Bachelor of Science Programme in
Development Studies (BIDS)

Sustainable Urban Development and the Urban Waterfront

A Case study of Western Harbor, Malmö

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Abstract

Increasing urbanization and the commodification of housing have contributed to limited availability of affordable housing in many cities worldwide. Marked-based rent regulations and the redevelopment of post-industrial harbor districts have given rise to the emergence of new-build gentrification in many cities. Sweden, formerly known for its social democratic and welfare state policies, has undergone legislative changes in housing policy in the past quarter decade which has made housing prices more dependent on the market. Malmö, one of Sweden's biggest and most segregated cities, is internationally known for its sustainable waterfront development called Western Harbor. This study applies a SDG 11 macro-narrative that unfolds onto the micro-narrative of sustainable waterfront development in Malmö. Accordingly, it investigates how inclusive the housing landscape in Western Harbor is. A critical discourse analysis of the English policy reports made it possible to get an in-depth understanding of how adequate housing is represented in the reports. The major finding is that adequate housing, in terms of affordability and accessibility to low-income groups, has been barely mentioned. There are three developments with a focus on building housing at affordable prices, yet, so far, the rent levels are higher than the average rent in Malmö. Moreover, the other sub-districts, which take up most of the land in the waterfront district, do not mention anything regarding adequate housing. In addition, the reports indicate that the aim is to attract the knowledge-based society/ creative class (Florida 2002). The study concludes that the discourse within the reports imply the development of new-build gentrification. Consequently, it is argued that a neoliberal market-based approach hinders the succession of providing for adequate housing as the main focus lies on competition instead of housing.

Key words: SDG 11, waterfront development, new-build gentrification, adequate housing, social equity

Outline

1 Introduction

Sustainable urban development has become a key narrative locally and internationally (EU, 2018; SDGs, 2015; UN Habitat, 2018). In 2008, more than half of the global population lived in cities and by 2050 it is expected that this number will have increased to 70% (UN Habitat 2009). Cities worldwide face challenges in terms of segregation, (relative) urban poverty, housing affordability and housing provision, thus one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is *Sustainable Cities and Communities* (Goal 11) with the aim to "make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (SDGs 2018). Moreover, as stated in the SDGs' declaration, development should not only be the narrative of the Global South but also of the Global North (SDGs 2015).

One key issue in many cities around the world is housing redevelopments for the upper class, pushing the lower class out or limit access to the district (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Marcuse 1985; Smith 1982). Such redevelopments have especially taken place close to cities' waterfronts also called waterfront developments (Borggren and Ström 2014; Boland et al. 2017; Brownill 2013; Bunce 2009; Harvey 1989; Hein 2011; Jauhiainen 1995; Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006; Squires and Hall 2012; Van der Knaap and Pinder 1992; Wetherell 2016). Acknowledging that there are different reasons for waterfront developments, for this paper, urban waterfront development is defined as the transition of a water's edge in the city from a former industrial harbor area to an area of residential and business use (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006). Many scholars argue that waterfront developments foster indirect displacement of low-income earners due to high rent prices, thus, contributing to new-build gentrification (e.g. Davidson and Lees 2005; Smith 1982, 1986, 1996).

This study contributes to the literature around waterfront developments by looking at the case of Western Harbor in Malmö, Sweden, with a qualitative research approach. Sweden tends to have a special place in academic research due to its social democratic and welfare state policies. However, this notion has been questioned by Hedin et al. (2012) who claim that housing policies in Sweden have become less welfare-state oriented and are instead becoming increasingly neoliberalized (also see Farahani and Clark 2016, Larsen and Lund Hansen 2016). Recently, Sweden has implemented policy tools linked to the Sustainable Development Agenda of the UN, such as the *Delegation for Sustainable Cities* (2013), to foster *sustainable* urban development throughout Sweden. These tools increasingly focus on social sustainability. It is however questionable to what extent the role of neoliberal thinking in terms of adequate housing provision is challenged, especially because the UN itself has been criticized for its neoliberal ideology (see Lélé 1991; Doyle 1998; Gamble 2009; Liverman 2018; Sultana 2018).

This case study critically investigates whether the SDGs agenda is a catalyzing tool for creating socially just residential areas or, alternatively, if it is used by Swedish municipalities such as Malmö to beautify new-build gentrification by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

1.1 Aim and research question

This thesis applies a SDG 11 macro-narrative that unfolds into a micro research aim and is investigated through a qualitative case study approach. In the light of this case, the aim is to examine how the City of Malmö frames and reflects upon adequate housing that is derived from the SDG 11 *Sustainable Cities and Communities* in its waterfront development reports. Thereby, it explores how the discourse of adequate housing relates to the residential target group and new-build gentrification in Western Harbor, Malmö. Respectively, the main research question is based on the SDG 11 macro-narrative and is answered through two sub-questions derived from the micro perspective of this study. Accordingly, the following research questions guide this study:

How is the inclusive city narrative of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 regarding adequate housing mirrored in Malmö's waterfront development reports?

    i.   How is adequate housing framed in Western Harbor's planning reports?

    ii. How does the discourse of adequate housing in the reports relates to the access to affordable housing for Malmö's inhabitants?

1.2 Delimitations

One major delimitation is the lack of geographical data to investigate the spatial tenant landscape in Western Harbor. Geographical data helps to identify spatial inequalities (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006). Part of the research aim was to include this analysis tool into this research to display household incomes, housing type (private or public or homeowner), rent levels or housing prices within the area, however, the available data was not precise enough for this purpose. Nevertheless, qualitative data from the reports as well as a rent price comparison of rent levels of different areas in Malmö from the National Statistical Institute made it possible to draw some conclusions on the housing landscape in Western Harbor.

Furthermore, another delimitation of this study is the lack of inhabitants' perspectives. Yet, the purpose of this research is to critically assess how the city planning office uses the sustainability concept in their reports. Henceforth, a CDA of the planning reports allows to gain an insight of the situation on the ground. Further research is needed to look at the residents' experiences.

More generally speaking, waterfront developments as well as the sustainability concept are complex. Hence, the research is looking at two broad fields. Surely, this research does not shed enough light on all aspects of the sustainable development concept nor on the complexity of waterfront developments that are shaped by private investors, governmental agencies and other agents. However, this is not crucial to this research since the aim is to see whether waterfront developments based on the SDGs agenda contribute to socially just neighborhoods or if they contribute to new-build gentrification. Hence, the quality of the research is not diminished if the above aspects are not considered even though they could make the study more comprehensive.

1.3   Structure of the thesis

This paper first presents an overview of previous research on waterfront developments as well as the background of the case of Western Harbour, Malmö. The second section explains the theoretical framework, which builds on the theory of neoliberal urbanism and new-build gentrification as well as social sustainability, and how it is applied. Third, the method of data collection and analysis is outlined. Fourth, an analysis of the data and results is presented. The analysis is divided into two sections. First, data reflecting on how adequate housing is framed in the reports is highlighted. The second part shows the results on whether Western Harbour can be considered an inclusive district by identifying the target groups and potential gentrifying processes. The final chapter includes a discussion of the results of the respective research questions as well as concluding remarks and suggestions for future research.

2   Literature Review and Background

2.1   Waterfront development

In the last four decades research about waterfront development has significantly increased since the 1970s when waterfront redevelopment in the United States took off, followed by England and Western Europe (Harvey 1989; Holden et al. 2015; Jones 2017, Squires and Hall, 2013). Today we can see similar planning strategies worldwide. For instance, the London Docklands, Bristol Docklands, Dublin Docklands, Guggenheim in Barcelona, Yokohama Bay in Japan, Rotterdam, Darling Harbor in Sydney, Malborne Docklands and many more (Wetherell 2016). Over the years it has become a major planning strategy around the world to redevelop brownfield sites due to the post-Fordist era and to attract, amongst others, investors, residents, visitors and jobs (Jones 2017).

As Holden et al. (2015) state, this dominant planning paradigm portrays a post-industrial lifestyle in many planning reports, communicating the urban sustainable life of today and the future that cities ought to strive for. Boland (2013 p. 268) calls this 'city branding', a marketing approach to increase the city's competitiveness. Furthermore, Boland (2013) concludes that urban planning has changed from being concerned with density and land-use, to a "performative act transforming city space and our cognitive response to urban change" (Boland 2013 p. 252 based on Lovering 2007). This involves a rise in city marketing to give the city a brand in order to attract consumers, investors, visitors et cetera (Boland 2013). This phenomenon of place branding has increased, to strengthen the competitiveness of cities as well as downplaying or ignoring the social and economic problems that occur in other often disadvantaged parts of the city (Boland 2013). Consequently, this impacts on the affordability and accessibility of goods such as housing for disadvantaged social and economic groups.

Recent research points out benefits and drawbacks of waterfront developments (e.g. Jones 2017). The former is linked to private property returns, gains in environmental, social or economic terms, for

instance, increased employment opportunities, improved infrastructures, increased cultural activities and creativity, and environmentally friendly and efficient living (Huang et al. 2011; Jones 2017). Concerns regarding waterfront developments point however towards the impact commercialization of urban life has on social equity (Boland et al. 2017; Jones 2017). As Jones (2017 p. 337) claims, after wide criticism on the favoring attitude for the private sector, urban planning strategies, especially in relation to waterfront developments need to be a part of a wider "integrated regeneration strategy which embraces economic, environmental, cultural and social objectives". Hence, inclusive planning strategies as also promoted by the UN have gained dominance, yet, within the realm of neoliberal city planning that aims at growth through, for instance, increased jobs, visitors, leisure and cultural events (Boland et al. 2017; Harvey 1989; Peck 2010). Consequently, Morena (2011 quoted in Timu 2013 p. 174) argues that:

> "[s]ometimes, the final outcome does not correspond to the project's initial objectives, and the the 'common good' in terms of spaces, enjoyment and access, is partly neglected in favor of property interests."

