Disguised Vacancy
exploring urban second home dwelling in Stockholm
and London

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Abstract


The aim of the thesis is to comparatively analyse the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in cities with a housing shortage. Due to the limited exploration of the phenomenon, the methods used to research urban second home dwelling are inspired by constructivist grounded theory. The study has been conducted through two case studies in Stockholm and London during the spring of 2015. Stockholm, which is this study’s main case, contains in-depth interviews and a small-scale analysis of Gamla Stan based on telephone interviews with 28 participants. The case of London is based on a ten-days field study with in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis. Questions of interrelations, experience and consequences, place-specific use and practice have been explored through using theories of dwelling and Urry’s concepts of consuming places and cultural desire (1995). The results from the collected research emphasises a theoretical discussion of privilege actors doing urban second home dwelling. The dwelling practices are bound to place-specific desires and urban second home dwellers become enhancers by accentuating the present processes in the city whilst disguising the under-occupation of housing.

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Contents

Introduction 5
   Aim and research questions 6
   Limitations 7
   Disposition 7

Chapter I. Literature background 8
   The definition of an (urban) second home 8
   Second homes as an elite phenomenon for the affluent and privileged 9
   Contested spaces 11

Chapter II. Theoretical framework 13
   Dwelling 13
   Consuming place 16
   Cultural desire 18

Chapter III. Method and Methodology 21
   The cases: Stockholm and London 22
   The case of Stockholm 23
   The case of London 28
   Processing the empirical findings from Stockholm and London 30
   A captured slice of a phenomenon: reliability, validity and generalisations 32

Chapter IV. Shaping interrelations through urban second dwelling 33
   Stockholm 33
   London 38
   Interrelated affluence and the global status in Stockholm and London 40

Chapter V. Urban second home dwelling manifested spatially, socially and temporally 43
   Stockholm 43
   London 47
   Place-specific desires: mutuality and difference in Stockholm and London 51

Chapter VI. Spatial impacts and experiences in the neighbourhood 53
   Stockholm 53
   London 56
   Co-existed difference of experience and impacts in Stockholm
and London 61

Chapter VII. Conclusion and discussion 63
Urban second home dwelling is always a leaving of things 66

Bibliography 68

Appendices 77
Introduction

The attention to urban second homes is argued to be relevant in the sense of cities are altering and becoming more of a transnational nature where temporal-occupancy of homes is not only to be found in the rural, but also in contemporary cities (Bar-Sinai 2007:3). Little attention has been given to the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in the social sciences. That is, people who has access, own and live their life through multiple dwellings, but are leaving the housing in the city unoccupied for most part of the year. People with second home ownership have always existed and has been investigated in many disciplines such as tourism and leisure, geography, planning, architecture and housing studies (for example Gallent et al 2005, Paris 2008, Paris 2011, Ellingsen & Hidle 2013, Xiao Di 2009, Hilde et al 2010, Huang & Yi 2010, Müller 2013, Módenes & López-Colás 2006, Overvåg 2009, Hall & Müller 2004, Coppock 1977, Gallent 2007, McIntyre et al 2006, Periänen 2006, Gustafsson 2006, Marjavaara 2008, Wu et al 2015). But most of the second home literature is focusing on the second homes location on the rural sites, countryside and the coastal landscapes, thus has most consequences, potential benefits, and experiences been examined in aforementioned contexts.

Regarding the two cities Stockholm and London subjected to comparative analysis in this thesis, London is one of the very few cities has been investigated academically (Paris 2011, Bar-Sinai 2009). So far, there has not been any comprehensive research on urban second home dwelling in Stockholm. Two studies strongly suggest that the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling is not only apparent in Stockholm, but also an increasing phenomenon through the growing numbers of dwellings without folkbokföring in Stockholm (Bergenstråhle & Palmstierna 2015) and the processes of supergentrification identified dwellings with absent dwellers and under-occupation in the neighbourhood Järnlodet and its surroundings in Östermalm (Lilja 2011: 170). Bar-Sinai refers to the statistics over urban second homes in London that it is an enlarging and emerging phenomenon in contemporary cities. The phenomenon brings consequences and challenges the city’s vitality, and calls for a revision of the role and use of housing in the cities with globalisation processes (Bar-Sinai 2009: 8). More research on the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling can help shaping policies for a social just and resourceful use of the housing stock in times of a growing housing shortage in our cities.

Paris stresses the importance of affluence in the growth of second homes in the UK (2011). In geography, little has been addressed to the rich and how they impact geography (Hay 2013, Beaverstock 2004). Hay speculated on this lack of interest on the rich, stating “there is perhaps a misguided sense among geographers” that focusing in the rich and their life-style is more or less insignificant. Instead, there is an idea that “as serious scientists”, we should devote our attention to more serious topics such as social justice, cultural and economic issues “that command social intervention” (2013:1). But, these arguments ignore the fact that these groups of privilege and wealth are having an impact on geography and the social, cultural and economic life occurring in space. As growing disparities between the rich and the poor, and an increasing numbers and wealth of the super-rich, their behaviour on places, spaces and environments require some
investigation and attention to understand the possible consequences in our cities (Hay 2013:1). I claim as Hay (2013) and Beaverstock et al (2004), that ignoring these facts and powerful actors on geography and the global economy is to ignore potential valuable insight to our institutions, practices and cultural and social values of our society, and only presents a partial view of the consequences of global capitalism (Hay 2013: 1, Beaverstock et al 2004: 402). Second homes have been regarded as “luxury goods, the preserve of affluent households and property developers”, and can be analysed as household preferences and lifestyle consumption strategies (Paris 2011: 23-25). The present consumption strategies illustrate dissimilar capacities to buy and use housing creating an outcome where one's household choices can affect other people's opportunities and choices how to dwell in the city (Paris 2011: 25). The focus on urban second home dwelling in cities with a severe housing shortage stresses a need to address the question of the dissimilar opportunities in the housing market. In which some people are privileged to live a voluntarily mobile life between multiple dwellings, whilst others are left with no other option to involuntarily temporally dwell from housing to housing. The cry for more housing in Stockholm and London whilst many dwellings are left unoccupied for longer periods of time calls, as Bar-Sinai suggests, a reconsideration of how we distribute and use housing in cities today, and how housing policy and planning can transform to endeavour a more social just and sustainable city.

Following Soja's seeking for spatial justice, I will address the profound unquestioned spatial privilege and advantage in cities (2010: 84) among the urban second home dwellers by coupling an analysis of theories of dwelling, consumption of place and desire, in hope to bring new insights and understandings how beneficiaries of privilege and global capitalism in relation to housing shortage in contemporary western cities are using space and impacting our cities and intervene the work for sustainable and just cities.

**Aim and research questions**

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in cities with a housing shortage. Inspired by constructivist grounded theory the thesis use collected empirical material to examine similarities and dissimilarities of the dwelling practices with an attention to usage of space, experience and consequences. The additional aim is to contribute to an academic understanding of the research field by using a comparative analysis of Stockholm and London. Three research questions have been constructed in order to provide orientation and support in the so far very un-researched area:

1. Which interrelationships are shaped by urban second home dwelling and who are the dwellers?
2. How is spaced used, desired and consumed through the choice of conducting urban second home dwelling at place-specific locations?
3. How is the neighbourhood/city area influenced by urban second home dwelling, and what potential consequences and experiences are emerged from the dwelling?

The research questions are addressed with comparative analyses based on fieldwork in
the two cities, consisting of 18 interviews, 28 telephone interviews, observation, documentation analysis and photography.

**Limitations**

The comparative study is limited to a comparison of urban second home dwelling situated in the Northern Europe geographical, political, social, cultural and economic context in cities experiencing a housing shortage. The gathered data subjected for analysis was conducted in the spring of 2015 with a field trip to London lasting for 10 days in March 2015, and a continuous and interactive research process in Stockholm between February – May 2015. The theories chosen to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon of urban second homes are the phenomenological concept of dwelling, and Urry’s notions of consuming place and cultural desire (1995). This thesis will not consider theories of migration, life-course and mobility which otherwise are very popular theories to use in the discourse of second homes.

**Disposition**

*Chapter I* sets out to outline relevant discourses in the second home literature through a literature background. It starts with a discussion in explaining the difficulty in defining an (urban) second home and how we can understand the potential general components in the definition, followed with the discussion of related discourses.

*Chapter II* contains the theoretical foundation of the thesis. The exploration of theories related to urban second home dwelling are; dwelling, consuming place and cultural desires.

