does not put pressure on how housing forms with different level of rent is distributed over the municipality is problematic since it leaves room for segregation. Research has shown that the municipality needs to make sure that the cost of housing is limited and it includes renovations (Garcia-Lamarca et al 2021; Richard 2021). The municipality have on some projects that 30% of tenancies should have relatively lower rent, however, that does not mean it is affordable. As Örjan Trapp informed there is no law that hinders the municipality to put pressure, only the government request and to be able to put the pressure it needs to be implemented earlier in the planning before landlords approach the municipality. The approach could potentially be a factor in why the municipality does not have the demands, they do not want to become unattractive to builders and landlords. However, research confirms that municipalities are not aware of how they should work with both affordable housing and social inequality (Garcia-Lamarca et al. 2021). Potentially the municipality takes a side in the view when they push forward projects that benefit the amount of housing that will be built, compared to focusing on creating affordable housing. What is being built is crucial as it affects social sustainability, if increased or decreased segregation and how the housing crisis will be handled with this need for affordable housing the research is contradicted in the way that the housing market in Sweden does not match the need in forms of housing which could explain why the housing market is the biggest factor of increased segregation (Philipson 2021; Listerborn 2021; Tahvilzadeh 2021). When only listening to external driving forces, this time the government, it becomes excluding and a biased development.

It is important to note that just because it is different housing forms or sizes it does not mean it is affordable housing. That the planners state that everybody does not afford is okay, but it is a problematic view when they claim to have no responsibility to help those that cannot afford it. That everybody cannot afford is not an argument nor a solution to the housing crisis. Some residents in the districts also said that they cannot afford to move somewhere else or move into the existing dwelling today, due to the increased prices on the housing market or renovation of old housing, which acknowledges Richard's (2021) statement that one-third does not afford after renovation.

It is important to note that a housing career is not based on ending up in a big villa, it is about being able to choose how and where to live no matter if it is a condominium, tenancy, or house. A mix of housing forms can make an area more diverse since different socioeconomic groups can move into the same area. However, in Eriksberg there is clear segregation within the district, as the significant difference between apartment complexes that are multiple stores tall compared to villas, is a challenge and problem that needs to be handled in the development, otherwise, it will not matter how diverse rest of the district is when it comes to citizens. In Norby, the issue of segregation exists, however, due to it being homogenous and almost no affordable housing, which makes it a planning issue. But is arguably harder to implement affordable housing if no new housing forms are being built or controlled what is being built.

When discussing with Örjan Trapp putting pressure on creating more affordable housing he also talks about the need to weigh the long-term perspective towards the short-term. Trapp agreed with the concept and theory of social sustainability that sometimes the short-term solution is only beneficial environmental and economical, however, the long-term will often bring socially sustainable solutions that will benefit more excluded groups in society (Sanandaji 2017; Hahn et al. 2016). This can be summarised that the most beneficial solution for social sustainability will be equally as beneficial as it is for the environment and economy, but it can increase the period before it is achieved.

6.6.1 Need for affordable housing

Research has shown that the number of tenancies in Sweden is decreasing (Listerborn 2021), which affects the queueing system to be able to get a rental, this makes it harder for exposed groups to enter the housing market especially when Sweden is one of the OECD countries that have fastest increasing income disparities (OECD 2017). With increasing rents also become a bigger challenge to be able to afford their own apartment, save money or have a housing career and with this direction of not affording housing Tahvilzadeh (2021) states that Sweden's current work against segregation is not going as planned.

Trapp has stated that the queue system may need to be adjusted to be able to help the most exposed and needy of help. If adjusted queue system, it would force society to no longer neglect marginalized groups since society is shifting its focus to include all groups which would benefit social sustainability (Hahn et al. 2016; Sanandaji 2017). The municipality analysed how many lived in small dwellings which are defined due to different factors. They found that 17 000 citizens in Uppsala would not be able to afford a newly produced home. According to Elisabet Jonsson, it is a terrible number, since it hinders many to start a housing career, instead, they are forced to live in too expensive housing and cannot save for economic capital. Meanwhile, Örjan Trapp means that is not a realistic number, since some chose to live in these conditions. By saying people chose it is to say that this is a problem that planners don't find important to work with, however, it excludes those in need. The municipality suggests if you want to live in affordable housing, you can find them in the older accommodations, the only issue is that almost all old dwellings need renovation, and the low-income households will no longer afford them as well (Richard 2021). As we know renovation triggers the rents, without taking the greenery nearby as a factor. However, the issue is not that there is a need for renovation, rather the queue system and pricing/rents of housing needs to be more affordable. The resident in Eriksberg perceived that access to housing is a human right in their opinion, and I agree.

56

6.7 Possible improvement in the planning profession

During this research, a few things have emerged that need to be clarified in municipal planning in Sweden to continue and contribute to positive development throughout the country and in Uppsala. Social sustainability is a concept that must have a clear definition and agenda of how to work with it within the municipality for everyone to work towards the same goals and ideals. At the same time, concrete goals must be implemented to be able to preserve and protect existing green surfaces from densification and possibly be laid surfaces. Today planner says they are working with the issues but cannot point to concrete things that will help and solve the issues, this shows the need for further education or research. In connection with this, a financial plan should be introduced to have a more equal distribution within the municipality and more equal public environments both in design and location.