In contrast to other global experiences in which economic attractiveness is the main concern (Wetherall 2016), Sweden justifies its waterfront redevelopments through the lens of the sustainable development agenda that is meant to encourage the development of inclusive and environmentally friendly cities (City of Malmö 2013; SDGs 2018). Yet, the Sustainable Development agenda has been criticized for promoting neoliberal principles and thereby fostering exclusionary development (Liverman 2018; Sultana 2018). Hence, it is likely that waterfront developments in Sweden do not differ much from other waterfront redevelopment experiences.

In addition, even though Sweden has held a well-known image as a welfare state with social policies contributing to an equality-based society, liberal policies in recent years and the financialization of public goods such as housing has increased inequalities in Sweden (Larsen and Lund Hansen 2016; Hedin et al. 2012). For instance, Heidin et al. (2012) point out that socio-economic filtering and gentrification have increased in the three largest cities in Sweden namely Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Therefore, it is crucial to have a critical urban perspective to reveal the power relations and the discourse about adequate housing (Brenner 2009; Clark 1988a; Harvey 2001).

2.2   The case of Malmö

This research is based on the notion that the context of a place is crucial for an analysis of current actions. From a realist standpoint, a place is shaped by its context and political action carried out. Hence, in this section the political-economic context of Malmö and its past development until now is introduced to enhance the contextual understanding of the study. This background information is crucial to understand

the discourse around the waterfront development in Malmö as well as Malmö's relation to the Sustainable Development Agenda.

There has been significant research done on Malmö, one of Sweden's most segregated cities, which is known for unrest and inequality (Anderson 2014; Anderstig and Nilsson 2005; Clark 1988b; Holgersen 2014a, 2014b; Holgersen and Malm 2016; Hsiung 2014; Mukhtar-Landgren 2006, 2008, 2009; Persson (ed) 2005; Stigendal 2011). More specifically, research can be found on the redevelopment of Western Harbor that is internationally well-known for its Housing Exposition Bo01 that opened in 2001 (e.g. Austin 2013; Bagge 2007; Madureira, 2014; Nillsion and Elmroth 2005; Hsiung 2014; Holgersen and Malm 2016). Bo01, the first housing development in Western Harbor, was claimed to be a highly energy efficient residential area. However, such claims have been proven wrong by research: households consume more energy than the average Malmö inhabitant, and residents have generally a larger footprint due to a more exclusive lifestyle (Bagge 2007; Nillsion and Elmroth 2005). Western Harbor consist of several constructions of which the main ones are Bo01 in the east, Bo02 (Flagghusen), Bo03 (Fullriggaren) and Bo04 (Kappseglaren) in the north, Masthusen in the center, Varvsstaden and Södra Dockan in the south and Dockan in the west (City of Malmö 2015; see figure 2.3.1).

Furthermore, Holgersen (2014a) contributes greatly to the understanding of Malmö's pathway by reflecting upon the political-economic history and context and the current development of the Western Harbor. Malmö was a leading growth region in Sweden from 1950-1960 with a large shipbuilding industry that started producing the world's largest crane in 1973 (City of Malmö 2015a). However, in the 1970 the industry started to decline and closed in 1986 (City of Malmö 2012). When the financial crisis hit Sweden in 1991, Malmö went into a deep depression. The employment rate dropped drastically coupled with an increased influx of refugees and asylum seekers. In 1995, the municipality tried to tackle the economic depression by requesting help form the government and by shifting their industrial directive to a new one called the "vision work" (Holgersen 2014b p. 290). Consequently, a new fiscal equalization scheme, the Öresund Bridge, the City Tunnel for a railway connecting Malmö with Copenhagen, the opening of Malmö University, and work on integrating and the positive image of the Öresund region helped Malmö to get out of the depression (Holgersen 2014a; Western Harbor 2012). Additionally, the Bo01 housing exhibition and Turning Torso contributed to Malmö's "post-industrial image" locally and internationally (Holgersen 2014b, City of Malmö 2017).

Salonen (2012) indicates that the gap between the rich and the poor in Malmö has increased in the last years and points out that social concerns have been missing in previous city planning strategies. Hence, the municipality launched a *Commission for a socially sustainabile Malmö* which ended in 2013 that conducted a report on social sustainability in Malmö (City of Malmö 2013, 2018). With the input of the SDGs and the commission's report the City of Malmö continuous the work on social sustainability (City of Malmö 2018).

Moreover, the Delegation for Sustainable Cities, an institution "appointed by the [Swedish] government in the years 2008–2012, tasked with promoting a sustainable development of cities, urban areas and residential areas" (Boverket 2015 p. 4), outlined in its final report *Take action – now!* strategies on how to achieve the goal of sustainable cities, for instance, by reducing segregation (Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2013). It is pointed out that the best outcome for as many stakeholders as possible can be achieved through a holistic, cooperative and system approach. Thus, the Delegation for Sustainable Cities (2013) recommends a comprehensive planning approach to achieve a result that benefits all urban inhabitants. In the case of Malmö this means, amongst other things, eliminating isolation within the city to reduce segregation. Accordingly, the Delegation for Sustainable cities advices to have a national policy that supports and regulates cooperation between public and private interests. They point out that a clear framework and a financial model is needed for the public and private sector to achieve an outcome that comes to terms with both sides.

2.3   Western Harbor

This section provides further information about the Western Harbor in Malmö and how it is structured. Western Harbor is divided into 14 smaller subdistricts namely, Bo01, Bo02 (Flagghusen), Bo03 (Fullriggaren), Bo04 (Kappseglaren), Citadellsfogen, Dockan, Galeonen, Gängtappen, Hamnporten, Masthusen, Södra Dockan, Universitetsholmen, Varvsstaden, Västra Dockan (see figure 2.3.1). Wester Harbor is not fully developed yet but has already several housing developments that are finished.

The City of Malmö, as coordinator, together with several developers developed plans for the development of Western Harbor (City of Malmö 2015a). Bo01, Bo02 (Flagghusen), Bo03 (Fullriggaren) and Bo04 (Kappseglaren) are key residential developments on municipal land in the Western Harbor. Other districts in Western Harbor such as Dockan, Universitetsholmen, Citadellsfogen, Masthusen, Hamnporten and Varvsstaden, have development plans with more specific aims such as creating a university area (Universitetsholmen), a shopping district (Masthusen) or a commercial business district (Dockan).

Figure 2.3.1: Western Harbor development plan. (*adapted from* Western Harbor Current Development 2015a)

Legend

▓ *Existing buildings*

░ *Planned buildings, detailed plans*

□ *Planned buildings, basic structure*

3 Theory

The following section presents the theoretical framework. It is based on two main theories *neoliberal urbanism* and *social sustainability*. Each theory is broken down in concepts that guide the analytical part of this paper. Moreover, indicators from the UN report on Goal 11 contribute to the building of

concepts for the analysis.

3.1   Neoliberal Urbanism

Neoliberalism has evolved in different parts of the world over the last decades and has taken different forms (Leitner et al. 2006 p. 5; Peck et al. 2009; Peck et al. 2013, Harvey 2007). Especially urban areas have been targeted by neoliberal policy (Peck et al. 2013, Bolannd 2017). Peck et al. (2009 p. 50) summarize "[n]eoliberal ideology rests on the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from state interference and the actions of social collectivities, represent the optimal mechanism for socioeconomic development." In line with this definition, Leitner et al. (2006 p.4) state that neoliberalism can be understood as empowerment tool for individuals to improve their own well-being by making self-selected choices. Disadvantaged groups consequently face difficulties in competing within the sphere of private ownership, for instance, in terms of housing. Hence, social inequity of the common good such as food and shelter increases. This thought relates to the concept of the 'the right to the city'. Thereby, holding the view that the wider public must be the target of and involved in planning processes in order to achieve social justice in the cities (Harvey 2003, 2008). Accordingly, instead of aiming for satisfaction of individualist consumption, the focus should lay on the wider community. Consequently, urban planning should be based on and driven by ethics and not the market (Lennon 2016).

In many cities, urban governance has adopted and promotes the neoliberal lifestyle by creating neoliberal subjectivity. For example, by privatization, deregulation, expensive apartments, cultural attractions and the creative class (Florida 2002) in policy reports and discourses (Leitner et al. 2006 p. 4; Oakly 2011; Peck et al. 2009). Thereby, urban planning departments aim at "the construction of sanitized spaces offering quality of life in a safe and attractive environment for responsibilised citizens" (Boland et al. 2017 p. 6). This creates a new place identity with preference for market consumption and high-income groups, holding the idea that redeveloped areas such as waterfronts benefit the wider public because of increased jobs, investments, cultural events and open public spaces (Boland et al. 2017 p. 6). However, neither the distribution of the benefits is discussed, nor who can afford to live there and who can only visit, nor are the power relations discussed that come into play when powerful developers, investors and planners impose a plan on the local community (Fainstein 2000). Hence, this creates a situation in which urban governance is influenced by neoliberalism, as it prioritizes private individual interests and values over public-collective ones (Sager 2015).