*Chapter III* presents the methodological journey inspired from constructivist grounded theory using a mixed method approach, in the attempt of unfolding the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in Stockholm and London. The different methods used in each case, the ethical implications, and the processing of the material are discussed.

The next three chapters present the results combined with a theoretical analysis and comparative discussion. *Chapter IV* discusses results and a mapping of who the urban second home dwellers are and how interrelations are shaped through the connection between the multiple homes. *Chapter V* provides a theoretical analysis of how space is used by the consumption of place-specific desires from the empirical findings. *Chapter VI* is focusing on the experiences and consequences of urban second home dwelling in the neighbourhood.

*Chapter VII* consists of the conclusion and discussion of doing urban second home dwelling. The discussion presents concluding insights and gathered reflections from the results and analyses emphasising the need of revising the organising of housing.
Chapter I. Literature background

In this chapter I will outline and discuss the different overlapping and interconnected research discourses in the second home literature of relevance for this thesis, beginning with an attempt to clarify a definition of a second home. Second home literature stretches over many disciplines, but is mostly found in tourism and leisure studies, rural, and geography. The interest in second homes has changed over the decades. In the classical book Second homes: Curse or Blessing? Edited by Coppock in 1977, discussed roots, patterns and cause of the widespread. The interest did not flourish again until the 1990s; which McIntyre identifies to the relation of its widespread growth throughout the world (2006).

The definition of an (urban) second home

The main characteristic in the discourse in defining a second homes is the difficulty to actually defining such a place. Goodall describes the research situation as suffering from “inconsistent terminology” (1987: 138). The inconsistency is based on the lack of a distinct class of accommodation, and comprises “an arbitrarily defined continuum variously differentiated on the basis of occupancy, ownership, function and the character of the dwelling” (McIntyre 2006:9). Although the complexity and the inconsistency in defining second homes, there are some common characteristics that can be traced in the field. One dominant trait in the efforts of defining second homes is the aspect of time spent in the dwelling. Time is mainly described as temporal, occasional, seasonal and part-time (Marjavaara 2008, Paris 2008, Bar-Sinai 2009, Hilde & Elingesen 2013).

A second feature of second home is its character and meaning defined by its relationship to another home and place (Marjavaara 2008, Coppock 1977a, Birch 2006, Pyne 1973, Pardoe 1974, Gallent et al 2005). The relationship between two different places is referred by Coppock as “dynamic” and “changing”, which is argued as the core in the difficulty in identifying a second home academically (1977b: 294). The relationship portrays a hierarchy between two or multiplied dwellings by the owner. The hierarchy illustrates in the owner’s choice to spend time somewhere else, presumably at the primary home (Marjavaara 2008: 7-8). The second home is further described as “not usual or permanent place of residence” and “not used as the normal residence” and being alternative (Pyne 1973: 3, Pardoe 1974: 8). There is also a critique towards the effort in trying to define multiple homes as “first” or “second”, and by analysing the second home it come to challenge the dualistic relationship (Overvåg 2009). Halfacree is challenging this distinction of homes and arguing that second home owners can be seen as “counterurbanizers” (2008). Together with other kinds of counterurbanization, it can be recognised as a vital part of the continuously changing urban-rural relationships (Overvåg 2009: 162). The dynamic character of the relationship by Coppock, is closely akin to how the dwelling is used and for what purpose (1977: 294). As a further matter, the categorisation of the dwelling as “secondary” can possibly be related to the usage for leisure, recreation, tourism, holiday, and consumption strategies (Marjavaara 2008, Gallent et al 2005, Paris 2008, Wu et al 2013, Müller 2013). The latter ranging from
capital accumulation, council tax avoidance and to become a place to live in when retired (Paris 2008, Birch 2006, Gallent et al 2005).

The conceptualisation of a second home has also been discussed based on the dwelling’s location (Marjavaara 2008, Hilde & Ellingsen 2013, Wu et al 2013, Müller 2013). This is particularly the case in the Scandinavian and Nordic context of second homes which is mostly analysed from a rural geographical point. Second homes positioned as rural has been proved incomplete as a consequence from the revelations in Bar-Sinai’s article and master thesis about urban second homes in London and Jerusalem (2009, 2007), and Paris exploration of urban second homes in London and their different purposes (2011). Many urban second homes found in London were and are still frequently in posh areas and nearby the financial heart of London, indicating that urban second homes are not necessarily for recreational and leisure, moving away from the dominating discourse for second homes (Bar Sinai 2009: 9-10). Another vital notion, is how second homes are “disguised by ownership, they carry an illusory effect of occupancy, yet actually remain empty for the majority of the time” (Bar-Sinai 2009: 12). The absenteeism and the aspect of temporal occupation presents a situation of definitional difficulties. A characteristic shared by the many different second home researchers (Gallent et al 2005, Marjavaara 2008, Paris 2008, 2011, Coppock 1977a, Bar-Sinai 2009, Wu et al 2013, Goodall 1987, McIntyre et al 2006, Williams & Hall 2000). This fluidity and inconsistency of second homes over time and geographical boundaries imply the relevance of researching the particularities of second homes in places within their specific political, cultural, social and economic framework and institutions. Specifically, the limited exploration of the existence of urban second homes in cities.

Second homes as an elite phenomenon for the affluent and privileged

The history of second homes consists of a repeated narrative of affluent elites having multiple homes in different locations. Wealthy people in ancient Rome owned country villas next to the capital, the tsars in Russia had their winter palaces and the British aristocracy owned multiple dwellings in the country and in the city for hundreds of years (Marjavaara 2008: 1, Paris 2011: 28). The aspect of affluence is considered as one of the factors behind the growth of second homes worldwide (Paris 2011, McIntyre 2006). The need of privilege and affluence to multiple dwell raises the questions of whom has the opportunity to do second home dwelling. The aspect of wealth and maintain multiple homes represents a privileged lifestyle, regarded as restricted to a small part of the world’s population (Gustafsson 2006: 31).

Much literature on second homes discuss multiple dwelling often in terms of as voluntarily and coupled with life-style choices (McIntyre et al 2006). The life-style discourse and the general discourse in second home literature have an emphasis on positive aspects such as holidays, escape, community, sense of place, finding oneself and the interaction of leisure and fulfilling work. Perkins & Thorns criticise second home researchers, stating that they conceal the strong connection between social class and economic privilege inherent in second-home ownership. The identity project to 'escape
for home' in engaging in 'meaningful work' is something that relatively few can have afford
to participate in. They also argue that the literature does not 'display the range of critical
and multidisciplinary perspectives found in the primary home literature' (2006: 77). A
bit of the discussion points out that there are numbers of people who are not enabled
to multiple dwell or are forced to involuntarily temporally dwell in places as a
consequence of political instability, war, famine, natural disaster or lack of economic
opportunity (McIntyre et al 2006: 322).

This view on whom can be a multiple dweller can be criticized because of its
predominantly analytical eye from a perspective outside Scandinavia in the western
world. The different contexts between Sweden and UK are based on the difference in
the quantity of space, speed of urbanisation and demographical numbers. In Sweden, it
has been easier to acquire a second home in the rural areas compared to UK and other
countries in mainland, due to a having access to more space, late urbanisation and lower
population numbers (Marjavaara 2008:46). In contrast to the UK context, second homes
are not perceived as an “elite phenomenon” in Sweden because of the striking high
number of around half of the population having a second home. It can better be
described as a “national movement” than a benefit for the few (Marjavaara 2008: 46). In
Sweden, there are also cases of second home owners that may have “involuntarily”
inherited a second home in the country side or rural site, and instead of being an
improvement for quality of life, it causes feelings of being stuck (Lundmark & Marjavaara
2013).

Mobility is another popular discourse in the investigation of second homes in terms of
the positivistic idea that we are living in an increasingly mobile society, as a result of
The idea of us becoming more mobile has been subjected to criticism, and share little
with the recent ‘mobility turn’ in social sciences in the efforts of tracing the power
discourses of mobility, stressing the importance of individuals’ differentiated mobility as
forced and voluntarily (Shelley 2011: 2). Second home mobility, as much as it can be
conceptualised as connecting different places, it can simultaneously blur and isolate the
borders between places (Hilde et al 2010: 152, Massey 2007). The mobility of second
home owners can “reinforce the relative immobility of others” (Massey 2007). Additionally,
in the so-called mobile world there is a reliability in having “mobility capital”, reflecting
what Castells calls a dominant ‘space of flows’ and a subordinated ‘space of places’, bringing a situation where ‘elites are cosmopolitan, people are local’
(Castells 1996: 415), second home owners seen as the mobile visitors, while the locals
are the immobile to be visited. The mobility capital is unequally distributed and highlights
one’s social position in the number of dimensions such as – gender, class, age, ethnicity
and nationality (Gustafsson 2006: 28). The mobile society is also about a person’s degree
of mobility (Bauman 1998: 86). The degree of being able to choose where to go, where
to stay and develop emotional ties to places (Gustafsson 2006:29). Again, the mobile
society and increasing second home mobility enabling leisure and tourism activities at
different distances and places can be seen as limited for some in the world.