With these things that need to be improved, there is a need for education or research within the municipality to be able to adjust planning to new agendas that matches how the society has developed. Especially since they developed their ideal before the global goals. To be able to develop and improve the work in the studied subject, there is a need for further work on how to develop over the years and more concrete on how it should be handled.

6.8 Researchers development

During this process of writing this thesis, I as the researcher have learned a lot about what went well and what should have been done differently. The general research idea was well constructed and could have provided interesting conversations, and it did. However, looking back and reflecting on chosen districts that have nature reserves in them makes it hard to neglect that they are present in the district and hard to neglect that the resident will mention it as they value it as greenery. When choosing the district, I can see now that I wasn't in the process of not fully knowing what I wanted to focus on. Therefore, the work and focus have shifted a bit in the process, for example, the work went from looking at how they really work with it, changed to perceived views from planners and residents.

The change to perceptions potentially was unintentional but reasonable since there were only planners interviewed and no politicians, this was my fault since then I could not really use the opinions as the municipalities rather than planners that work at the municipalities that share their opinions and knowledge.

Another valuable lesson learned is how planning is viewed and valued by citizens and planners, also how intertwined and complex the subject is. How planners look at their own profession and concepts such as greenery, social sustainability, and affordable housing, is something I will take with me in my future profession and practice.

7. Conclusion

It is safe to say that the balance of housing prices and green spaces is a complex paradigm. It is difficult to see how it would ever benefit those with lower finances, as the responsibility lies with the municipality where the planners and politicians are responsible for what is being built and is available. The municipality does not have all the power it is builders and landlords that influence how it turns out in practice. However, the planners must start acting for more affordable housing. The requirements for affordable housing are not acted upon as it would have needed, however, this means that they cannot claim to be working with global goals and sustainability as it is not inclusive sustainable environments and housing. Many in the areas today experience the strained housing market and some express that they would not be able to afford today to buy the home they live in today. This seems to indicate that those with a good socio-economic background already see difficulties today in continuing their housing careers. In other words, a housing carrier is impossible for those with weaker socioeconomic backgrounds. If the planners today would start working with affordable housing on a scale and make demands on the housing market, it will take decades before a noticeable difference is seen, then it may be too late to be able to support the entire Swedish population regardless of socio-economic background. Many would be forced to live in the same home without being able to buy or rent anything else, they would be captured in the housing market.

Social sustainability is not directly visible in Uppsala municipality's planner's practice, even though they say that they work actively with it. The greenery in residential areas has proved to be highly valued by residents in Eriksberg and Norby. On the other hand, there are no clear boundaries in Eriksberg and a clear park, and in Norby established parks are considered sufficient where the nature reserves compensate. The public area conditions are reflecting the socioeconomic average in the districts, as Eriksberg seems a little neglected compared to Norby. On the other hand, the planners from the municipality seem to consider that nature reserves are a more suitable complement than working to strengthen existing greenery in the districts.

If there is no action and change in planning, the municipality is facing a major crisis with segregation where areas that have greater access to greenery will be valued higher. Meanwhile, areas that are densified will be considered unattractive as they lack access to greenery, and the few green areas that remain are in the risk zone to be gentrified due to a lack of responsibility from the municipality where greenery becomes exclusive to the high-income class and the greenery triggers housing prices. This is another problem that the planners has observed but is not being acted on. The other problem is about the connections between greenery and housing prices that must change, otherwise, society is at risk of being divided into classes again, which contradicts all the goals we have today.

I would like to argue that to achieve sustainable urbanization, planners must ensure that all public spaces meet the goals of sustainability, because that is where different groups meet. It is important that it is implemented in existing planning and has a more important role in society as, among other things, the pandemic has shown the importance of having public places that welcome all groups. It's not just about what is offered in these public green spaces, but also where in the city you can find them, it is very important that you have easy access to greenery. No matter who you are or where you live, greenery should not be a luxury item that only a few have access to. Greenery is a right that contributes to positive things for the individual's well-being and should be a matter of course also in planning.

References

Ahrne, G., Stöber, N. & Thaning, M. (n.d.) Klasstrukturen i Sverige Struktur, klass och inkomster: *kontinuitet och förändring 1985–2015.* (Report 20) Katalys. Retrieved from May 7, 2022, from https://www.katalys.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/No-20.-Klasstrukturen-i-Sverige.pdf

Ahrne, G. & Svensson, P. (2015). *Handbok i kvalitativa metoder.* 2., [utök. och aktualiserade] uppl. Stockholm: Liber.