Yet, neoliberal urbanism comes in different shapes since its agenda is adapted to previous regulations and policies (Harvey 2007; Leitner et al. 2006 p. 5; Peck et al. 2013). Accordingly, the country's and urban history play a larger part in how neoliberal urbanism is shaped. However, certain key aspects pertain throughout. First, entrepreneurialism is considered crucial for economic success because it

increases and strengthens the competition with other cities through innovation, investments and the knowledge society, also called the "creative class" (Florida, 2002; Leitner et al. 2006 p.4). Second, municipal bureaucracy is being replaced by "quasi-public agencies" that promotes economic development, as well as, increased competitions within the public sphere and encourages privatization of urban services, for instance, housing (Leitner et al. 2006 p. 4). This creates an environment in which decisions are mainly based on cost-benefit analysis instead of following the "mission of service equity and social welfare" (Leitner et al. 2006 p. 4).

3.1.1   *Gentrification and segregation*

As part of neoliberal urbanism, this section deals with financialization of housing as well as gentrification and how it affects affordable housing.

Market liberalization and deregulation in many sectors has given the market the chance to supply and distribute housing in many countries (Farahani and Clark 2016). However, there is substantive literature that shows how the market driven directive has fostered segregation, gentrification and displacement, especially in cities (Hedin et al. 2011; Lund-Hansen et al. 2015; Smith 1996).

On the one hand, neighborhoods with highly expensive apartments, cultural events, lively street life, restaurants, *hipster* cafes and stores, and shopping malls emerge. On the other hand, it results in neighborhoods deprived from employment opportunities, safety and educational opportunities with inhabitants that are either socially, politically, ethnically, or culturally excluded from and unwelcome in the rest of the city (Wyly 2018). Thus, Harvey (2003) argues that the housing market needs to be reformed and more regulations from the state are required to secure one of the basic human needs, namely adequate housing.

Consequently, the emergence of waterfront developments in the last four decades has contributed to fostering segregation in cities. Davidson and Lees (2005) identify such developments as post-recession, third wave or new-build gentrification. In this study, the latter term is applied. They claim that new build housing developments can be referred to as gentrification even though it differs from early definitions and experiences that, for instance, Smith (1982 p. 139 in Davidson and Lees 2005 p. 1166) describes:

> "By gentrification I mean the process by which working class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers. I make the theoretical distinction between gentrification and redevelopment. Redevelopment involves not rehabilitation of old structures but the construction of new buildings on previously developed land."

Over time, scholars have revisited early definitions as gentrifies do not only take over working class homes but also occupy new build apartments (e.g. Smith 1996 p. 39 in Davidson and Lees

2005). Accordingly, Davidson and Lees (2005 p. 1170) mention four main characteristics that identify gentrified areas and that apply to gentrification of the 21st century:

1) "reinvestment of capital

2) social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups;

3) landscape change; and

4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups."

The last point *indirect displacement* or "exclusionary displacement" as Marcuse (1985 p. 205) calls it, highlights how it differs from the original gentrifying experience in which people are pushed out of their apartments due to the increasing value of the apartments. Acknowledging that new-build districts can lead to displacement due to high rent prices and exclusive characteristics, gentrification is considered in the analysis.

3.2   Social sustainability

Over the last decades, the concept of sustainability has attained increasing recognition due to international awareness of ecological destruction and social concerns such as poverty, local and urban inequalities and fast urbanization (Griessler and Litting 2005; Dempsey et al. 2011). Three main dimensions (economic, social and ecological) have been identified and accepted by international actors at the UN Rio Conference 1992 as well as in the Brundtland report (WCED 1987; UN 1992). Yet, these three dimensions bear tension within each other, since the aim of one dimension may contradict that of another dimension (Griessler and Litting 2005). For instance, economic growth may imply that continuous and increasing production impacts on the ecological environment negatively. Moreover, environmentally friendly urban development coupled with economic incentives may lead to districts for high-income groups with limited access for low-income groups.

Social sustainability is one of the dimensions that has lacked clear conceptualization, until recently (Griessler and Litting 2005; Dempsey et al. 2011). For decades, research explored underlying topics such as social cohesion, social exclusion and social capital. Only recently have scholars added previous knowledge together to foster the conceptualization of social sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011). Accordingly, Dempsey et al. (2011 p. 292) argue that social sustainability is a complex and "dynamic concept, which will change over time and in a place". Hence, there is no clear-cut concept that will be right for the next decades and all places. Grissler and Littig (2005 p. 11) agree but suggest the following definition:

"Social sustainability is a quality of societies. It signifies the nature-society relationships, mediated by work, as well as relationships within society. Social sustainability is given, if

work within a society and the related institutional arrangements (1) satisfy an extended set of human needs and (2) are shaped in a way that nature and its reproductive capabilities are preserved over long period of time and the normative claims of social justice, human dignity and participation are fulfilled."

In line with this definition, Dempsey et al. (2011) point out two main branches that enable some conceptualization of social sustainability. These are *social equity* and *sustainability of community*. The latter derives from the explored importance of social capital and cohesion for social networks to sustain (Dempsey et al. 2011). The focus of the study lays on social equity. It derives from social justice and equality of conditions. It can be defined as everyone's right and access to fulfill one's potential without facing discrimination and exclusionary practices in the urban sphere as well as planning processes (Dempsey et al. 2011; Fainstein 2000). This thought is in line with the definition above as well as with the definition of sustainable development by the UN (WCED 1987). Furthermore, Pitarch-Garrido's, (2015) indicates in a Global Sustainable Development Report (GSDR) brief for the UN, that (social) accessibility and equity are key to social sustainability. Correspondently, from a geographical perspective, this means that areas deprived of services or areas depriving low-income groups access foster social exclusion, social injustice and segregation in cities. Accordingly, Dempsey et al. (2011) and Bramley (2009) point out that social equity is often measured by accessibility. Access should be given to local services, education and training, jobs, public spaces, and affordable housing (ibid). While all these aspects are relevant in measuring social equity in an urban environment, the focus of this paper lays on access to affordable housing. Future research may build on this analysis by incorporating other aspects of social equity.

In accordance with the above discussions, target 11.1 in the SDG 11 Synthesis Report[1] (2018 p.38) demands to ensure "access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrading slums [by 2030]." In their list of indicators, the UN differentiates between slums, informal settlements and inadequate housing. In the context of Malmö, *inadequate housing* is the most suitable to reflect on. The UN measures inadequate housing based on (1) security of tenure (2) availability of services, material, and infrastructure (3) affordability (4) accessibility (5) habitability (6) location (7) cultural adequacy. In this thesis the focus lays on the indicators (3) and (4) because of a good fit to the research aim and time limitation.

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[1] SDG 11 Syntheis Report "Tracking Progress Towards Inclusive, Safe, Resilient and Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements" is a report developed by UN's High Level Political Forum. "It is the first publication showing the progress, challenges and opportunities of global monitoring of this Sustainable Development Goal" (vii).

Affordable housing (3) is defined by the UN (SDG 11 Synthesis Report 2018 p. 40) as "not so expensive that it prohibits its occupants from meeting basic living costs or threatens their enjoyment of basic human rights". Accessibility (4) is looked at through the lens of social status (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006; SDG 11 Synthesis Report 2018). In other words, it is investigated *who* has access to the housing areas planned and built, and whether segregation/gentrification processes can be identified (Sairinen and Kumpulainen 2006).

3.3   Application of theoretical framework

In sum, the theoretical framework presents the idea of how neoliberalism has been inserted into urban policy and life. It helps to take a critical stance on the research topic that aims to uncover the discourse of adequate housing within Malmö's sustainable development policies.

The key points that are valuable for the theoretical framework are the following: first, an emphasis lays on identifying the target group of urban development plans. Consequently, it is asked who the disadvantaged groups are that face difficulties in competing in the sphere of market-based competition. Second, indicators for neoliberal subjectivity within urban governance and policy reports are considered such as privatization, deregulation, expensive apartments, promotion of cultural events and market-based consumption, and attraction of the creative class. This creates a situation in which urban governance is influenced by neoliberalism, prioritizing private individual interests and values over public-collective ones (Sager 2015). Thus, this plays a large role in analyzing the reports and how urban governance shapes the distribution of benefits such as housing i.e. who can afford and is welcomed to live in Western Harbor and who can only visit.

In addition, neoliberal urbanism is based on the idea that entrepreneurialism is considered crucial for economic success because it increases and strengthens the competition with other cities. Hence, urban governance promotes economic development, as well as, increased competitions within the public sphere and encourages privatization of urban services for instance housing. This goes hand in hand with characteristic of gentrification. This theoretical framework accepts the premises that due to indirect displacement of disadvantaged groups, new-build developments can be considered a new form of gentrification, namely new-build gentrification.

Thus, keeping in mind that neoliberal urbanism has been adopted within urban governance in many cities around the world, it is used as a tool to investigate whether social sustainability in form of social justice and social equity is being achieved in regard to accessible affordable housing i.e. adequate housing.

4   Methodology

This section introduces the methodological approach and research design of the study. In addition, it elaborates on the qualitative method used in this study in order to collect, manage and analyze data.