Further, second homes are used as utensils for growing affluence, purchased as an
investment in terms of potential capital gain and asset accumulation, particularly found
in the UK (Paris 2011: 30, Gallent et al 2005). The investment factor is especially evident
in affluent overseas buyers purchasing luxury homes in economic hot-spots, such as in central West London. The transnational second homes are also an indication for a globalisation of housing and property markets (Paris 2011: 60, 139). Second homes in cities reinforces that leisure second home markets overlap seamlessly with housing markets (Paris 2008: 300). The aspect of overlapping in housing markets is noted by Sassen, describing that “the centre of New York, areas in London and Frankfurt property prices are more connected with each other than the domestic housing market it become an international and global housing market with a global affluence group” (2012: 10).

The multiple dwellings of the global affluent elite are composed by actors and people Sklair defines as the “transnational capitalist class” (TCC), people from many parts of the world operating at a global level as a part of their working and every-day life (2006: 24). The people composing the TCC are categorised into four fractions. First fraction is the corporate fraction, people who own and/or control the major transnational corporations and their local affiliates. Secondly, there is the state fraction, referring to the globalising politicians and bureaucrats. The technical fraction consists of globalising professionals and the consumerist fraction of merchants and media (2010: 141). The financial workers have gained a particular status through their jobs and high salaries, changing the wealth in the city, becoming important players in the ownership of space through housing (Sassen 2012). Places, with the new restructuring globalised capitalism (Harvey 1989, Sklair 2006, 2010, Sassen 2012) are indicating how important strategically cities become for people with wealth or with the desire of becoming affluent.

The different locations of the numerous dwellings hold by the transnational capitalist class, have also been conceptualised as shaping a global “imagined community”, a “virtual country” (Frank 2007: 8). In this “virtual country” for the TCC, a global web of affluent members, are circulating to many different shared places, where they come to share their own “culture of shared wealth”, indicating a similar life-style and choice of possession, and geographical locations (Hay 2013: 8, Frank 2007: 3). In Bar Sinai’s research about second homes in the city, states that “given the cost of maintaining an expensive yet mostly vacant property in a city, it is assumed that at least some of the occupiers of urban second homes are amongst an emerging world elite” (2007: 8). What is more, the argued desired aspect in getting away from the urban and returning to nature through second home dwelling (Müller and Hall 2004, Perkins & Thorns 2006) is challenged because of the manifestation of consuming specific desired natural and built environment related to lifestyle in the urban milieu have also been found in the study about urban second homes in Jerusalem (Bar-Sinai 2007). In the end, whom can be a second home dwellers depend on the local context, but affluence and privilege are vital aspects to include in the analysis, especially regarding urban second homes in cities such as Stockholm and London with very high housing prices.

**Contested spaces**

Primary and second home literature have for the most part been conducted in isolation from each other. As a result, from this separation, second home literature has a remarkably lack of critique towards the positive inclinations of leisure and meaningful experience, in contrast to studies of the primary home, that has been subjected to
rigorous critique and discourses such as class, race and gender (Perkins & Thorns 2006, McIntyre et al 2006: 16). Second homes signify a "shared but separate" space, which has undergone analyses of different impacts (Williams & Hall 2000: 19-20). The analysed "shared but separate" spaces assert various social, environmental and economic consequences of the widespread of second homes in rural locations.

One of the consequences with a widespread of second homes in planning is the lack of available land for different desired uses (Ooverṉg 2009: 155). In Sweden during the 1960-70s, second home developments triggered concerns over possible disruption of recreational opportunities for other tourist groups, limiting the public access or damaging the environments causing loss of natural habitats and less access to fresh water (Gallent et al 2005: 111). The potential cause of environmental and eco-social costs and damages are recurring issues of second homes (Müller 2013: 275, Hiltunen, Pitkärinen, Vepsäläinen and Hall 2013, Persson 2015) Social impacts recognised with the growth of second homes are the decrease of social capital (Hidle et al 2013), increased housing prices in the local housing market, first time buyers being "priced out from the countryside", gentrification processes and conflicts among 'locals' and 'outsiders' (Paris 2008: 297), segregated residential spaces and limited interaction and social network building between local residents and second home dwellers (Wu et al 2013: 136, 149).

However, the idea of second homes as a curse has been contested. For instance, Paris (2008) and Hall & Muller (2004) declare that many studies have recorded benefits for local economies as a consequence of the growth of second homes. Second home dwellers contribute to local tax revenues, economic development, consume few municipal services and constitute element of demand for tourism and leisure services (Paris 2008, Ooverṉg 2009). Marjavaara's studies of second home ownership in the Stockholm archipelago addressed the question of conflicted space but did not find any evidence confirming the common perception of second homes as the root of displacement of local inhabitants (2007a, 2007b, 2009). The impacts of second homes on places and locals are contested, diverse and changing over time. Hence, such relationships must be conceptualized as webs or networks of interaction, frequently changing over time, rather being conceptualized in terms of simple and unchanging binary oppositions (Paris 2008: 298). Notably, in the discussion of negative and positive connotations of the impact of second homes is that their existence is not the root for causing the impacts, but rather tend to accentuate the already on-going processes in the specific context (Hall & Muller 2004, Coppock 1977b, Gallent et al 2005, Paris 2008). Nevertheless, the criticism raised by Perkins & Thorns (2006) is indeed legitimated since much of the aforementioned second home literature have a narrow analytical lens in the choice of discourses and geographies of investigation.
Chapter II: Theoretical framework

To use and reflect with theory can help to reduce the complexity of the world, and theoretical conceptualisation can highlight selected significant aspects with detailed descriptions (Gibson & Hartman 2014: 2). In accordance to the “compromised openness” in constructivist grounded theory, I have read a vast amount of literature to see how different aspects emerging from the analysis of the gathered data can relate to existing theories and concepts.

From the interactive process in reading, analysing and collecting material I have selected three theoretical concepts that I found useful in producing a rich description and further understanding of urban second home dwelling. The theoretical concepts are dwelling, and Urry’s notions of consuming place and cultural desire (1995). Recently, there is an emerging inclination to use the concept of dwelling as a theoretical analytical tool. For instance, in a special issue of the journal Cultural Studies from May 2016, the concept of dwelling is emphasised with the combination of theories of (im)mobility. This thesis follows the recent call of dwelling, but instead of theoretically think with mobility, I am using the concepts in consuming place and cultural desire to investigate the details in urban second home dwelling at spaces, not in movement.

Dwelling

From the analysis of the gathered data it became explicit that urban second homes are spaces of a particular way of inhabiting, doing and using space. The notion of humans inhabiting space has been discussed phenomenologically by the philosopher Heidegger, especially through the influential concept of dwelling. Dwelling, for Heidegger, is not confined to a single unit of a physical building or to merely occupy a house. It encompasses “the manner in which we humans are on earth” (1971:145-6 original emphasis), how we live our life and relating to the world. The other point of Heidegger’s phenomenological argument in the concept of dwelling, is that we do not only dwell, but the core of being human on the earth is to dwell, and therefore, we are dwellers. The argument by Heidegger is based on a linguistic analysis in which the word dwell is affiliated to the word be. When Heidegger states: “I dwell, you dwell”, it is the same as “I am, you are” (1971: 146). As Gauthier discusses, Heidegger’s concept of dwelling can be interpreted as rather abstract, but insist that dwelling to Heidegger is not accomplished abstractly, but in our concrete relationship with things, as Heidegger firmly says: “dwelling is always a staying with things” (Gauthier 2011: 88, Heidegger 1971:149). Gauthier draws the conclusion from Heidegger’s phrase that most mortals stay with things through buildings.