Andersson, R., Bråmå, Å., & Holmqvist, E. (2010). Counteracting Segregation: Swedish Policies and Experiences. *Housing Studies*, *25*(2), 237–256. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030903561859

Andreucci, D., García-Lamarca, M., Wedekind, J., & Swyngedouw, E. (2017). "Value Grabbing": A Political Ecology of Rent. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, *28*(3), 28–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1278027

Anguelovski, I., Connolly, J. J. T., Masip, L., & Pearsall, H. (2018). Assessing green gentrification in historically disenfranchised neighborhoods: A longitudinal and spatial analysis of Barcelona. *Urban Geography*, *39*(3), 458–491. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2017.1349987

Barchetta, L. (2016). *Renaturing cities: Green space for all or elitist landscape? A review of the literature*. Retrieved January 26, 2022, from https://www.academia.edu/40118724/Renaturing_cities_green_space_for_all_or_elitist_lands cape_A_review_of_the_literature

Bell, J. (2006). *Introduktion till forskningsmetodik.* (4., [uppdaterade] uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Boverket (2020). *Under miljonprogrammet byggdes en miljon bostäder.* Retrieved May 4, 2022, from https://www.boverket.se/sv/samhallsplanering/stadsutveckling/miljonprogrammet/

Boverket (2021). *Tillgänglighet.* Retrieved April 22, 2022, from https://www.boverket.se/sv/byggande/tillganglighet--bostadsutformning/tillganglighet/

Bradley, K., Gunnarsson-Östling, U., I. Isaksson (2008) Exploring Environmental Justice in Sweden - How to improve planning for environmental sustainability and social equity in an 'eco-friendly' context. Projections - *MIT Journal of Planning*, 8 (2008), pp. 68-81

Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* (4th ed.) Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Fainstein, S. S. (2005). Cities and Diversity: Should We Want It? Can We Plan For It? *Urban Affairs Review*, *41*(1), 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087405278968

Garcia-Lamarca, M., Anguelovski, I., Cole, H., Connolly, J. J., Argüelles, L., Baró, F., Loveless, S., Pérez del Pulgar Frowein, C., & Shokry, G. (2021). Urban green boosterism and city affordability: For whom is the 'branded' green city? *Urban Studies*, *58*(1), 90–112. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019885330

GDPR.EU (2022). *General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).* Retrieved February 15, 2022, from https://gdpr.eu/tag/gdpr/

Gehl, J. (2006). Outdoor Activities and Quality of Outdoor space. In: *Life between buildings: using public space*. 6. ed. København: The Danish Architectural Press. p. 31-38.

Gould, K.A. & Lewis, T.L. (2017). Green gentrification: urban sustainability and the struggle for environmental justice. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315687322

Grange, K. & Björling, N. (2021). En social bostadspolitik också för den okände andre. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p. 25-27.

Hahn, G., Hök, L. & Jannesson, E. (2016). *Så mäts socialt hållbart värde*skapande. (1. uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

HSB. (n.d.). *Historia.* Retrieved March 3, 2022, from https://www.hsb.se/uppsala/brf/norby/om-foreningen/norbys-historia/

Hübinette, T. & Lundström, C. (2014). Three phases of hegemonic whiteness: understanding racial temporalities in Sweden, Social Identities, 20:6, 423-437, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2015.1004827

Kommunstyrelsen. (2017). *Levnadsvillkor och hälsa i Uppsala kommun.* Retrieved February 2, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/4ffeef74a7d74fcdbb17c199a94f7406/bilaga-7-skillnader-halsa-levnad_interaktiv.pdf

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2014). *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun.* (3. [rev.] uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Larson, S. M. (2018). Imagining social justice and the false promise of urban park design. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *50*(2), 391–406. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17742156

Lindström, L. (2018). Eriksberg: Hyran höjs med 25 procent. *Upsala nya tidning.* Retrieved March 18, 2022, from https://unt.se/nyheter/uppsala/eriksberg-hyran-hojs-med-25-procent-5037125.aspx?fbclid=IwAR0lPjMcQ2OEN6xCyM55ivAPUcz9xCplV65q3ZOectYUDlGekcexf2L0PYM

Listerborn, C. (2021). Att ta bort segregationen mellan upplåtelseformer. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p.48- 53.

Madanipour, A. (2019). Rethinking public space: Between rhetoric and reality. *URBAN DESIGN International*, *24*(1), 38–46. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41289-019-00087-5

Madden, D. J. (2010). Revisiting the End of Public Space: Assembling the Public in an Urban Park. *City & Community*, *9*(2), 187–207. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2010.01321.x

Martina, E., & Schor, P. (2015). White Order: Racialization of Public Space in the Netherlands. *Dedalus*. Retrieved January 25, 2022, from https://www.academia.edu/32747580/White_Order_Racialization_of_Public_Space_in_the_Netherlands

Mitchell, D. (2017). People's Park again: On the end and ends of public space. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(3), 503–518. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X15611557

Montgomery, A. (2016). "Reappearance of the Public: Placemaking, Minoritization and Resistance in Detroit." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40 (4): 776– 99. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468- 2427.12417.