4.1 Philosophical approach

This thesis is based on a critical realist perspective. Critical realists believe that there is a real world or truth that is, however, perceived subjectively by individuals (Graham, 2006 p. 20-25). Social conditions, ideological thinking and cultural characteristics influence how we conceptualize reality. Therefore, conceptualities make it difficult for an individual to see the real world (Graham, 2006 p. 20-25). It is up to the researcher to point out the power relations, processes and intentions that facilitate certain events (Easton 2010)

4.2 Research design

Furthermore, this research is a single case study. The focus lays on the Western Harbor, Malmö. Focusing on one case permits to acquire in-depth understanding of a specific situation (Ljiphart 1971). Hence, single case studies allow for in-depth, critical, and intensive analyses and contribute to a larger research pool from which one can draw comparisons (Vaus 2001 p. 227). Therefore, this case is contributing empirically to a large research pool on the impact of waterfront developments on local socio-economic structures.

The thesis consists of a qualitative research design (Bryman 2016 Ch. 17). An emphasis is put onto qualitative methods using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Qualitative methods, particularly CDA, help to identify how linguistics frame objects and influence our understanding of these objects (Bryman 2016 p. 531). Hence, in this study, the discourse of inclusive urban development, more specifically adequate housing, within waterfront development reports is analyzed.

4.3 Data collection and analysis

This section explains how the data is collected and analyzed. In line with the epistemology of this study, retroductive reasoning is applied throughout the analysis. Retroductive reasoning implies that observations are related to previous theories to decide whether the case correlates with previous findings or neglects them (Bryman 2016 p. 25; Wuisman 2005).

Data is collected using CDA. The data is a set of official reports published by the City of Malmö (see table 4.3.1). These reports describe and advertise the Western Harbor's development from the start until today and can be found on the municipal website.[2] All reports that relate to the Western Harbor and are available in English are selected for the CDA. The analysis does not discuss all subdistricts of Western Harbor in detail, but it includes an overall assessment as well as a more detailed analysis of some of the subdistrict developments. This is due to the lack of information about some of the subdistrict

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[2] https://malmo.se/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Utbyggnadsomraden/Vastra-HamneSamlade-skrifter-om-Vastra-Hamnen.html [Accessed 15th Feburary 2019]

developments in the sampled reports. Swedish reports were not considered due to language barriers, a lack of time and the aim to investigate how the development in Western Harbor is portrayed in English. Thus, it is suggested that further research compares the findings of this study with an analysis of the Swedish reports.

Discourse refers to what we mean when we talk, the words we use have meaning attached to it that is not always outspoken (Gee 2005 p. 27). Hence, depending on the historical, cultural or ideological context, words may have different meanings and interpretations (Gee 2005 p. 30) While we are sometimes aware of a certain meaning, it happens that we do not always notice the discriminatory denotion behind our words. Critical discourse analysis is a tool that helps to discover power relations, structures, strategies or text used to reinforce social inequalities (Van Dijk 1993). Moreover, it aims at discovering the relationships, activities, identities and knowledge expressed through language, but it can also be used to look at the politics, i.e. distribution of social goods (Gee 2005 p.12). As Gee (2005 p. 12) points out "language is used to convey a perspective on the nature of the distributing of social goods, that is, to build a perspective on social goods." However, there is more to discourse than language, other components such as values, symbols, objects, time and places play a role in how discourse is constructed (Gee 2005 p. 38). Hence, such components need to be considered when applying CDA because they all play a role in discovering the structures and power relations behind it.

The aim of this discourse analysis is to investigate how the SDG 11 in regard to adequate housing is mirrored in Western Harbor's development plan. This is done by looking at the relationship between the context and the language used in the reports, this type of CDA is also called "language-context analysis" (Gee 2005 p. 57).

Keeping this in mind the following key themes and questions are considered in this CDA:

a) Discourse can be exclusionary based on obvious or underlying and often not visible exclusionary practices (Gee 2005 p. 72). Thus, it is important to not only look for what is there, but also for what is missing. The following questions are considered: Who and what is represented? What is not there? What voices are included (Fairclough 2003 p. 136, 192; Gee 2005 p. 72)?

b) Discourse is political. Any discourse is based on judgments and assumptions regarding what is appropriate and what is normal (Gee 2005 p. 85). Thus, it is questioned: What assumptions regarding values and norms are being made (Fairclough 2003 p. 192)?

c) What is the relationship between the micro level (language use, communication) and the macro level (power relation and structures, inequalities between groups) (Van Dijk 2001 p. 468)?

d) Power can be associated with control. The study investigates the municipal's action regarding the implementation of the SDGs into the urban context from a critical realist perspective. Moreover, neoliberal urbanism is considered a key driver in urban planning. It influences decision making processes and the marketing of new housing developments. The following questions are considered: "How do powerful groups control public discourse? How does such discourse control mind and action of (less) powerful groups and what are social consequences (e.g. social inequalities)" (Van Dijk 2001 p. 469)?

e) What role does space play regarding identity, place and access (Keating 2015 p. 244 ff.)?

f) Accessibility can refer to different dimensions for instance, accessibility to transportation, public spaces, or housing (Keating 2015 p. 251,252; Milner and Madigan 2001). How is the term accessibility applied in the reports? What is meant with it? What does it relate to?

The analytical steps "*data reduction, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions*" suggested in the *Miles and Huberman framework for Qualitative Data Analysis* (Punch 2005 pp. 197; 198) guide the analysis process. Moreover, these steps imply the consideration of the themes mentioned above as well as explorative coding of data to identify key information. These codes are elaborated into themes to reduce the number of codes (Bryman 2016. p. 581, 588). The data analysis software NVivo is used to increase the transparency of the data management and analysis process. It is a program for qualitative data analysis that provides tools to structure data and organize codes in a clear manner.

In sum, the reports listed in table 4.3.1 1 are analyzed to critically discuss for whom the area is developed and who it is supposed to attract, what the underlying structures and power relations are, which housing types are provided and what their role is and if there are any indicators for gentrification.

Table 4.3.1 Sampled documents for the CDA

Name of Document	Author Date	Info?	Why?
Western Harbour facts and figures	City of Malmö 2018b	- Statistics on housing type, people, household size etc.	- Statistical indication of who lives in Western Harbor
Västra Hamnen [Western Harbour] – Current Urban Development	City of Malmö 2015a	- Overview of Western Harbor's development from past to today - Describes most of the sub-district in Western Harbor	- Key document for the analysis - Presents all sub-districts developments
Climate smart living. Magazine:	City of Malmö 2015b.	- Magazine published by Malmö's Citiy Planning Office	- Indicates how the City of Malmö presents itself in its own magazine that is

Sustainable City Malmö.		- Presents achievements of Western Harbor	available to the public and international community - Helps to identify what the City of Malmö understands as important achievements
Comprehensive plan for Malmö: Summary in English Adopted by Malmö City Council in May 2018	City of Malmö 2014	- Overall strategies for Malmö	- Housing mentioned but not affordable housing. They mentioned that housing should be accessible to people of different backgrounds
Malmö's path towards a sustainable future. Health, welfare and justice.	Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö 2013	- Report on persisting inequalities in Malmö - Concludes that health inequalities persist in Malmö with a clear link to unequal living conditions i.e. housing	- Suggests actions that should be carried out by the City of Malmö to tackle segregation and socio-economic inequalities
Magazine: *Sustainable City Malmö*	City of Malmö 2013b.	- Magazine published by the Malmö Citie's Planning Office - Provides a general picture of how the City of Malmö presents it sustainable planning achievement.	- In one section the "Everyday life in the Western Harbour" (p. 16) is described - How is adequate housing framed in the magazine?
Guide *Western Harbour*	City of Malmö 2012	- Info flyer - Describing Western Harbor and presents how it attracts many visitors	- Shows how Western Harbor is presented to the international community/ visitors
The Creative dialogue for Flagghusen	City of Malmö 2011a Editors: Eva Dalman, Monika Månsson and Lotta Hansso	- Info regarding bo01, bo02 and bo03 but focus on the planning phase of Bo02 (Flagghusen)	- How does new planning strategy relate to adequate housing? - Details about individual building/ apartments - Details about different company and their contribution
Value based planning in Varvsstaden	City of Malmö 2011b	- Describes the subdistrict development of Varvsstaden in detail by highlighting its vision, values, stragies	- Gives inside into one of the development plans - Is adequate housing mentioned? If yes how?
Magazine: *Sustainable City Malmö*	City of Malmö 2011c	- Magazine published by the Malmö Citie's Planning Office. Report about Malmö and its efforts to become the most sustainable city worldwide	- Sustainable city in terms of what indicators? - What achievements are highlighted for the wider public?
The Creative Dialogue Concerning Flagghusen	City of Malmö 2009	- Information about Bo02 (Flagghusen) - Describes a new planning strategy to make apartments more accessible	- What stakeholders are included in the new planning dialogues? - What is the outcome of the new strategy?
Plans & Strategies for Western Harbor	City of Malmö 2008	- Information about plans and strategies	- Analysis of building/ planning methods - How is adequate housing mentioned in the report?

4.4   Ethics

A key ethical issue of academic research is its quality and transparency (Bryman 2016. p. 135). Poorly designed research is considered unethical because it may hide or disguise the truth (Bryman 2016. p. 136). To deliver highly transparent research, a major focus lays on having a research design that is coherent, internally valid, and ensures external validity. Therefore, it is clearly described in the method part what data is analyzed and what questions are considered throughout the analysis process.