Influenced by Heidegger, anthropologist Ingold developed the dwelling perspective. In the conceptualisation of the dwelling perspective Ingold uses Heidegger’s phrase “Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build”, to further explain the relationship between dwelling and building (1971: 160, 2000:186). Dwelling, which essentially is about staying with things (Heidegger 1971: 149), and “the incorporation into a regular pattern of life” (Ingold 2000: 153), involve active and practical engagement within people's
surroundings, whether it is imagination or physically. The envisioning of buildings can only happen because humans dwell therein and think the thoughts they do (Ingold 2000: 186). The human settlement on earth and the manner of how they inhabit in the world is therefore an activity both in mind and practical use of the environment. We come to think of the space we inhabit and the way we use space, because of how we dwell therein.

Norbert-Schulz also discussed the concept of dwelling and identified how dwelling brings “belonging and participation” as having a linkage between the private and the public (King 2004: 22-23). Dwelling identifies the individual with the community, use the place as a point of reference. The linking between the private and public is stressed as to be a part of place, to seek refuge, to be oneself and simultaneously to be part of spaces, where human interaction take place a “collective dwelling”. The “collective dwelling” is the political, social and cultural institutions (King 2004:23). Together, all authors stress a sort of engagement in dwelling; Heidegger with “staying with things”, Ingold “the incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity” and Norbert-Schulz in how dwelling brings “belonging and participation”. To do dwelling and to be a dweller, means participation and engagement with things, but also with other people and spaces, as Norbert-Schulz stresses with the private and public domain in the dwelling concept. Furthermore, it highlights the emphasis of the relational nature of dwelling, as a starting point for how people become engaged in society and construct relations, socially and materially (Brun 2016: 427).

In academic literature, the concept of dwelling has been used to investigate the home. For instance, King (2004), Rose (2012) and Shelley (2014), elaborate on the dwelling as a subjective experience. The importance in exploring the dwelling experience is that it is not only a mere possession, the dwelling experience reveal relations to employment, family, leisure and the community at large. It also relates to notions of identity, security and the significance of place (King 2000: 20). The analysis of the dwelling experience can provide an understanding how we connect to the earth and utilizes the resources because “the ways we dwell in our residential homes have consequences, for the earth and for our relationship with the world around us” (Shelley 2014: 686). But the research on home using the concept of dwelling is particularly place-bound and is restricted to one home. Ellingesen & Hilde argue that Heidegger’s concept of dwelling implies an assumption of being confined to one location, the sedentary, stable, authentic, safe and a correlation of a lifestyle and place (2013: 254). Sociologist Urry (2000) and some second home authors such as Gallent (2007), McIntyre (2006), Gustafsson (2006), and Williams and Van Patten (2006), use the concept of dwelling by criticising the view on dwelling as something static coupled with a single perception of place. Instead, they argue that dwelling should be conceptualised as many different forms of dwelling in the contemporary world. Influenced by Heidegger, Gallent (2007) reflects upon the process as a process, stressing the fluidity and change in the act of dwelling (Paris 2008: 305), explaining dwelling as a notion of engagement with others through interaction (Gallent 2007: 97). The aspect of interaction is further integrated with the concept in viewing it as a verb, where interaction is not only committed with human subjects but also with the environment surrounding us (Urry 2000: 138). Essentially, being and doing is dwelling, and consists of many expressions and forms. Then second home ownership, Gallent eloquently explains, is one expression of dwelling (2007: 103), in which the way of dwelling illustrates the use of space in what dwellers do and are.
Except Gallent's contribution in using the concept of dwelling in examining the subject of second homes (2007), the concept of dwelling has been examined in the volume *Multiple dwelling and tourism* (McIntyre et al 2006), and recently highlighted in a special edition of the journal *Cultural Studies* (2016). McIntyre et al has a different focus on the concept of dwelling in the book, in which they come to understand multiple dwelling as the interplay of place and mobility in striving to maintain a sense of security and tradition in a mobile world (McIntyre 2006: 6). In *Multiple dwelling and tourism* is focusing on a discussion how broader processes influence on the development of multiple dwelling as *life-style choices*, by using the multiple dwelling as a lens through which to examine how "people are managing the increasing complexity of modern living" (McIntyre 2006: 13-14). “The increasing complexity of modern living” refers to multiple dwelling with a multi-centred lifestyle where work, home and play are separated in time and place, and meanings and identity are structured around several places (McIntyre et al 2006: 314).

In a sense, *multiple dwellers* are hyper-modern, where functions of an everyday life have increasingly further distances between each other. In the special edition of the journal *Cultural Studies*, dwelling has undergone an analysis characterised by the mobility turn in recent social sciences (see Shelley 2011, Urry 2007), in the efforts in trying to add new understanding to temporal dwelling by stressing the existing power relations and contestations of mobility and dwelling that are embedded in the broader transformation of society with its spatial inequality in being voluntarily or involuntarily mobile (Meier & Frank 2016: 362, Brun 2016). The special issue reveals how a phenomenological conceptualisation of dwelling underline the actual material experience and proximity to people and persons and how dwelling is becoming more multi-sited (Meier & Frank 2016: 368, 366).

The multiple dwelling is further seen as a triad of 'home', 'place', and 'identity' and as a privileged form of existence (McIntyre et al 2006: 313). The understanding of multiple dwelling as shaping one's identity is expressed by Periänen in how the place of the summer cottage in the Finnish Forest become an everyday phenomenon and carries cultural importance in constructing the Finnish identity (2006: 103). The idea of identity in the triad of multiple dwelling developed by McIntyre et al (2006) relates to Heidegger's concept of humans as dwellers and being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1971). Consequently, one's identity is shaped through how we do dwelling and are dwellers. The triad of multiple dwelling is also, inspired by Urry's idea of dwellingness “conjured up” with contemporary processes (2000: 133), for instance with global process, that McIntyre argues is becoming an increasingly widespread phenomenon (2006: 8). These global processes explored in the volume *Multiple dwelling and tourism* possess a limited analytic eye on the many different forms of multiple dwelling presented in the book by the authors. Having an analytic framework based on the rural sites in the western world, the volume has overlooked the different expressions of multiple dwelling in the urban landscape (cityscape). McIntyre et al's conclusions in the volume have therefore only interpreted in how globalisation and other social processes are conjured up and the desire to dwell in multiple places at the rural geographies (2006: 322). There is also a lack of questioning who the privilege ones are, partaking in the argued increased phenomenon of multiple dwelling.

The expression of urban second home dwelling, in which represents one of the many
different forms of second home dwelling and multiple dwelling, has in general been limited researched, and in particularly with the concept of dwelling. The concept of dwelling is immensely compelling in analysing urban second homes in providing a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon. I have created the terminology of urban second home dwelling, in order to highlight the phenomenon of under-occupied housings in cities with a housing shortage but simultaneously to contribute with a concept to understand the relationality of this type of multi-sited dwelling conjured up with both global and local processes prevailing in the place-specific locations in Stockholm and London. The theory of dwelling will work as the core theoretical framework using the other two theoretical concepts in this thesis: consuming place and the production of cultural desire to analyse the localities of the place-specific dwelling practices in the cities.

**Consuming places**

Previous second home literature has shown that second homes can be part of particular consumption strategies, used for different purposes and to fulfill a desire for certain lifestyles (Paris 2011, Gallent et al 2005). I have chosen to use theoretical concepts from the book *Consuming Places* by the sociologist Urry (1995), who is often cited and used in tourism and leisure studies in exploring what happens to places being consumed and the impact the objectification of place causes (Miles & Miles 2004: 66). Urry is normally used for his concepts and theories of mobility in the investigations of second homes. This thesis is not focusing on the aspect of mobilities and the movement between places, instead the focus will lay on the place-specific use and spatial location, and the desire to dwell in these places. Therefore, I find the concepts in *Consuming places* more suitable as it engages with the social relations of place and its consumption.

*Consuming Place* by Urry is concerned with the diversity of place, engaging with the sociologies of time and space, how it relates between the social and the physical environment, and “the interdependencies between the consumption of material objects and of the natural built environment” (1995: 1). The concept of Consuming places consists of four statements. The first idea is that “places are increasingly being restructured as centres for consumption, as producing the context within which goods and services are composed, evaluated, purchased and used” (Urry 1995: 1, my emphasis). Urry is not alone with the idea that places become centres for consumption. Harvey has also noticed this “consumption” of and in places by describing a paradox in current capitalist conditions. The less spatial barriers seem to play a significant role, the more important it become for places to be differentiated to attract investors, tourists and employers through the competition and promotion between places in order to accumulate capital (1989: 295-296). Urry is not only interested in the reconstruction of place for consumption as a tool for accumulate capital, but view consumption as social, cultural, and that place is not given (1995: 131).