Molina, I. (2018). Planning for Patriarchy? Gender Equality in the Swedish Modern Built Environment. In *The Routledge Companion to Modernity, Space and Gender* (pp. 26–40). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315180472-4

Nationalencyklopedin. (n.d.). *Uppsala*. Retrieved March 30, 2022, from http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/uppsala

Naturvårdsverket. (n.d.) *Platser.* Retrieved May 3, 2022, from https://www.naturvardsverket.se/amnesomraden/allemansratten/platser/

Norby.org (n.d.) *Husen i Norby.* Retrieved March 3, 2022, from https://www.norby.org/hus/hus.html

Omsorgsförvaltningen. (2020). *Yttrande om förslag till mål och budget 2021 med plan för 2022–2023.* (OSN-2020-00685). Uppsala: Uppsala kommun

OECD. (n.d.). *Housing prices. Retrieved* June 13, 2022, from https://data.oecd.org/price/housing-prices.htm

OECD. (2017). *OECD Economic surveys: Sweden 2017.* Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD. (2022). Foreign-born employment (indicator). Retrived on 30 June 2022 doi: 10.1787/05428726-en

Patel, R. & Davidson, B. (2011). *Forskningsmetodikens grunder: att planera, genomföra och rapportera en undersökning.* (4., [uppdaterade] uppl.) Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Philipson, A. (2021). Att regeringen bostadspolitik följer grundlagen. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p. 33-36.

Richard, Å. (2021). Verklig rätt, att bo kvar. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p.92-95.

Robathan, P. (2013). *Social Housing and Affordable Housing are different - especially now that private rent is a growing proportion of accommodation - which says it best?.* Retrieved March 8, 2022, from https://www.researchgate.net/post/Social_Housing_and_Affordable_Housing_are_different-especially_now_that_private_rent_is_a_growing_proportion_of_accommodation-which_says_it_best#:~:text=In%20absolute%20terms%20affordability%20is,or%20both%20with%20little%20discrimination

Ruddick, S. (1996). Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking Systems. *Urban Geography*, *17*(2), 132–151. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.17.2.132

Sanandaji, N. (2017). *Vägen till social hållbarhet.* (Upplaga 1). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Schreiber, F., & Carius, A. (2016). The Inclusive City: Urban Planning for Diversity and Social Cohesion. In *State of the World: Can a City Be Sustainable?* (pp. 317–335). Island Press/Center for Resource Economics. https://doi.org/10.5822/978-1-61091-756-8_27

Seamster, L., & Purifoy, D. (2020). What is environmental racism for? Placebased harm and relational development. *Environmental Sociology*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1080/23251042.2020.1790331

Sen, S., Umemoto, K., Koh, A., & Zambonelli, V. (2017). Diversity and Social Justice in Planning Education: A Synthesis of Topics, Pedagogical Approaches, and Educational Goals in Planning Syllabi. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *37*(3), 347–358. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X16657393

Smith, N., & Walters, P. (2018). Desire lines and defensive architecture in modern urban environments. *Urban Studies*, *55*(13), 2980–2995. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017732690

Stadsbyggnadskontoret. (2002). *Detaljplan för Norby Uppsala kommun.* (2000/20086-1). Uppsala: Uppsala kommun

Statistiska centralbyrån. (2010). Födda i Sverige – ändå olika? Betydelsen av föräldrarnas födelseland. Örebro: SCB. Retrieved, August, 10, 2022, from https://share.scb.se/ov9993/data/publikationer/statistik/_publikationer/be0701_2010a01_br_be51br1002.pdf

Tahvilzadeh, N. (2021). En desegregerad stad. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p.55-59.

Project Everyone. (n.d.). *THE 17 GOALS.* Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://www.globalgoals.org/goals/

Thörn, C., & Thörn, H. (2017). Swedish cities now belong to the most segregated in Europe. *SOCIOLOGISK FORSKNING*, 4.

UNESCO. (n.d.). *Inclusion Through Access to Public Space.* Retrieved February 2, 2022, from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space/

Uppsalahem. (n.d.b). *Om renoveringen i Eriksberg.* Retrieved March 2, 2022, from https://www.uppsalahem.se/renovering/pagaende-renoveringar/aktuellt-eriksberg/

Uppsalahem. (n.d.a). *Tidsplan.* Retrieved March 2, 2022, from https://www.uppsalahem.se/renovering/pagaende-renoveringar/aktuellt-eriksberg/tidsplan/

Uppsala kommun. (2017). *Eriksberg och Ekebydalen - Planprogram.* Retrieved March 2, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/3270c8e47c824f25bdc819b1e9771e48/pp-eriksberg-och-ekebydalen-godkand-lu.pdf

Uppsala kommun. (2018b). *Historia.* Retrieved March 1, 2022, from https://bygg.uppsala.se/planerade-omraden/eriksberg/om-omradet/

Uppsala kommun. (2018a). *Om området.* Retrieved March 1, 2022, from https://bygg.uppsala.se/planerade-omraden/eriksberg/om-omradet/

Uppsala kommun. (2020). *Översiktsplan 2016 för Uppsala kommun: Del A Huvudhandling.* (Diarienummer: KSN-2014-13279). Uppsala: Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen. Retrieved April 4, 2022, from: https://www.uppsala.se/kommun-och-politik/publikationer/oversiktsplan-2016/

Uppsala kommun. (2021c) *Den sociala kompassen - Uppsala kommun.* (KSN-2021-01763) Uppsala: Uppsala kommun

Uppsala kommun. (2021b). *Parker.* Retrieved February 28, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/kultur-och-fritid/natur-parker-och-friluftsliv/parker-lekplatser-och-hundrastgardar/parker/

Uppsala kommun. (2021a). *Ökat fokus på jämställdhet.* Retrieved February 28, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/kommun-och-politik/kommunens-mal-och-budget/mal-och-budget/trend--och-omvarldsanalys/okat-fokus-pa-jamstalldhet/