More precisely, it is crucial to ensure the quality of the replicated data in the research. Therefore, the data is interpreted carefully to avoid misinterpretations (Vaus 2001. p. 83). All reports are read fully, in-depth and open-minded to reduce the risk of picking arguments randomly that match the researcher's expectations and believes. Moreover, official documents can be biased, thus, it is important to note that the credibility of such documents is not taken for granted. Indeed, all documents are read carefully and compared to other data and/or documents (Bryman 2016.p.553).

5   Analysis

The analysis is guided by the main research question: *How is the inclusive city narrative of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 regarding adequate housing mirrored in Malmö's waterfront development reports?* To answer the main research question, the analysis is divided into two parts. The first one provides an analytical discussion on *how adequate housing is framed in the development reports*. This is done by looking at the indicators *affordable housing* and *accessibility* that were identified in the theoretical framework. In the second part, it is analyzed as to how adequate housing in the reports relates to the accessibility to affordable housing for Malmö's inhabitants. This is done by examining the target group for the residential apartments as well as whether segregating and/or gentrifying processes can be identified based on the discourse in the reports. Therefore, the second part is divided into three subsections. The first subsection includes a discussion on whether Western Harbor has segregating characteristics. The second subsection analyzes for whom the newly built apartments are built for. Lastly, the third subsection consists of a discussion on whether Western Harbor has gentrifying indicators.

5.1   Adequate housing and how it is framed in the reports

5.1.1   *Affordable housing*

Affordable housing is mentioned only a few times in all analyzed reports, always in relation to Flagghusen or Fullriggaren (e.g. City of Malmö 2009 p. 1; City of Malmö 2015a p. 29). Here, the City of Malmö identifies how it views the different dimensions of sustainability throughout the planning process (City of Malmö 2015a p. 29):

- ▪ "High architectural quality.

- ▪ Social sustainability: focusing on flexible design of housing, safety and security, meeting places and housing designed carefully to allow residents to remain throughout all stages of life

- ▪ Economic sustainability: affordable housing by means of an efficient, careful process.

- ▪ Ecological sustainability: energy efficiency, moisture protection, phaseout of toxic substances, high biological quality and waste sorting close to the property."

Hence, the municipality relates affordable housing to economic sustainability. It is crucial to acknowledge that affordable housing stands as indicator for economic sustainability in the report. For clarity, this thesis uses the social sustainability dimension to look at affordable housing because it is not simply the affordability of the houses, but who and which social groups are welcomed in the area as tenants. Hence, economic sustainability in terms of the housing prices is an indicator, but it does not investigate for whom the area is built. Accordingly, affordable housing has both an economic and social dimension. Looking at the definition provided here, social sustainability is aimed to be enhanced through meeting places to foster social cohesion. However, Dempsey et al. (2011) argues that it also requires the integration of different socio-economic and cultural groups in a district through other means such as housing.

Moreover, in the reports regarding Flagghusen and Fullriggaren affordable housing is referred to by the term "reasonable prices" (City of Malmö 2009 p. 3; 2011a p. 12, 20, 32; 2015a). However, it is neither discussed in the reports what the municipality perceives to be affordable, nor what price regulations or limits are considered. Kappseglaren, the 4th development on municipal land, lack detailed information on how the planning phase was carried out and what the rent levels are. Yet, it is indicated that the planning process followed similar guidelines as it did for Flagghusen and Fullriggaren.

In contrast, there is no information given about adequate housing in the analyzed reports regarding Bo01, Dockan, Varvsstaden, Hamnporten, Universitetsholmen and Masthusen (City of Malmö 2008, 2012, 2015a). Instead, key aspects that are repeatedly mentioned are density, mixed-use, and green development. For instance, in a summary of the value program adopted for the development of the sub-districts in Western Harbor, the three dimensions of the sustainable development goal (economic, environmental and social) are listed as guidelines (City of Malmö 2015a). It does not include any aspect of adequate housing, but lays emphasis on transportation, greenery, and physical sub-areas.

5.1.2   Accessibility

This section highlights the themes found in the analysis that describe Western Harbor's accessibility. Accessibility is a reoccurring theme throughout the reports. It is mentioned in connection to public spaces that are mostly named "meeting places" in the reports (City of Malmö 2008 p. 7, 9; City of Malmö 2011a p. 5; City of Malmö 2015a e.g. p. 21, 25, 29, 33, 40). The City of Malmö draws attention to the variety of meeting places in Western Harbor and highlights their easy accessibility. Indeed, public spaces have become increasingly privatized in cities, thus, it is important to acknowledge the significance of the access to public spaces (e.g. Low and Smith 2006). Nevertheless, the City of Malmö promotes meeting places as key indicator for social sustainability in its reports. Besides the importance of public spaces in a city, it also stems an easy way to claim that the district is accessible for everyone. Claiming that the district is *for everyone* can be misleading if it is mistaken for the access to housing. In other words, public meeting places are crucial for urban life, however, it seems that they are used in the reports to claim that everyone can access the district, whereas this is only true for visitors but not for tenants. This is captured in the report *Västra Hamnen [Western Harbor]– Current urban Development* (2015a p. 9):

> "The aim for Västra Hamnen [Western Harbor] is for the district to be a place for all
> Malmö residents. The parks, the open spaces, the squares and the quays are designed
> to attract visitors from throughout the city."

Furthermore, it is mentioned to enable access to a "diverse range of Malmö residents" in the estates of Flagghusen, Fullriggaren and Kappseglaren to reduce segregation in Malmö (City of Malmö 2011 p. 7). However, the code *access to housing* does not reoccur as often as other key codes such as *climate smart building* or *meeting places.* For example, the word query run with NVivo shows that the word access or accessibility is mainly used in regard to green spaces. Only three times the word was applied to housing. Other relations were drawn between access to jobs, health care, and transportation. It has been least used in relation to housing.

In sum, the narrative of describing Western Harbor to be a place for all inhabitants is used throughout the reports focusing on public spaces instead of the housing environment. Hence it seems to rather be a place for a diverse range of visitors instead of tenants.

5.2   Western Harbor an inclusive city district?

5.2.1   Segregation

In two of the analyzed reports the City of Malmö acknowledges the challenge of housing and segregation (City of Malmö 2013, 2014). They claim to put effort towards fighting these challenges to achieve a sustainable city. Henceforth, the ambition to fight these challenges is captured on paper as well as in the

expansion of the planning department that focuses primarily on issues regarding social sustainability such as segregation, social cohesion and social capital (City of Malmö 2018a). Consequently, the City of Malmö (2014) claims, that through this change in the planning department more social justice will be achieved. Yet, as shown in the previous section, the largest focus in the reports regarding social sustainability is on meeting places. Little emphasis is given to the accessibility of different social-economic groups to the housing landscape in Western Harbor.

In addition, affordable housing is not represented in rent prices. Rent prices in Western Harbor are still higher than many other places in Malmö, this was clearly pointed out in the reports published about Flagghusen (Bo02) and Fullriggaren (Bo03), the presumably affordable building projects of the district. The City of Malmö is being transparent and aware of this outcome. Nevertheless, it is not clearly discussed why lower rent prices were not achieved, even though there was an emphasis on lowering the prices through many meetings called "the creative dialogue" (City of Malmö 2011 p. 9) or "positive discussion" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 23) organized by the City of Malmö "[t]ogether with 13 developers and committed citizens" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 23):

> "The objective was for the discussion itself – the dialogue – to lead to a finished detailed development plan for good, sustainable housing at reasonable prices in the residential area of Flagghusen. The idea was for the developers to benefit from each other's knowledge. By working together, they could develop new sustainable solutions and lower their production costs.".

A major achievement is that the new housing developments have about two thirds rental flats in contrast to Bo01 (the first development) which has mostly ownership apartments and flats at an annual price starting from 1600 SEK/m2 (City of Malmö 2011a). Though the share of rental flats has increased the average rent level for rental apartments in Bo02 and Bo03 is with 1400 SKR/m2 per year still higher than in other parts of Malmö (City of Malmö 2011a). Table 5.2.1.1 shows that the average rent prices per square meter per year are the highest in the north of Malmö, where Western Harbor is located. Even though this figure may be skewed through the high apartment prices in Bo01, the average annual rent per square meter of Flagghusen was aimed to be 1300SEK/m2 per year, however estimates suggest that the average rent prices are about 1400SEK/m2. Consequently Susanne Rikardsson, business development manager at MKB (Malmö's municipal housing company), highlights that:

> "It was an unprecedented initiative from the City of Malmö, together with the construction companies, to work towards a more cost-effective development of the area. It is in precisely this respect, that I don't think it lived up to its purpose entirely. The difference between Flagghusen and Bo01 was not as great as you might have imagined it could be." (City of Malmö 2011a p. 38)

Many inhabitants of Malmö do not have the possibility to rent or purchase costly climate smart/ environmentally friendly apartments because they do not have the financial means (City of Malmö 2013). This can have different reasons. For example, they have low levels of education, are deprived from (high-paying) jobs, or are marginalized due to their foreign or socio-economic background (Anderson 2014; City of Malmö 2013). Thus, the approach that the city is for the people that live in the city highlighted by the Delegation for Sustainable Cities (2013) is not represented in the new urban district Western Harbor. On the contrary, high rent prices marginalize the socio-economically deprived even further. Hence, one can draw the conclusion that people with less financial capital would not have the freedom to choose to live in the north (Western Harbor). Consequently, it is confounding that the City of Malmö (2015a p. 9) claims that "[Western Harbor] is Malmö's most obvious symbol of sustainable urban development." This statement diminishes the reasons and facts pointing against it such as the lack of adequate housing.