Urry claims there is a social aspect in group consumption (1995), and the opportunity to consume is even regarded by Saunders to be more significant in determining social relations than class (1981). Although Castells oppose the idea of consumption as a “culture”, he sees the spatial practices of consumption in cities is realised according to certain ideological content, determined by the relations of production (1977: 454-455).
There are different ideological economic models that are founded in the idea of reconstructing place according to certain way to consume in order to attract desired groups of people, who are believed to be the drivers for economic development. The creative class thesis coined by Florida involves producing “quality of places” to appeal to the consumption preferences of the creative class, in which Florida has defined as the accumulators of growth (Florida 2002, Grodach 2013: 1749). The ideological content in how to develop places for the consumption choices of the creative class has influenced many cities to use creative city agenda as place-marketing tools that privilege the needs and desires of particular groups (Grodach 2013: 1747).

In Northern Europe, Aspen claims that in urban development and design the notion of “the creative city” is a popular path in building the future city which are contributing to very similar and homogenous places (2013: 182). In this homogenisation of future urban milieus and consumption through the discourse on “the creative city” which stresses the importance of culture in urban planning, is suitable to the idea of “zombie concepts”. Aspen explains Zombie concepts, as an inspiration of sociologist Beck, are used but no longer suit the actual world the concepts meant to explain. Zombie concepts are then “living dead”, alive in our minds and vocabulary we use, but not practical in presenting understandings of the reality we live in and want to improve (Apsen 2013: 184). Aspen describes that the zombie concepts prevailing in the discourses of urban development can appear differently, but tend to have a similar content. That is, in striving for the same sort of “future city”. Arguing, that creators of the new developments in the city ignore that cities have different historical trajectories (Aspen 2013: 184). The vital substance in the argument is how the reconstruction of urban consumption in development of new places and housing are prevailed by a homogenous idea of how people should and want to consume places and in places.

The composition of goods and services to be consumed for particular groups leads to the second dimension of Consuming places by Urry, in how places are being consumed visually by the provision of the different consumer services for locals and visitors in the place. The aspect of visual consumption of places in the city has, as Zukin explains, “become a spectacle, a dreamscape of visual consumption” (1992: 221). This visual consumption is further illustrated by Urry, in the category of places as “places to die for”, such as global icons people want to see before they die and “people make the journey and their eyes feast upon that place of the imagination” (2004: 206).

The notion of places being consumed visually by Urry has been targeted for critique in tourism studies. Rakic & Chambers criticise the thesis on place consumption that it is occularcentric (2011: 1612). The critique towards the concept of consuming places is raised from the performance turn in tourism studies (see Haldrup & Larsen 2010). Based on a phenomenological perspective it is claimed that consumption of place is multisensory, and corporeal and active, not only visual and representations of space (Rakic & Chambers 2011: 1613). The dominated visual aspect in Urry’s work is also regarded as an interesting insight in how the use of photography in consuming tourist places reconstructs particular places according to generalised pre-constructed category of place (Miles & Miles 2004: 70). The idea of partaking in generalised ideas through a collective social construction is often referred by Urry as a tourist gaze. The concept

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1 This shortcoming in Urry’s theory is complemented with the phenomenological concept of dwelling.
involves how the objectification of place in shaping consumption through the acts of taking a photo, by the purchased meal and the hotel room (Urry 1995, Miles & Miles 2004).

The third component is that places can be literally consumed. It stresses what is seen as significant or “special” about a place, such as buildings, literature, environment and history is over time through the use exhausted, depleted and devoured. Urry exemplifies how literal consumption is changing places related to the idea of reconstructing places as centre for postmodern consumption, is that the ‘dreamscapes’ as Zukin defines them as, can pose significant problems for people’s identities which has historically been developed on place, on where people come from or have move to. Places such as Covent Garden in London, are simulated for consumption. They are no longer places people come from, or live in, or which provide a sense of social identity (Urry 1995: 21). Places, reconstructed as centres for consumption, become depleted, exhausted in use. At the same time, Urry acknowledges that some places of consumption only exist because of the visitors. That the very place itself with its particular combination of landscape could only exist because of visitors (1995: 166).

The last fourth claim is very much related with the aforementioned and is uttering the possibilities “for localities to consume one’s identity so that such places become almost literally all-consuming” (Urry 1995: 2). This all-consuming of places in relation to one’s identity is true for both locals and visitors, depending on the context which can take form in multiple “local enthusiasms, social and political movements, preservation societies, repeat travel patterns” (Urry 1995: 2). If places are becoming depleted, devoured and exhausted in using the spectacular about a place that people are no longer attached or coming from these places, the all-consuming feature indicate in how consumption is not only a characteristic for places visually and the life occurring, but come to be major factor in determining of the nature of that life, that is the people in places (Miles & Miles 2004: 3). Literally all-consuming come to define us and our identities, and how we experience and come to feel a sense of belonging to places. The next theoretical concept cultural desire is derived from Consuming places by Urry as well, that consists of different factors to help analysing consumption of place.

**Cultural desire**

Urban second home dwelling consists of desire. How they want to live their life from constructed images socially and culturally. The involvement with a range of desires is analysed from the concept of “cultural desire” by Urry. In the development of “cultural desire” there are four factors that are addressed by Urry that needs to be taken into account when analysing consumption of places. Three of them is applicable to the understanding of the urban second home and the different locations of them. The first one is about availability of site and sights, through certain developments in transport and refreshments². These developments are depended on new forms of capital and

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² Urry also mentions accommodation as enable visits to places. In the case for urban second home dwelling it can involve more than visiting. Therefore, the transport and refreshment aspects are more of relevance than accommodation.
organisation condensed to a specific spatial location. The second factor, is appropriate aesthetic in the architecture and landscape. The third, is the particular cultural emphasis diffused in significant parts of the society which weights the desirability of specific kinds of leisure activity (Urry 1995: 213).

The concept of cultural desire by Urry has mostly been employed from a tourist perspective. One second home researcher, Paris, has engaged with the concept and develops the notion of ‘cultural desire’, people's wish, in this situation, “to visit an interesting city” and having this desire for particular kinds of townscapes or landscapes. The difference with urban second homes and the tourist activity is that is not only about a visit, but an actual purchase of space in order to be part of the “cultural desire” and experience the place to die for. The purchase of second homes at particular spatial locations to “consume” certain urban geographies or countryside is seen by Paris as a process of “cultural production”. Places can be created, changed and “consumed” by the second home dwellers, tourists and leisure users to fulfil their idealised and nostalgic vision of the places. Often by offering certain services and goods that match to the idea of the second home place. The “cultural production” is then consumed by the purchase of an urban second home. The “cultural desire” and the processes of “cultural production” is interesting to understand the reasons to visit, and in this case, to occasionally live in a place (Urry 1995: 213, Paris 2011: 31).

In terms of urban second homes, “leisure activity” can also be associated with specific social life, everyday life and activities. The idea and process of “cultural desire” in relation to housing as a form of “cultural consumption” in the Stockholm context is accentuated in Elisabeth Lilja’s research about segregation and gentrification in three different neighbourhoods in Stockholm. Insights from the research is how housing has become an emblem for a particular lifestyle, and how it has turned into investing in an urban lifestyle or cultural consumption as a part of the city's symbolic economy. The urban lifestyle and the urban values, Lilja remarks, are experiences characterised by visiting restaurants, cafes, theatres, shopping at a convenient distance from the home. Lilja declares in accordance to Zukin, that this form of urban life primarily attracts highly educated social groups (Lilja 2011:170-171, Zukin 1987). The consumption of identity and all-consuming of places for both the locals and for visitors are highly apparent in Lilja’s study. Essentially, Lilja argues that the lifestyle in the neighbourhood shall comply with one’s own. It is through the consumption that in turn reproduces one's own belonging to the neighbourhood as much with the individual's own lifestyle (Lilja 2011: 171-172).