Uppsala kommun. (2022b). *Friluftsområden och naturreservat.* Retrieved March 1, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/kultur-och-fritid/natur-parker-och-friluftsliv/friluftsomraden-naturreservat-och-leder/friluftsomraden-och-naturreservat/

Uppsala kommun. (2022a). *Ordlista för samhällsplanering.* Retrieved July 25, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/kommun-och-politik/sa-arbetar-vi-med-olika-amnen/sa-arbetar-vi-med-oversiktsplan-2024/ordlista-for-samhallsplanering/

Uppsala kommun. (n.d.). *Så arbetar vi med: Stadsplanering.* Retrieved March 18, 2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/kommun-och-politik/sa-arbetar-vi-med-olika-amnen/sa-arbetar-vi-med-stadsplanering/

Valli, C. (2021). Att bostaden ska ge en jämlik start I livet. In: Lindblad, T. (red.) *Bostadsmanifest: 22 krav för framtidens hem.* Årsta: Dokument Press och Crush. p.60-63.

World Health Organization. (2017). *Urban green spaces: a brief for action.* Retrieved May 3, 2022, from https://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/342289/Urban-Green-Spaces_EN_WHO_web3.pdf

Yin, R.K. (2007). *Fallstudier: design och genomförande.* (1. uppl.) Malmö: Liber.

Figure references

Figures that are not referenced here are created by the author.

Figure 8: Uppsala kommun. (2017). *Eriksberg och Ekebydalen - Planprogram.* Retrieved March 2,
2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/3270c8e47c824f25bdc819b1e9771e48/pp-eriksberg-och-ekebydalen-godkand-lu.pdf

Figure 9: Uppsala kommun. (2017). *Eriksberg och Ekebydalen - Planprogram.* Retrieved March 2,
2022, from https://www.uppsala.se/contentassets/3270c8e47c824f25bdc819b1e9771e48/pp-eriksberg-och-ekebydalen-godkand-lu.pdf

Appendix
Appendix 1 - Full summary of Karin Åkerblom

Karin Åkerblom currently works as a coordinator at Uppsala Municipality and is a landscape architect. She works a lot with the early stages of projects and has lived in Eriksberg for a decade or so.

Eriksberg and Norby are described by Åkerblom, that it is lying on the ridge in proximity to nature. What distinguishes the districts from each other is that Norby is a distinct residential area and in Eriksberg there are apartment complexes that are built under the Million Program with interspersed residential areas. On the other hand, it is divided in Eriksberg between different types of housing, and it affects where in Eriksberg you live based on socio-economic background. In Norby it is very homogeneous about what background you have, there are mostly white residents there, in Eriksberg it was also homogeneous only when it was built but over the years has become a more diverse district. A common thread regardless of the type of housing in Eriksberg has is that nature enters the area and offers large green farms. On the other hand, Åkerblom is unsure if there are any direct parks in the districts, Åkerblom guesses that in Norby there is Murkelparken and maybe two more, but in Eriksberg she will not think of anyone, except the courtyards. Later, she will think of a park that borders Stadsskogen, but quickly reminds herself that Norbyvägen is a barrier. Åkerblom thinks it is strange when asked that the municipality does not have more parks in that Eriksberg based on when the areas are built but guesses that the forest and the proximity to the nature reserves may have been considered as compensation. Åkerblom says that the municipality does not fulfil their vision that everyone should have 300 meters to greenery.

Åkerblom talks briefly about densification in Eriksberg and Norby, she states that no more homes have been built in Norby in a few years, but she also says that there is no place left in the district. Eriksberg is argued to become denser as there are today longhouses with single-storey garages that could have left room for more homes and at the same time offer proximity to nature as the district is not considered densely populated. The densification is argued to potentially strengthen and preserve local services. Åkerblom supports densification that can make it possible for different backgrounds to meet, but at the same time criticizes the plan proposal that it is too dense. The desire for mixed backgrounds goes hand in hand with Åkerblom's view of social sustainability as she sees that you should be able to live a good life in the part of the city you live in, you can meet others and feel a sense of belonging. Åkerblom is clear during the interview that the public place is for everyone and should not be driven by other factors.

In Norby, the residents are more involved in what is happening in their district and are happy to write to the municipality, while in Eriksberg it is more those with higher incomes in the residential area who are involved, in addition, there is a great deal of commitment to what is happening with the forest parties in the district. But in municipal planning, she sees the difficulty of arguing to preserve green areas, but when green areas are preserved, it affects prices, it becomes long-term exclusive as the area will be too expensive. As far as Åkerblom knows, the municipality does not put much pressure on specific rents but believes that the municipality needs to be more courageous.

Appendix 2 – Full summary of Viviann Blomgren

Viviann Blomgren works as a unit manager at the operations unit and has a gardening education. She has worked at Uppsala municipality for about 20 years.

Blomgren describes Norby and Eriksberg as both having proximity to nature with small, interspersed parks. She estimates that there are about 2-3 parks in Norby and 3-4 in Eriksberg. Eriksberg is a mixture of condominiums and rental apartments that are filled by the working class and in Norby, there are villas where a high-income earner dominates in the district. Blomgren talks about social sustainability is about equal work on the part of the municipality in the maintenance of public environments throughout the city. Today, Blomgren says there is even maintenance throughout the city, but the areas differ in design. It is clear during the interview that the municipality focuses on strengthening the opportunity for play for children.