Table 5.2.1.1 Average rent in rented dwelling by districts, rental data and year 2016 – 2018
(Statistics Sweden 2018)

	2016	2017	2018
Inner City			
Annual ren per square meter	1189	1217	1252
North			
Annual ren per square meter	1307	1312	1353
South			
Annual ren per square meter	1075	1078	1102
West			
Annual ren per square meter	1159	1196	1273
East			
Annual ren per square meter	964	976	1043
TOTAL MALMÖ			
Annual ren per square meter	1173	1194	1248

In sum, there are three housing developments (Flagghusen, Fullriggaren and Kappseglaren), that have the objective to be affordable, yet, their aim has not been met yet. In regard to the other sub-district such as Bo01, Dockan, Varvsstaden, Hamnporten, and Universitetsholmen, no indication on the affordability of housing is given in the reports. However, as the rent prices of apartments at Flagghusen and Fullriggaren are already above the average rent in Malmö, one can expect the rent prices for the other district to be similar or higher.

5.2.2   *For whom/ who is the target group?*

Looking at the target group of Western Harbor's inhabitants, it is important to mention the different housing types and their aims. Thus, in this section each individual housing development is analyzed based on their target group.

5.2.2.1   *Bo01*

Bo01 was the first development in Wester Harbor with a large proportion of ownership houses and high rents with an annual price starting from 1600SEK/m2/year. Bo01 was part of a housing exhibition and has won several international awards (City of Malmö 2011a; 2015a). The housing prices indicate that this housing complex was mainly built for the people with relatively high income. Additionally, the City of Malmö emphasizes this by writing that "people that moved into Bo01 where pioneers of their time" (City of Malmö 2011c p. 9). Pioneers is a word commonly used when talking about gentrification (e.g. Smith 1986; Blasius, J., Friedrichs, J., and Rühl, H., 2016). It refers to people that can afford to choose apartments with a high standard or in an expensive area regardless of the price. Hence, applying this word to describe the people that moved to Bo01 indicates who lives at Bo01 as well as who the developers want to sell/rent the apartments to.

Moreover, in the guide of the Western Harbor (City of Malmö 2012 p. 0) it is claimed that "Bo01 is very popular among Malmö's inhabitants [because on] any given warm summer day, approximately 15 000 people visit the area." This is a stark claim because it paints the image that all of Malmö's inhabitants appreciate the development in Western Harbor including marginalized and deprived people in Malmö without providing in-depth evidence. This creates an image as if everyone is enjoying the new district, without considering if everyone feels welcome and comfortable there or has the chance to rent an apartment.

Hence, Bo01 is branded as inclusive and welcoming district, trying to convince the public that Malmö is working against segregation. At the same time the City of Malmö deprives people of their voices by not providing evidence to how they perceive the new district.

5.2.2.2   *Flagghusen (Bo02), Fullriggaren (Bo03) and Kappseglaren (Bo04)– towards adequate housing?*

Bo01 has received criticism for its exclusive nature (City of Malmö 2015a; Dalman, E. and Sandstedt, E., 2005). Therefore, the planning department of the City of Malmö created a space for developers, "citizens" and the municipality itself to meet in a "creative dialogue" before and during the planning phase of the next constructions Bo02, Bo03 and Bo04, to ensure that certain aspects such as housing prices, quality of buildings and energy efficiency are negotiated beforehand (City of Malmö 2009 p. 1; 2011a p. 8; 2015a p. 23). Yet, it is not stated who was involved and how people were engaged in such

discussions. Nevertheless, the term "committed citizens" was mentioned to describe the people that took part in the discussions (City of Malmö 2015a, p. 23). Both words are value loaded. Considering participatory planning theory, it is crucial to engage all types of inhabitants of a place in planning process and discussions, including the disadvantaged, by making events more accessible (Fainstein 2000). A citizen can be defined as an individual with a legal and permanent right to stay in a country or place (Oxford Dictionaries, 2019). Moreover, the word *committed* expresses the notion that only the ones that put effort in attending the meetings participated in these meetings. Hence, these power structures allow only limited access for marginalized people. Therefore, voices of the disadvantaged and marginalized were most likely not heard. This relates back to theory of social equity and how exclusionary practices trigger social inequity (Dempsey et al. 2011; Fainstein 2000). Further research is needed to take up the discussion of who took part in the *creative dialogue* and what effort was put into engaging Malmö's inhabitants.

Yet, it is acknowledged that "sustainability is also about social values, such as building homes and neighborhoods that are accessible to people with disabilities, or to provide a mix of forms of tenancy that allow people with different backgrounds to live there" (City of Malmö 2011a p. 7). Henceforth, to make Western Harbor more accessible Flagghusen, Fullriggaren and Kappseglaren were planned and built with a social value plan in mind that was discussed and negotiated in the *creative dialogue*. Certainly, cooperation amongst stakeholders is crucial to achieve the best outcome (see Fainstein 2000). In contrast to the first development Bo01, the new strategy resulted in a larger share of rental apartments. Flagghusen has 62% of the 626 flats as rental flats, in Fullriggaren 85% of 630 are rental flats and in Kappseglaren 70% of 320 are rental flats with the remainder as tenant-owner or owner-occupied flats (City of Malmö 2015a).

Correspondingly, the City of Malmö (2011a) claims that the large share of rental flats with a range of rent levels will increase the diversity of tenants in terms of socio-economic background. Accordingly, Flagghusen is being promoted as having "become a versatile area that contributes to the city's diversity" (City of Malmö 2011a p. 21). Diversity is an ambiguous term. The reports (City of Malmö 2009, 2011a) indicate that it refers to diversity in terms of people that visit meeting places, as well as, tenants. Although, the increased share of rental flats is a positive result of the negotiations with the stakeholders and can be considered a step towards more adequate housing, rent prices are still relatively high as the analysis 5.2.1 shows. In other words, tenant diversity is limited to people that can afford the relatively high rent prices.

Furthermore, developers and the City of Malmö use certain terminologies to describe the residents currently living or are going to live at Flagghusen and Fullriggaren, for instance, "for the most environmentally aware" (City of Malmö 2013 p. 16) or "for those who want the type of living that is both

comfortable and as climate smart as possible" (City of Malmö 2015b p. 7). This indicates that the developers are looking for a certain type of people to move into the apartments. Henceforth, people that can afford it have the privilege to choose living a more privileged lifestyle in apartments that are claimed to be environmentally friendly. Thus, the overall aim stated in the reports is to be inclusive. Yet, the underlying aims of each developer seem to be more exclusive than inclusive.

Regarding Kappseglaren it was not possible to collect much information regarding the development through the reports. It seems to follow the same scheme as B02 and Bo03 by having 70 % of the flats as rental apartments (City of Malmö 2015a). Yet, there are no explicit details mentioned regarding the rent prices and for whom it is accessible.

5.2.2.3   Dockan and *Varvsstaden - the innovative districts*

In this section, first Dockan and then Varvsstaden are shortly presented. Secondly, the codes and themes that emerged are discussed. Lastly, key themes that emerged about other sub-districts in Western Harbor.

Dockan is divided into Västra Dockan and Södra Dockan. Västra Dockan contains Kockums old industrial halls that are going to be renovated and will contain homes and offices (City of Malmö 2015a). Södra Dockan is going to be the regional administration center with about 500 work places. In Dockan Skånes Dansteater (*eng* Scania's Dancetheater) is located which is according to the report "a popular meeting place and an elite center in the region" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 21). Moreover, the following code highlights the vision for Dockan and explains why it is considered "one of Malmö's most sought-after areas for offices and homes" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 27):

> "The vision is to create the world's most innovative business environment, the most attractive, most modern workplaces and a strong community of businesses, institutions and employees. All in an inspirational, attractive urban environment that promotes innovation, development, interaction and economic growth." (City of Malmö 2015a p. 20)

The land of Varvsstaden is owned by Annehem/Peab, a private company, in contrast to Bo01, B02, Bo02 and Dockan, where the City of Malmö owns the land (City of Malmö 2015a). They plan to build a mixed-use area with 1,500 homes, 5,000 jobs, preschools, a primary and lower secondary school. Similar to Dockan, "the common goal is that Varvsstaden should be an attractive area with a clear identity in sustainable and innovative urban development" (City of Malmö 2011b p. 0). Based on this goal, the City of Malmö has developed a flexible value plan that "specifies a general structure and prioritized values, such as an emphasis on quality and sustainability" (City of Malmö 2011b p. p. 1).

First, the objective seems to be to increase the attractiveness and high competition in these areas, indicating a high demand for tenancies (City of Malmö 2009; City of Malmö 2011b; 2015a). There is

nothing written regarding the housing prices or any regulation put in place to make it accessible for the broader public. However, both areas are described to be under high demand which commonly leads to high prices if housing is a market commodity (Larsen and Lund Hansen 2016; Harvey 2007). Housing has been historically seen as use value instead of exchange value. However, in the past five decades Sweden has undergone political and legislative changes leading to a housing situation that is more market than value based (Larsen and Lund Hansen 2016)

Second, Dockan and Varvsstaden are both portrayed as sustainable and innovative developments. The codes outlined above emphasize the conformity with the neoliberal approach that is based on the idea that innovation and economic growth are crucial for urban development (Peck et al. 2009). Correspondingly, Florida (2002) states that increasing the attractiveness of a place will pull knowledge workers, intellectuals and artists (i.e. creative class) to the district, which will trigger economic growth since they are key actors in a knowledge-based society. However, critics contest Florida's arguments and argue that it triggers socio-economic polarization within the city and displacement of marginalized groups (e.g. Catungal et al. 2008; Harvey 2007). The latter can be observed in the reports.