The critique that has been raised towards Zukin’s claims of what desires that draw middle-class or/and the highly-educated into specific old parts of the city is Zukin’s limited critique of capital's manipulation of desire. Not desire itself (Caufield 1989: 621). The reasoning in Caufield’s discussion about gentrification and desire is that gentrification is not always affection to the old city or its organic structure, but can also be an expression of wanting to escape routines. People do not desire the old city places but the freedom the places may possibly contain. Therefore, Caufield argues that the desire needs to be both understood materially and socially in places (1989: 624 – 625). In the end it is essential to stress in accordance with King, there is no necessity of equality in (cultural) desire. Not based from the perspective of desire in imagination and subjectivity, but as in political relation, the (in)equality of desire is defined by the
possibility of fulfilment (2004: 124). That is, the development of cultural desire and the process of cultural production are restricted for many, as with the personal fulfilment in the phenomenon of second home dwelling. The concept of cultural desire will be used in elaborating what specifically is desired in the place-specific location of an urban second home.
Chapter III. Method and Methodology

In this chapter, methods, methodologies and the research process of investigating urban second home dwelling will be discussed thoroughly. The methods have been used to examine how space is used, consumed and desired by urban second home dwelling and what experience and impacts it may bring to the neighbourhoods and city areas. Stockholm, the main case of this thesis, has until this present day not been subjected to any comprehensive research on urban second home dwelling, but there are studies of alluding evidence indicating the phenomenon is not only alive but also increasing. In the a report from Hyresgästforeningen ‘Hur bor man i Stockholm’ (How do one live in Stockholm), an analysis based on the statistics from SCB:s housing register illustrates an increase of missing national registration, from 8.4 per cent in 1990 to 11.5 per cent in 2013/2014, (Bergenstråhle & Palmstierna 2015: 13). The statistics highlight a tendency with a greater presence of dwellings missing folkbokföring in the inner-city with a total of 16.3 per cent in contrast to 7.9 per cent in “ytterstaden” (Bergenstråhle & Palmstierna 2015: 99-100). Bergenstråhle & Palmstierna state that up to present there is no in-depth research about how the dwellings without national registration is being used, and they can only depict “supposable reasons” about their usage (Bergenstråhle & Palmstierna 2015: 57). Furthermore, Lilja discovered in the research on segregation in three neighbourhoods in Stockholm’s inner-city, that the neighbourhood Järnlodet and its surroundings, located in Östermalm is subjected to a new increasing tendency were newly bought dwellings are not dwelled in regularly. Instead, they are standing empty most of the year (2011). The common advice in unfolding a new subject matter, such as the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling, is to use a range of various methods (Ritchie & Ormsten 2014: 42). Therefore, a mixed method approach has been chosen as a suitable research strategy for my objective of investigation.

The mixed method approach is foremost based on a range of qualitative methods inspired by constructivist grounded theory to explore the main issues of the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling: experience, place, and research questions concerned with 'how' and 'what' (Denzin & Lincoln 2011: 3). Constructivist grounded theory belongs to grounded theory methods which traits consists of “systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data” (Charmaz 2006: 3). I have particularly used the interactive nature and compromised openness in constructivist grounded theory, by reading literature before entering the field of study to collect multiple material. Thereafter, analysing and coding the material, writing memos, and to then go back to the field to collect more data to strengthen the significant categories and theoretical concepts grounded in the data (Charmaz 2006, Gibson & Hartman 2014: 48). Constructivist grounded theory have helped me selecting from my ideas that I had, and how to unfold the thesis subject of urban second home dwelling by gathering an extensive amount of rich data to shape an interpretative and explanatory understanding to the subject (Charmaz 2000: 514).

In the process of researching urban second home dwelling in Stockholm and London, several ideas were tried in collecting grounded material. The ideas and interviews of
investigating the category of airbnb\(^3\) users as urban second home dwellers and urban second home dwelling among the ownership housing in a block of flats in Stockholm have been discarded in the definitive analysis as they were not as suitable and grounded compared to the information collected form the cooperative housing members in Gamla Stan. Hence, the research is focusing on predominantly cooperative housing members as urban second home dwellers and a few rental housing tenants located in the inner-city of Stockholm. In the London case, the research is limited to people having knowledge about urban second homes and second hand resources regarding consequences and experiences of urban second home dwelling due to the difficulty in arranging interviews with absent urban second home dwellers in London. In total, 14 out of 18 interviews are used in the analysis together with 28 telephone interviews in Gamla Stan, and 2 e-mail correspondence, which represent the ground for the empirical material in this thesis.

**The cases: Stockholm and London**

Most studies in the subject of second homes are single cases (Bar Sinai 2007, 2009, Paris 2011). In this thesis, the main case is Stockholm, and London is used for comparative purposes. The advantage in a comparative research is that I can identify various existences in how urban second home dwelling as a crossing-border phenomenon manifest itself in different contextual localities (Ritchie & Ormsten 2014: 31, Bryman 2012: 72). Stockholm and London offer both similarities and dissimilarities in providing an in-depth and detailed understanding of the existence of urban second home dwelling, and to grasp how processes of societal changes and globalisation cross national and local borders and places. Both cities are geographically situated in North Europe and are each nation-states capital. The capitals are embracing much of the work force in each nation-state, having the component of being mono-centric regions. The cities are also used in the discourse of ‘World City’ and ‘Global City’ which is reflected in the planning documents (Vision 2030 2007, GLA 2014).

Other shared features are the cities roles as location for the finance sector in their national territory. London has further importance as one of the most significant financial hearts of global wealth, functioning as key node in a global network of financial capital flows (Glucksberg 2016: 245), and the experience of a housing crisis. The dissimilarities between the cities are how the tenure forms and housings are constructed and organised. Generally, the favoured tenure form in UK, during both Conservative governments and Labour governments is owner-occupied dwelling. The difference is since the Thatcher government 1979, the proportion of owner-occupied dwelling rapidly increased in numbers and many council housings were sold during the Right-to-Buy movement (Elander 1994: 917-18). Other recurrent tenure forms are council housing, social housing and new built dwellings called Buy-to-Let, dwellings bought to be rent out to others. In Sweden, the flats, which is the housing type being investigated in this study, are constructed as cooperative housings, public and private rental housing and the newly introduced ownership housing. The latter was introduced in 2009 and has only been

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\(^3\) Airbnb is a digital platform that is marketing themselves as a community where one can rent dwellings and rooms by private “local hosts” around the world, often seen as an alternative to hostel and hotels when travelling https://www.airbnb.se/
built in a small amount in Sweden. In Stockholm, cooperative housing and rental housing dominate the tenure forms. The recent years during the past leadership of the Conservative coalition, many of Stockholm’s public rental housing in so-called *allmännyttan* were sold as cooperative housings simultaneously as other private rental housing were converted into cooperatives. Much of what is built is also predominately cooperative housing. In sharing both similarities and dissimilarities, the cases provide a comparable analysis of what is most similar and dissimilar.

The collection of empirical material was conducted in Stockholm between February – May 2015, and in London during a 10-day field study in March 2015. Investigating the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in each case, different methods were used which is presented briefly in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Stockholm</strong></th>
<th><strong>London</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information from Bolagsverket about all cooperative housings in Gamla Stan. Using cold calling, telephone interviews and a quantitative analysis of cooperative housing board members national registration investigating interrelations of places.</td>
<td>Study of relevant documents regarding housing, planning and long-term urban second homes in London. Such as housing strategies and the London Plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with urban second home dwellers and e-mail correspondence with one urban second home dweller</td>
<td>Group interview with the non-governmental organisation Empty Homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with real estate agent focusing on Östermalm</td>
<td>Interviews with an Empty Property Officer, a researcher at a real estate agency, an employee at an architecture firm with knowledge about the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with public officials with current knowledge about the current housing situations</td>
<td>E-mail conversation with Paul Palmer about empty homes in London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone interview with a researcher for Hyresgästföreningen</td>
<td>Observations at new sites effected by urban second homes and photography documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying strategic documents for Stockholm municipality</td>
<td>Second hand data on people’s experience with urban second home and dwellers from a range of media</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 1. Methods used in Stockholm and London

**The case of Stockholm**

**Bolagsverket (Swedish Companies Registration Office), Gamla Stan and telephone interviews**

**Bolagsverket**

One of the identified groups as potential urban second home dwellers and with experience of urban second home dwelling were cooperative housing members. The
decision to limit the extract of cooperative housings to only those placed in Gamla Stan (figure 1) was based on three aspects. Firstly, the financial aspect in buying the information for three inner-city neighbourhoods was shown too expensive for a student budget. Out of the three prospective inner-city neighbourhoods I selected Gamla Stan on the basis of its geographical scale and size. The restricted geography offered the opportunity to focus on a more detailed level on the place-specific experiences in performing urban second home dwelling and why urban second home homes are located at the particular spot. The last reason was grounded in my already acquired knowledge of dwellings in the area that could be classified as urban second home dwellings in Gamla Stan. The financial aspect was finally solved after requesting them using/through the Swedish law *offentlighetsprincipen*, in which decreased the price to the documents dramatically. A second issue derived from uncertainties regarding *Personuppgiftslagen* to my request of cooperative housing members’ social registration numbers. After a conversation with the solicitor explaining my purpose and how the information was intended to be used in the research I was allowed to get access to the documents. These legal issues as much as an ethical question, was also stressed among some of the participants in Gamla Stan, which made it easier for me to explain my purpose with the research and how the information will be used.