Blomgren informs how the municipality works with the global goals in different ways, among other things it is done by offering adapted environments for everyone, using fossil-free materials when designing public environments and replanting lost trees. When asked how she defines a gender-equal city, she responds that it is a city where the inhabitants are treated in the same way in public and that all voices weigh equally, as the richer areas today have an easier time expressing their dissatisfaction. She says that homeless people who visit the green areas are always welcome, but if they settle there, they are evicted by the police and the municipality cleans up the place, but it is unclear how they are handled later. On the other hand, they work actively together with the municipality's security group and the police with behaviours that create uncertainty, such as drug sales.

In further discussion about Eriksberg, she justifies the development that the area is close to nature reserves, there will probably not be new green areas, but existing ones will be upgraded to be able to handle the increased wear and tear which will then increase the operating cost of the parks. Blomgren sees the proximity to green areas means that prices rise and that it is considered more attractive and more pleasant, when asked what impact green areas have. Other benefits green space contributes to are clean air and managing stormwater are a few examples. However, according to Blomgren, these favourable arguments are not considered strong enough when it comes to planning areas. She believes that in planning today the economic gain is more important than social and ecological but is positive to see that it is slowly beginning to be more valued. Blomgren says that appreciation and use of Uppsala's green areas have increased during the pandemic and sees that it continues.

In a short discussion about the municipality's budget for greenery, Blomgren believes that it is not enough, management and operation are not deficient, but a stronger economy could have allowed them to plan to strengthen and preserve more green land in the long term. She especially sees it as problematic as the city grows but not the number of green spaces, which will put great pressure on the existing.

Appendix 3 – Full summary of Elisabet Jonsson

Elisabet Jonsson is a trained landscape architect and works as a city gardener today in Uppsala municipality.

Like the previous two interviews, Jonsson describes Norby and Eriksberg as two quite different districts in the form of housing, and she believes that both districts are very green from an Uppsala perspective. Both districts are close to the Hågadalen nature reserve and Stadsskogen. In the districts, there are large green gardens, neighbourhood parks and local parks with play, open lawns, and large trees. The district park at Norbyvägen next to Stadsskogen is an example of a very well-visited and well-designed district park from the 40s and 50s that have been renovated. In comparison with Uppsala's north-eastern districts, access

to nature and parks is very high, which is worth keeping in mind from an equality perspective. Access to nature and parks is not equal in Uppsala. Jonsson says it is higher in Eriksberg and Norby than in many other parts of the city.

She sees that many academics live in both districts, but in Eriksberg there is a greater mixture of socioeconomic backgrounds. Jonsson shares that many in Norby have good finances, but you can find some of the most expensive villas in Eriksberg. When asked what the working class and the middle class look like today, she does not see it as a concept that is in use today, instead rather divides it into the low-, middle- and high-income earners. The interview leads on to the topic of social sustainability, where Jonsson talks about how it is very much about integration, security, and variety in the city of housing and meeting places where all different structures of people and families can stay. She continues to talk about how Norby is a segregated district and would have been good if older people who live there wanted to move to the newly built district Rosendal which has very many young people living there. The district would benefit from it, as she believes that there is a bigger shortage of villas than there is of apartments in Uppsala.

Uppsala municipality works with directives that are goal formulations, the municipality works with global goals, where they also work with knowledgeable people about social sustainability within the municipality. On the other hand, today the municipality works mostly from the children's perspective within the category of social sustainability. With these directives, they try to work to achieve an equal city, according to Jonsson the municipality is aware that this is the most difficult task they have. Among other things, Jonsson says "I think that there should be an opportunity for everyone to get a home, but not everyone can afford the same home, feel welcome in all places regardless of class, gender or age, ethnicity." (translated). In the directives, there are requirements for a balance between tenancies and condominiums for land allocations on municipal land. The purpose is to supplement with housing that is underrepresented and increase the mix in the district. Alternative forms of housing such as cooperatives, industrial construction and the like have also been encouraged to make housing more economically possible for more people. Strengthening security and investing in developing parks and meeting places in socially disadvantaged districts also aims to strengthen social sustainability. Through funding from the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, Lina Sandell's park in Gottsunda has been equipped in dialogue with girls at the leisure centre. The district park between Bandstolen and Valsätra has also been equipped to create integration between the apartment building area and the residential area.

Jonsson informed during the interview that when the municipality looked at price levels in the housing supply program, an analysis was made of how many of the population would be able to afford new production, 17,000 who do not have the finances for it. Jonsson believes that this is a terrible figure, but unfortunately, it is the market economy that rules. She says if you want to live in cheap housing, it is in the oldest apartment buildings that apply. When it comes to the densification of Eriksberg, it is motivated to be implemented at the same time as the old apartments are renovated by Uppsalahem, the densification would contribute to the financing of the renovations. In Norby, there are no plans for densification. The municipality does barely own any land or a real estate company that develops new housing. The land is owned by private landowners who usually want to keep it as it is. The homeowners could densify by building Bodlundare, smaller buildings, on their plots to rent out if they want.