Other areas in Western Harbor such as Hamnenporten, Citadellsfogen, Masthusen, Universitetsholmen, Galeonen and Gängtappen are not discussed in detail in the reports, especially not in regard to rent prices and affordability. Furthermore, some developments are also not finished yet (e.g. Galeonen and Gängtappen). The narrative of mixed-use developments is generally the same among all subdistrict developments (City of Malmö 2015a). For instance, the key objective for Unviersitetsholmen is to create a lively university area that includes homes and shops. Moreover, Masthusen is the central district for food and other stores but also contains housing and other commercial characteristics. Hamnenporten is being restructured from a business area to a mixed-use area. The aim of this area is also to create an "experience rich" and "lively" district (City of Malmö 2015a p. 43). Thus, due to the different plans Malmö has divided these subdistricts in separate plans while Bo02, Bo03, and Bo04 follow a directive that is more focused on building housing at affordable (or reasonable) prices.

5.2.2.4   *Comparing the cases*

Looking at the area size of each subdistrict in Western Harbor, Flagghusen (4ha), Fullriggaren (4.5ha), and Kappseglaren (2.5ha) are in comparison to other areas much smaller (Table 5.2.2.1). Bo01, for instance, takes up 22ha, Dockan 11ha, and Varvsstaden 19ha. Thus, areas that are created with the incentive to build apartments at *reasonable prices* are given less space than areas that did not show any indicator for adequate housing. This can be seen more visually on figure 5.2.2.1 that is included in the report *The creative dialogue' for Flagghusen* (City of Malmö 2011a).
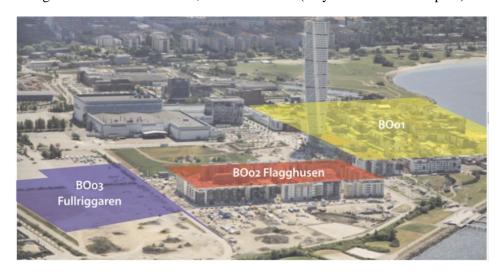
Table 5.2.2.1 Area size of subdistricts in Western Harbor (*adapted from* City of Malmö 2018a p. 2)

Areas		1 ha = 10.000 m2
Malmö		16 024 ha
Western Harbor incl. water areas		187 ha
Of which	Bo01 (incl. Turning Torso)	22 ha
	Dockan	11 ha
	Flagghusen	4 ha
	Universitetsholmen	21, 5ha
	Fullriggaren	4,5 ha
	Kappseglaren	2,5 ha
	Varvsstaden	19 ha
	Masthusen	10 ha

Moreover, room numbers and sizes of apartments are only mentioned in relation to three housing developments with most of them consisting of two to three room apartments (City of Malmö 2011a). This is based on Swedish standards for living and family sizes i.e. families with one or two children and no generational living (Dalman and Sandstedt 2005 p. 76). Already in Bo01 it was criticized that the apartments do not offer room for larger families and family structures that are more common in other cultures (Dalman and Sandstedt 2005 p. 76). In other words, there is no emphasis given to other living structures in the reports.

In addition, other types of living arrangements that are more resource efficient than individual or single-family apartments such as co-housing are barely mentioned (Järvensivu et al. 2018). Clearly the technology used in the buildings, car sharing initiatives, and the use of renewable energy supply are one step into the right direction (City of Malmö 2011a). Nevertheless, keeping up our resource-use, for example, by everyone having their own apartment, will in the long run be less sustainable (Järvensivu et al. 2018).

Figure 5.2.2.1 Area of Bo01, Bo02 and Bo03 (City of Malmö 2011a p.19)

5.2.3   Gentrification

One of the main reoccurring themes in the reports is *competition*. The previous analytical section suggests that the narrative of competition is represented throughout the reports. This relates to the legislative changes in the past quarter decade that determine that housing prices are based on market instead of use value (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016; Farahani and Clark 2016; Lund Hansen et al.2015)

The codes derived from the analysis such as *attractive area, most-sought after area, competition, innovative district, pioneers, people that want to live environmentally aware* (see previous section) are considered to be indicators for new-build gentrification. Henceforth, the following section evaluates whether the reports indicate new-build gentrification in Western Harbor based on the four pillars of Davidson and Lees' (2005 p. 1170) definition: "(1) reinvestment of capital; (2) social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups."

First, the analysis shows that reinvestment of capital took place by the construction of buildings with new technologies to achieve environmental sustainability as well as investments in cultural activities, events and job opportunities (table 5.2.3.1). Cultural activities are mainly focused around outdoor meeting places such as playgrounds, with the emphasis to be open for everyone.

Table 5.2.3.1 Examples of codes

Cultural activities	"The Salt & brygga restaurant takes sustainability seriously. It is the most sustainable and energy efficient restaurant in Sweden and it focuses on organic and locally produced food" (City of Malmö 2012 p. 22). "playgrounds" (e.g. City of Malmö 2015a p. 21, 44), "meeting places" (e.g. City of Malmö 2015a p. 21, 24, 33), "parks and green zones" (City of Malmö 2012 p.7) "Its parks, squares, meeting places and wharfs will be designed to attract people from the whole city" (City of Malmö 2008 p. 7). "Another important meeting place is Skånes Dansteater, which has been developed into a popular meeting place and an elite centre in the region" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 21).
Jobs	"The location of one of the city's two innovation areas, with MINC (Malmö Inkubator), Cleantech City, SVT (Swedish Television) and MECK (Media Evolution City) as examples of innovative and creative industries" (City of Malmö 2015a p. 19) "Hightech, knowledge intensive service companies have moved in and the old shipyard area has become Malmö's new centre for IT companies." (City of Malmö 2015a p. 19)

- "The vision is to create the world's most innovative business environment, the most attractive, most modern workplaces and a strong community of businesses, institutions and employees." (City of Malmö 2015a p. 20).
- "[t]oday, more people are working in this area than during the glory days of the wharf" (City of Malmö 2012 p. 4)

Second, the rent comparison in section 5.2.1 shows that even though efforts were put into building rental apartments at *reasonable prices,* the average rent levels are still higher than in other districts of Malmö. As prices are based on market-value, they are *reasonable* in relation to the location and standard. Thus, a tenant landscape is created that is not only available to high-income groups, but also middle-income groups at Fullriggaren and Flagghusen. Yet, it is indicated in the Flagghusen report that as a middle-income earner, one would need to cut back on other expenses such as vacations because of the relatively high rent prices (City of Malmö, 2011a). Thus, apartments in Bo02, Bo03 and Bo04 are easily accessible to high-income groups, accessible to middle income groups with drawbacks, and most likely not accessible to low-income groups. In regard to other subdistricts, no concrete conclusions can be drawn as no rent indications are provided in the reports. However, as the theme of competition is recognized throughout the reports and any indication of adequate housing is missing, it is probable that housing prices are higher than at Bo02, Bo03 and Bo04. (Hedin et al. 2012). Third, the landscape has changed drastically from an industrial site to a mixed-used district. Fourth, people were not directly misplaced, but indirectly pushed into areas with lower rents (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). Taking into consideration all four indicators, it can be contemplated that a gentrifying process is taken place in Western Harbor.

6   Conclusion and Discussion

This section discusses the findings in relation to the main research question " How is the inclusive city narrative of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 regarding adequate housing mirrored in Malmö's waterfront development reports?" by referring back to the theoretical framework and previous literature. The following discussion of the sub-questions of this thesis allows to draw conclusions for the main RQ stated above. First, it is discussed how adequate housing is framed in the municipal reports. Then a discussion follows on the discourse of adequate housing in the reports relates to the accessibility to affordable housing for Malmö's inhabitants. Both discussions are based on the theoretical framework outlined above, with the key themes of segregation and gentrification within a neoliberal environment as well as social justice and equity in terms of affordability of and accessibility to housing through a critical realist perspective. Finally, this chapter presents concluding remarks as well as suggestion for future research.

6.1   How is adequate housing framed?

The first sub-question investigated how adequate housing is framed in Western Harbor's planning reports. As defined in the theory section of this thesis, adequate housing is understood as the access to affordable housing. This definition derives from the SDG 11. Despite the emphasis on tackling segregation in Malmö (City of Malmö 2013), affordable housing has only been mentioned a few times in the reports. Indeed, key themes found in the reports are related to bringing people together through meeting places instead of housing. In contrast to other subdistrict developments, Flagghusen and Fullriggaren had the sole emphasis on making housing more accessible to people of a diverse range of backgrounds. Though, affordable housing was mentioned as an indicator for economic sustainability, it was not indicated how it was measured or achieved. In fact, instead of defining affordable housing further, it was replaced with the words *reasonable price* at market-value. Jones (2017) argues that inclusive waterfront regeneration strategies have become more common in recent years after the rise of segregation and gentrification in many cities. Nevertheless, it is demonstrated that sometimes the initial objectives of planning strategies are not achieved (Morena 2011 quoted Timu 2013 p. 174).

Furthermore, accessibility has been mentioned mainly in connection to public spaces (or *meeting places*). Yet, it was barely referred to accessibility in relation to housing. This is in line with previous studies that suggest that a key emphasis for waterfront redevelopments lays on creating accessible public meeting spaces to enhance the cultural life in the city, however, at the same time the accessibility to housing falls behind indicating a gentrifying nature in the district (Jones 2017).