The documents contained information about the 122 registered cooperative housings in Gamla Stan with names, addresses and social registration numbers to the cooperative housing board members in each cooperative housing. Through the cooperative housings board members’ social registration numbers, addresses and names, I could match the correct telephone number with the right person. During the research process, I noticed that the documents had some fallacies. For instance, 7 of the 122 cooperative housings were inactive cooperatives. Also some of the contacted inhabitants in Gamla Stan are living in public housings not cooperative housings.

**Telephone interviews**

28 individuals living in Gamla Stan were interviewed on the telephone, ranging from five

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Figure 1. Gamla Stan. Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by the author.
minutes to an hour long, in which most of them tended to last approximately fifteen minutes. I selected to ring different ages and genders among the cooperative housing board members with their national registration in Gamla Stan, and with a national registration outside Gamla Stan. In the end, the sample was based on who picked up the phone, and who consented to participate. When ringing the participants, I have introduced myself, the university, the purpose of the research and asked if they are willing to answer some questions related to the research. By using the method of telephone interviewing I have only been able to collect oral consent. There are some ethical issues in interviewing people over the phone, since they cannot see me in person. The distance was minimised by calling most people on their cell phone revealing my own phone number. Some of the participants called back after have seen a missed call from me, illustrating the accessibility in getting in contact with me. On the basis of the research is about a phenomenon, I chose to make all participants anonymous in order to minimise the risks of possible future disputes by leaking out information that could lead to particular people or buildings.

My first intention in calling people in Gamla Stan was to use the method “cold calling” in recruiting participants for interviews (Longhurst 2010:109). Cold calling is practiced by the researcher in calling unknown people from a sample group, in this case, people living in cooperative housing at Gamla Stan, to ask if they would like to participate in an interview (Longhurst 2010). My first cold callings were designed with a set of semi-structured questions in purpose to investigate if they had experience of urban second home dwelling in their building and neighbourhood. Through the first cold callings I distinguished a few positive aspects in having a conversation over the phone. The benefits were that people were more inclined to participate related to being able to have a conversation on the spot or re-arranging an interview to a more suitable time. The setting for having an interview is of essential significance (Miles & Huberman 1984: 41), and by exploring information and experiences with the human voice through the telephone I found myself situated with the participants in their everyday life and dwelling experiences. Conversations occurred at home, at work, when walking home from work, in their brief moments of spare time between everyday obligations and when traveling back to their “primary residence”. I was let into a more proximate space than I would have in a meeting in person producing a situation with a different kind of listening and participating in collecting empirical data. Power relations in the telephone interviews were constantly negotiated between the researched and I, reflected upon the only source of bias was the way we expressed ourselves with our voices (Bryman 2012: 214-15). But to using hearing exclusively as the ability to interpret has also limited the interpretative power in the method. In the interview setting, it sometimes occurred silences which were difficult to interpret the possible meaning in the conversation as a consequence of not being able to see the participants’ face expressions (Bryman 2012: 215). It occasionally happened that a participant or I expressed a “Hello?” in the interview regarding uncertainties if the other person was still active in the conversation. The moments of doubting my presence from participants tended to emerge during my silence when writing notes and simultaneously considering which question I shall ask next. In writing notes during a conversation has its limitations as it may contribute to minimising my fully attention from the listening.

Most interviews were not recorded which has restricted the possibilities to go back and
re-listen to the interviews. But interviews that were re-arranged both over telephone and in person were recorded. Before recording the interviews, I asked for permission. The interviews were characterised as semi-structured interviews, a mix of pre-formulated questions and then asking other questions depending on the information and details expressed in relation to whom I was constructing knowledge with. The main purpose of the interviews was to explore the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling, if they exist, and the experiences of under-occupied housings and the spatial practices of urban second home dwelling in the neighbourhood. In the end of the conversation I was always careful in asking if there were something they wanted to ask me. The purpose was to clarify doubts, if they wanted to discuss other related topics to the subject, or stressing comments about the research and me.

**Collecting stories and knowledge**

The choice of performing interviews to gathering data was grounded on the method’s strength to provide a deeper understanding and insights to the participants’ experience and how they construct their life (Yeo et al 2014: 182). Especially as my focus in the thesis is to explore a phenomenon (Dalen 2007: 11), and not to see to what extent urban second homes exist in each city. In my consideration of how to collect material, I noticed when I uttered my research subject, people started to share their stories about under-occupied housings in Stockholm. By addressing that the phenomenon may exist unfolded its particularities by letting people use their voices expressing their experience related to the subject. From this experience, I decided to collect people’s stories discussing their experiences about urban second home dwelling in Stockholm.

Inspired from constructivist grounded theory, I started to explore “what was going on” in the subject area by having an interview with an acquaintance that had potentially conducted urban second home dwelling. The interview had two themes: the individual’s own housing situation and a discussion of reasons to under-occupied housings in Stockholm. From the information provided in the interview, I could move further into contacting relevant people to construct knowledge with about urban second home dwelling in accordance to the essential interaction between the researcher and the researched constructing knowledge together (Gibson & Hartman 2014: 46).

The identified groups of possible participants with relevant information about the subject matter were: real estate agents, Members of Parliament, public officials working in the municipality with housing provision and Hyresgästföreningen, and Cooperative housing members. In the end, I had 9 interviews outside the group of participants for the smaller analysis of Gamla Stan in Stockholm. The groups of participants were chosen for their diverse knowledge in the subject. The first group consists of individuals with different knowledge regarding the housing situation in Stockholm:

*Sven Bergenstråhle, author for some reports at Hyresgästföreningen in Stockholm Region*

*Richard Lagerling, real estate agent at Lagerlings with a focus at Östermalm*

*Berit Göransson, Examiner/analyser at the City Planning Office, Stockholm, expertise in housing*
Female Worker at Stadsholmen, an associated company to Svenska Bostäder AB, public rental housing mostly in Gamla Stan and Södermalm

The second group consists of members of Parliament. A group of urban second home dwellers who has been given a housing in the inner-city in Stockholm but lives somewhere else in Sweden:

Female, in her 30s, Gamla Stan

Female, in her 40s, Östermalm

Male, in his 60s, Norrmalm

Male, in his 30s, Gamla Stan, e-mail conversation

The third group is two urban second home dwellers:

Male, in his 50s, Kungsholmen, working as a professor, skype interview

Female, in her 20s, former urban second home dweller in Vasastan, telephone interview

The access to the third group was through friends sharing stories from their friendship circle who was potential urban second home dwellers. Using telephone and skype indicate the feature of absence in being an urban second home dweller.

All interviews have started with an introduction to the research topic and stating that I am interested in their knowledge in themes regarding the subject matter. In some interviews I have stressed the aspect of interactive and mutual knowledge production. In the next phase I have asked for their consent and if I can record our conversation for my own purpose in analysing the material and to minimise any misinterpretations. The interviews were combining structure with flexibility, exploring themes and research matters in the phenomenon by having some general open questions then to have an interactive process where I address different aspects of what has already been experienced in the interview using probing questions (Yeo et al 2014). All interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 90 minutes, were transcribed and had consent to be used for the thesis. Ethical consideration has been reflected according to the discussion and research codex and principles in Good Research Practice (Vetenskapsrådet/The Swedish Research Council 201, Vetenskapsrådet 2012).

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6 Public rental housing as a part of allmännyttan
7 All Members of Parliament consented to participate with their full name. But I have chosen to make them anonymous in trying to portray their experiences, uses and impacts in the neighbourhood outside their political party belonging, to minimising prejudices in the research.
The case of London

London is used for comparative purposes to analyse the different particularities of urban second home dwelling in this study, whereas most of the attention is concentrated at the case of Stockholm. I spent ten days in March 2015 in collecting empirical data. The mixed method approach was based on interviews, observations, photography, reading documents and relevant media articles.