When renovating, there is a risk and a fear that rents will be raised, and the tenant will not be able to stay. Jonsson talks about what will happen in the development. In Eriksberg,

Uppsalahem talks with residents about the level of renovation, so that the tenant can influence future rent. During the renovation, the apartments will be adapted for people with disabilities, so that the elderly can stay when they need a walker in their apartment, for example. Valuable green corridors against existing buildings will be preserved and the playground in Hammarparken will be refurbished. Greenery in areas is used as an important part of marketing, especially in densification. Despite the importance of there being many green spaces, Jonsson believes that not everyone needs to be programmed. As Blomgren stated, Jonsson sees the importance of being careful about removing existing green space, they are now trying to clarify this in their work when they develop a new general plan.

Today it is an uneven commitment to citizen dialogue between districts. This is noticeable in a comparison between, for example, Gottsunda and Eriksberg. The commitment in Norby is large, but not so visible in recent years when no major change has taken place. She has positively testified about how Eriksberg is active in their future development.

Appendix 4 – Full summary of Örjan Trapp
Örjan Trapp works at Uppsala Municipality as a strategic community planner.

The interview begins by talking about social sustainability, which Trapp believes is a concept that the municipality works with, where the focus is on creating good housing, and living environments that are easy to move around. But with social sustainability come challenges such as crime, insecurity, segregation, and demographic change with an older population. These guidelines are included in the municipality's overall governance goals, which are like the global goals. To work towards an equal city, Uppsala municipality builds 1% of the stock, and it also follows the control of the overall content when building homes. Whereat least 30% are to be built are tenancies and 30% of them are to have lower rents. This was previously financed by investment support from the government, however, that disappeared when a new budget went through, but the goal remains within the municipality according to Trapp. Trapp further discusses what demands the municipality can make on actors, it is only possible when the municipality owns the land, and they can make what demands they want, but today the municipality does not own that much land anymore. In the detailed plan, they can control the design, where and how high they are allowed to build, and how the entrances are to be designed. However, they cannot control leases when other actors own the land, an exception is if there are special reasons and then they can only affect the size of the home. On the other hand, the municipality can influence because they have a planning monopoly and ensure that actors meet the municipality's goals and those that do can be prioritized for approval. If the municipality wants to control the form of lease, it would have had to be included in the master plan, but Trapp believes that there is an external sensitivity as there is a housing shortage in Sweden and the government wants housing to be built and they do not specify what kind.

When it comes to motivation for the project and set requirements for rents within the municipality, it is a complex issue as it is a long-term and short-term perspective that must be weighed against each other. To maintain in the long term that different socio-economic groups can afford to live in the centre, against the short-term where renovation may cause people to move and be forced to break social contacts because they cannot afford to stay. But when it comes to buildings, it is very much about attractiveness according to Trapp, a stronger socio-economic area has in most cases greater purchasing power. In weaker areas, the municipality can ensure that there are opportunities for premises on the ground floor, but Trapp believes that the municipality cannot control if it is a business that makes a profit. He gives examples of Västertorg in Eriksberg, and that new housing could strengthen the area's

business life and be able to open a cafe. Helping those who have difficulty entering the housing market today is helped with youth housing, Trapp points out that it is important to continue building housing, the need is equal to the supply, and it helps to keep prices and queue time down.

In the past, Elisabet Jonsson said that 17,000 inhabitants would not be able to afford a newly produced home. Trapp was involved in making this analysis and believes that they looked at several different aspects, especially those who live too crowded. He thinks that it can be a bit misleading as some people choose to live less too, for example, afford a summer cottage. Then, of course, many in the survey do not choose to live crowded. Trapp says that the housing queue is a challenge as it is straightforward and based on the number of years you have been in line. Trapp says that they have slowly started to look at whether they can change the system to help the vulnerable.

Like previous interviews, there is a socio-economic difference between Norby and Eriksberg and within Eriksberg. The densification of Eriksberg is motivated by being able to mix different forms of lease and reduce segregation within Eriksberg. According to Trapp, the municipality works a lot with transparency in projects and weighing qualities that are used. The renovation and construction in Eriksberg are run by the same company but choose to differentiate the economies from what Trapp knows. But he knows the levels of the renovations are based on the staircase conditions or from house to house, depending on the need for renovation. The new homes that will be built and renovated in Eriksberg will be more expensive. But Trapp means that it does not necessarily make people move for that reason, it may be that you do not want to live in the construction for several years. On the other hand, Trapp believes gentrification is a very strong concept that the municipality like to avoid using. With new housing, there is a risk of slightly stronger socio-economic groups moving in, but there Trapp refers to the housing queue that decides who is allowed to move in.

In a short discussion about greenery, Trapp sees that it has been given higher priority in planning in recent years in both health and climate aspects. At the same time, they can sometimes be in conflict that more homes need to be built, where agricultural land is to be saved, and then believe that it is better to use parts of greenery. However, greenery can also be seen as an increase in the quality of an area. Housing prices and the link between greenery are considered to be somewhat positive as it increases attractiveness and willingness to pay, but not inclusive in the way that everyone can afford it. When it comes to operating costs of green areas in Uppsala, the municipality does not have a proper static about what the maintenance costs look like and what they should look like according to Trapp. It is a difficult balance to decide as all districts in Uppsala have uneven access to greenery.