6.2   Western Harbor - an inclusive housing landscape?

6.2.1   Western Harbor for all?

The findings suggest that the residential target group depends on the sub-district within Western Harbor. Regarding Bo01, Dockan and Varvsstaden, the reports did not show any indicators for making housing affordable and accessible for a broader range of Malmö's inhabitants. For instance, Dockan was advertised as being the "most-sought after area" indicating a high demand, which most likely relates to high housing prices as housing is based on market-value (City of Malmö 2015a p. 27). Moreover, all three sub-districts were promoted as *attractive, sustainable* and *innovative*, thus correlating with the neoliberal marketing strategy presented in the theoretical framework and previous literature (Leitner et al 2006 p.4, Peck et al. 2009, Boland 2013). There was no rent indication being made, nor regulations put forward in the reports to provide affordable housing. Geographical spatial analysis would have been beneficial to add to the lack of information in the reports regarding housing prices and household income. Yet, considering previous studies such as Boland (2013) one can draw a preliminary conclusion. Boland (2013) argues that these marketing approaches aim to make the city more competitive and

consequently commercialize urban life which impacts negatively on social equity in the city. Henceforth, only high-income groups can afford to move in or are being welcomed.

To compensate for the costly apartments Flagghusen (Bo02), Fullriggaren (Bo03) and Kappseglaren (Bo04) were built to create more affordable apartments. Yet, the size of the land of these housing developments is small in comparison to the other subdistricts in Western Harbor. Despite many meetings with different stakeholders aiming to build apartments that are accessible to people of different backgrounds, the analysis shows that the ones that are targeted by the developers are the ones that are considered to be the "most environmentally aware" (City of Malmö 2013 p. 16) and that want to live "both comfortable and as climate smart as possible" (City of Malmö 2015b p. 7). This indicates that the developers are looking for "responsibilised citizens" that have sufficient financial means (Boland et al. 2017 p. 6).

Furthermore, having meetings with different stakeholders in the planning phase correlates with recommendations of previous literature for planning sustainable waterfronts (e.g. Fainstein 2000). Although inhabitants were involved in the planning phase, it was not presented how many inhabitants were engaged and how they were made accessible to the wider public. The only indications given in the reports was that *committed citizens* participated. However, as previous literature suggests it is crucial to reach out to as many people of different backgrounds as possible, specifically to marginalized groups (Dempsey et al. 2011; Fainstein 2000). Respectively, the City of Malmö should be more transparent about the planning process, stakeholder involvement and power structures in place (Fainstein 2000). Further research is needed to draw a full conclusion on who participated in the planning dialogues.

In addition, the Delegation for Sustainable Cities of Sweden encourages municipalities to plan for the people living in the city. Even though the City of Malmö's willingness of wanting to eliminate segregation and isolation, the new district in Malmö is still promoted or branded as if it is built for people part of the *knowledge society* (Florida 2002). This is in line with previous research indicating that waterfront developments are aiming at "the construction of sanitized spaces offering quality of life in a safe and attractive environment" (Boland et al. 2017 p. 6), as well as encourage neoliberal exclusionary power structures by focusing the discourse around competition instead of social values (Wyly 2018). In other words, though everyone is welcomed as visitor, the area is mainly created for people that have the privilege to choose how they want to live.

Overall, when it comes to constructions on municipality owned land, there has been a shift from focus on ecological sustainable technology resulting in high rent prices (Bo01) to a more holistic approach that is carried out through dialogues with various stakeholders (Bo02, Bo03, Bo04 and future developments). Thus, for only three out of sixteen sub-districts attention was drawn to create housing for people of diverse backgrounds by having a large share of tenant flats and apartments at relatively

affordable prices. Though prices decreased in comparison to Bo01, access is still limited by rent prices that are higher than average rents in other parts of Malmö.

6.2.2   *Western Harbor and gentrification*

The CDA of this study indicates that all characteristic of new-build gentrification suggested by Davidson and Lees (2005) namely reinvestments of capital, social upgrading of local by incoming high-income groups, landscape change, and direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups can be found in Western Harbor. This is in line with Hedin et al.'s (2012) analysis of gentrification in Swedens's three largest cities (Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö). In their analysis Western Harbor was not included yet, however, they concluded that areas close to the sea experiences super-gentrification and ordinary gentrification in more central areas. This study confirms that Western Harbor is experiencing gentrification even though the municipality claims to work against it by constructing housing that is accessible to a greater range of people of different backgrounds. Yet, affordability measures are only applied on few housing constructions and even here the objectives are not met as rents are higher than the average rent in Malmö. This may be because the prices are based on market value and not on use-value. Hence, housing prices are seen in relation to the location and standard.

Moreover, the findings show that the baseline of sustainable development in the context of Western Harbor is competition. The idea is that competition among urban areas fosters the development of better solutions and urban environments in the long run. This line of thought relates to neoliberal theory, which is according to many critical scholars the cause of segregation and local and global inequalities (Harvey 2007, Lund-Hansen et al. 2015; Farahani and Clark 2016). In that regard, it is not much different compared to other waterfront developments. Accordingly, critics of the Sustainable Development Goals also point out that these are biased by neoliberal policy, hence try to solve global and local problems with what has caused it (Liverman 2018; Sultana 2018). Hence, knowing that Sweden and Malmö have acknowledged the SDGs, it is not surprising that the Delegation's ideological thinking is based on their (neoliberal) principles.

Despite criticism, SDG 11 lays out clear principles that are required for a city to be inclusive. One of these principles is adequate housing that is accessible and affordable. Many scholars, critical scholars as well as the urban planning offices such as Malmö's City Planning Office stand behind these principles (e.g. City of Malmö 2011a; 2013; Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2013; Dempsey et al. 2011; Farahani and Clark 2016; Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2016; Lund-Hansen et al.2015). It is the implementation strategies where views differ. The UN and cities like Malmö base their good objectives on neoliberal reasoning (City of Malmö 2015; SDGs 2015). However, critical scholars argue that the market-based approach hinders the realization of building an inclusive city where marginalized people have the free-dom to access affordable housing (e.g. Farahani and Clark 2016; Hedin et al. 2012; Liverman 2018;

Milner and Madigan 2001; Sultana 2018; Wyly 2018). This thesis showed that the City of Malmö has good intentions, yet the neoliberal principles visible in the reports as well as having housing as a commodity hamper the accomplishment of achieving adequate housing in the waterfront.

In conclusion, the positive attempts to make Western Harbor more inclusive have so far not been achieved yet. Neoliberal principles constrain the achievement of an inclusive city. Hence, Western Harbor remains a district built for the financially well-off. Accordingly, a link can be drawn to new-build gentrification through "exclusionary displacement" (Marcuse 1985 p.205)

6.3   Concluding remarks

This thesis applied a SDG 11 macro-narrative that unfolded in the research aim of investigating the discourse of adequate housing in the case of Malmö's waterfront development Western Harbor. Moreover, the aim was investigated through two dimensions. Firstly, it was examined how the City of Malmö frames and reflects upon adequate housing, a concept derived from the SDG 11 *Sustainable Cities and Communities,* in its waterfront development reports. Secondary, the study explored how the discourse of adequate housing relates to the target group of the residential apartments and new-build gentrification in Western Harbor, Malmö.

The findings suggest that adequate housing is not discussed enough in the urban waterfront development reports of Western Harbor. Despite, the main slogan claiming that Western Harbor is a district for all, the results indicate that this statement mainly relates to the accessibility of the district through public spaces (i.e. meeting places).

Moreover, previous failure in providing accessible housing in Bo01 for a wider range of people was aimed to be improved through a more cooperative planning strategy in further constructions. However, the results show minimal improvements in new housing developments, such as, Flagghusen and Fullriggaren.

This research demonstrates that the adaptation of the sustainable development goals in urban planning policies have had minimal impact on the access to affordable housing. It relates to findings of previous research, namely that planning departments embrace more inclusive planning strategies with good objectives, yet, the outcome differs and deprives people from the common good due to financial constraints.

 A qualitative approach made it possible to look closely at what lays behind the discourse of sustainable waterfront developments in Sweden and indicates that even though the aims and objectives taken up by the municipality point towards social concerns such as segregation and adequate housing, the implementation strategies have not been successful so far. This study argues that a neoliberal market-based approach hinders the succession of creating a less segregated city. Instead, a link can be drawn to

new-build gentrification.

6.4   Future Research

The following section provides a list of topics suggested for future research. First, the data only consisted of English reports on the Western Harbor. Thus, future research should examine how adequate housing is represent in Swedish reports to identify whether there is a dichotomy between the English and Swedish reports. Second, as a drawback of this study was the lack of geographical data, future research should provide an analysis of geographical data to investigate the actual outcome of the Western Harbor waterfront development in terms of housing rents and household incomes. Third, adequate housing was only looked at from two out of seven indicators suggested by the UN, thus further research is necessary to identify if housing in Western Harbor could be considered adequate based on further indicators (SDG 11 Synthesis Report 2018). Fourth, the bottom-up perspective of a waterfront experience is crucial to understanding the impact and outcome in the new district, as well as, in the overall city. Hence, further research should focus on the perspective of Malmö's inhabitants. Fifth, the analysis of the development reports did not clearly identify the strategies for inhabitants' involvement in planning meetings. Hence, research should look at, how inhabitants were involved in the planning process of Western Harbor and who attended planning meetings.

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