Appendix 5 – Working material for interviews

Below are the questions that were prepared for the interviews, some were general questions that all interviewees answered and somewhere specific, this will be presented under different subheadings. All questions are translated since the interviews were held in Swedish. The question is in random order and wasn't either asked in a particular order during interviews.

General questions
- Do you want to start by introducing yourself and what your responsibilities are within the municipality?

- How do you define social sustainability and how do you work with it? Does the work look different in different parts of Uppsala?
- How do you work with the global goals specifically 10 and 11?
- What does an equal city look like for you?
- How do you work to create inclusive places in society?
- How would you describe and explain Eriksberg and Norby, what would you say differentiates them? Who lives there? How do public the environments look like?
- How much influence do residents in Norby and Eriksberg have on planning?
- What is the motivation for densifying Eriksberg? What new values will it bring?
- How has planning changed over the last 10-20 years?
- How do you work with housing prices?
- Do you see a long-term problem with gentrification?
- Do you see a long-term problem with segregation?
- Who can afford to live in Eriksberg and Norby today?
- Anything you would like to change about how you work today?
- How important is greenery considered in comprehensive planning and how is it justified?
- Does greenery affect the price? How do you work for/against it not being too expensive?
- What do you see that greens affect the environment? Does it affect prices? Who uses the area?
- What are your requirements for green areas in a development?
- What do you want green areas to offer for opportunities and to whom?
- Do you see a long-term problem with densifying existing green spaces? When is that enough? When does the city have to start growing on the surface again?

Specific question for Karin Åkerblom
- Do you see trends in Uppsala residents to visit other districts'' green areas? Do they go to the nearest one in that case, or do they visit with a similar socio-economic background?

When it turned out during the interview that Karin Åkerblom lives in Eriksberg, she was asked questions about how she experiences living in the area.

Specific question for Elisabet Jonsson & Viviann Blomgren
- How are homeless people treated in public places?
- Why is there no subsidized housing in Norby? (For example, retirement homes)
- From what I understand, Norby was densified a few years ago, can you please tell me about it? To which extent?
- Do the districts meet the requirements of 300 meters to greenery?
- How do you work with the vision of 300 meters to greenery when Eriksberg is densified?

Specific question for Örjan Trapp
- What are your goals and thoughts about rents in the municipality?
- Do you make any active choices or make demands on actors who buy land for building? If not, why not?
- How do you work for those who have difficulty entering the housing market?
- Have you worked differently with the prices in the densification of Eriksberg?
- Who will be able to afford to live in "new" Eriksberg?
- Where do you move today if you cannot afford it?

- Heard from Elisabet Jonsson that 17,000 could not afford new production, how do you deal with that?

Appendix 6 – Working material from the questionnaire

Below are the questions that were prepared for the questionnaire, some were general questions that all participants answered, and some were specific for Eriksberg and Norby, this will be presented under different subheadings. All questions are translated since the questionnaire was in Swedish. If there is a parenthesis after the question, there was another answer alternative than the long response text.

General questions

- I am ... (Multiple choice answer)
- I have lived in Norby for ... years (Short response text)
- Why did you choose to move to Eriksberg/Norby?
- Do you ever consider moving from Eriksberg/Norby? (Multiple choice answer)
- What kind of people live in Eriksberg/Norby? Ex. class, age, ethnicity.
- What do you think about the green areas and how do you value them?
- How is the quality and maintenance of the green surfaces?
- How often do you visit these green areas?
- Do you see a need for existing green areas? Need more areas?
- Do you see any connection between green areas and housing prices? Is it positive or negative?
- How much more are you willing to pay for a home close to greenery? (Short response text)
- What activities do you want the green areas around to support when you are looking for a new home? Ex. playground, short distance to park, farm, garden.
- How often do you use existing surfaces? Supports existing surfaces what you are looking for (see the previous question)
- Does the quality of the green areas reflect what it costs to live in Eriksberg/Norby? (Short response text)
- What are your thoughts on more rental housing, and student apartments in Eriksberg/Norby?
- Other thoughts?

Specific question for Eriksberg

- What are your thoughts on the densification of Eriksberg and the refurbishment of Uppsalahem? Ex. anxiety, joy, price increase, greenery, reduced greenery?

Specific question for Norby

- In a fictitious urban development where Norby would become denser, would you choose to stay then? (Multiple choice answer)

Appendix 7 - Pictures from observation

Below are extra pictures that were collected when walking around the districts. All pictures are taken by the author.

Eriksberg

Courtyard between apartments with playground.

Apartments facing the forest.

MP housing has started its renovation.

Tall trees between MP complexes.

The only park in Eriksberg behind is Stadsskogen.

Villas in Sommarro.

Garages that will be built, house being renovated in background.

Library in Eriksberg.

Västertorg facing MP housing.

Norby

Outdoor gym.

Bike path between park and housing.

Recycle station close to supermarket.

Supermarket.

Skivlingparken.

Skivlingparken.

Villas in Norby.