The interactive process and interviews

The field days in London are characterised by the interactive process in constructivist grounded theory. The first interview in the research process occurred on my first day in London with the NGO Empty Homes, pre-organised via e-mail. Because of my limited knowledge of urban second home dwelling in London I decided to enact on the information provided from the interview. Empty Homes Agency’s advice was to get in contact with the councils since they are dealing with empty properties in the borough, particularly Camden council and Islington council, since both have issues with empty homes.

I succeeded in arranging an interview with a public official at Camden council. From a visit to Camden council’s building, I was directed to a number to an empty property officer whom I met the on my second day of arrival. Again, I was recommended to observe and get into contact with Islington council since they were experiencing issues with the phenomenon of Buy-to-Leave. Unfortunately, I did not accomplish to organising a meeting with someone with knowledge about urban second homes in Islington due to the time limit.

The third conducted interview was with Katy Warrick, working as Head of London Residential Development Research at Savills, a real estate firm. I met Katy at Savills Head Office behind Oxford Street in Marylebone area. We talked about urban second homes and foreign investments, and came across the term pied a tierre. A fourth interview was with an acquaintance of mine, working at an architecture firm based in North London, whom I also had a following-up interview through skype to ask more detailed questions related to the analysis of the collected data in London. An e-mail conversation was held with Paul Palmer, working at Empty Homes UK, former empty property officer, who provided details about particular empty homes in different neighbourhoods in London.

Throughout my stay in London, I was recommended several areas to observe and developers and real estate agents to get in contact with. The time aspect of staying in London for ten days limited the organisation of more than four interview because of difficulties in getting in contact with possible research participants but also as a consequence of potential participants already busy schedules. Another vital aspect was the hostility expressed among some developers and real estate agents in being interviewed for the purpose of exploring urban second home dwelling. I was suspecting that my status as a student was a cause to the reluctance among the real estate agents and developers. During one occasion, I did not obtain informed consent to get a fully understanding if it was my student status restricting the potential interviews. The
bypassing of the guidelines did not entail any physical or psychological harm, or methods affecting the participants physically or psychologically. The act of avoiding informed consent occurred in a situation where I was pretending to be a potential buyer for a home. From this action, I was allowed access to other sort of information that I previously had been denied to as a student. Having reflected upon the ethical issues I decided to exclude any of the information provided from the meeting on the basis that the method used for the information was bypassing the ethical guidelines and research codex and principles (Vetenskapsrådet/The Swedish Research Council 2011) 8. Other difficulties were experienced in trying to find urban second home dwellers, which can be explained by their absenteeism from London, ten days is not enough to find suitable participants. Another aspect related to time, was the fact I was there in March, when the Season for many urban second home dwellers in West End and Kensington starts in the summer.

Observations and photography

In order to have mixed sources of data for a comparative analysis to the interviews and documents, I conducted observations at places with urban second homes. At one particular site, The Orchard, in Islington council, was exposed to structured observations. I regularly came back to take notes, photographs, reflect the differences in relation to the various hours of the day, and days in the week.9 I reflected upon what was happening, the milieu and the social actions as advocated by Bryman when carrying out structured observations (2012: 273). I kept a field diary and was also using photography as a tool of documenting the space subjected to urban second home dwelling.

Through documenting with a camera I could capture the geographical representation in that specific time and use in my analysis in how “images become places that can be analysed to better understand lived experience” (Aitken 2005: 256). Observations and photography documentation were performed at sites with advertisement for new housing developments. The purpose was to explore the spatial and the social processes of the marketing of space that possibly will become urban second homes in the category of Buy-to-Leave. My use of digital camera in the research process was inspired by Les Back in “not being limited to what people say explicitly enables us to train a kind of attentiveness to tacit forms of coexistence” (2012: 29). Using a camera in my observation enabled not only a re-entering to the particular socio-spatial world of urban second homes through the memories attached to the photography observation, it also facilitated a different listening to the experiences of urban second homes.

8 The act of bypassing the ethical guidelines and research codes in obtaining informed consent can be argued as a learning process in this case. From this process I have come to conclusion that if an ethical review of the research project had been conducted, the act could have been regarded as ethical correct, since there is a need of gaining approval before bypassing ethical guidelines (Vetenskapsrådet/The Swedish Research 2011: 48-49)

9 The Orchard is said to have around 30 % under-occupied housings (Rory Brigstock- Barron, http://www.islingtongazette.co.uk/news/islington_council_launch_attack_on_buy_to_leave_investors_leaving_homes_empty_1_3518668, 2 April 2014 accessed 2015-10-30),
Processing the empirical findings from Stockholm and London

Coding & Analysing

The analysis of the empirical findings and the possibility to generate concepts and categories was carried out by coding. To enable coding I recorded and transcribed all longer interviews in this thesis. In Stockholm, fifteen interviews were recorded and transcribed, which six of them were from participants in Gamla Stan, five over the phone and one in person. Three out of the four interviews were recorded from the London case. The interview with Empty Homes Agency was not recorded based on denying my question if I could record our conversation. The notes from interviews with Empty Homes Agency and the other participants in Gamla Stan were written into text documents on computer to facilitate coding and analysis.

The collected data has gone through the two main phases in the fashion of grounded theory coding, to see “what is happening” in text (Gibson & Hartman 2014: 83). The first phase in labelling each segment of data in order to categorise and summarise each piece of data. Followed by a focused and selective second phase using the most significant and frequent initial codes to sort, synthesise, integrate and organise the larger amount of data (Charmaz 2006: 43-46). I did this according to the interactive process aspect in constructivist grounded theory. An interactive process means collecting data, analysing the findings, generate concepts, then continuing collecting data, analysing and generating concepts from it and going back to the field until a theoretical discussion has emerged (Gibson & Hartman 2014: 41).

The interactive process of exploring urban second home dwelling has been vital in gaining a rich conceptual density and detailed account of the phenomenon by first going out in the field collecting data and thereafter analysing to understand what is the next step in unfolding the subject matter. Especially in comparing different interviews in the same case and to understand what else I should investigate in. In the interactive process in collecting empirical data, I have had a constructivist approach in the creation of knowledge by acknowledging that concepts, categories and the theoretical level of analysis emerge from my interaction with the subject area and questions about the data (Charmaz 2000: 522).

The most significant transcriptions and interviews were analysed through line-by-line coding. The process of Line-by-line coding includes naming each line of data to define what is happening in the data (Charmaz 2006: 46). Line-by-line coding helps “to remain attuned to our subjects’ views of their realities than assume that we share the same views and worlds”. It is also a way to redefine and specify borrowed concepts (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 74, Charmaz 2000: 515). Using line-by-line coding helped to identifying concepts, categories and tracing similarities, differences and consequences in the significant empirical material and to get a more in-depth conceptualisation of the coding. Returning to the material and performing different ways of coding, line-by-line,

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Berit Göransson, Richard Lagerling, Stadsholmen, Empty Property Officer in Camden Council, Katy Warrick, Female Urban second home dweller Vasastan, and some interviews from Gamla Stan.
categorising, sorting, connecting it with literature and asking new questions to the material was a vital successive analytical process to make the categories more theoretical. The material has also undergone a constantly comparing between the cases. In comparing and contrasting the many different experiences both by urban second home dwellers and people with experiences of urban second home dwellers, the socio-spatial reality of urban second home dwelling has unpacked the multi-layered complexity in the contextual cases, bringing out different concepts related to different social realities (Charmaz 2000).

I have also used the interpretative and the explanatory power that exists within constructivist grounded theory. The ability to explain is shaped by the descriptions of concerns, categories, codes and concepts grounded in the collected material (Gibson & Hartman 2014: 49). The interpretative power lies within the constructivist grounded theory in being open to the meanings and the constructs becoming unfold in the research process.

**Memo writing**

A crucial part in conducting constructive grounded theory is writing memos. During the interactive research process of analysing material and going back to the field, I have conducted a book which has worked as a field- and process diary where I have occasionally have written memos to achieve “an immediate illustration of an idea” (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 108). It has been beneficial in discovering ideas about the data and trying to make sense of the possible theoretical relations and connections to existing literature. I have particularly used the practice of free writing, the method to write freely ideas on paper quickly. I have been writing specifically about interesting codes, observations, statements, ideas and often compared them to existing literature. In accordance to constructivist grounded theory to compare and link segments of data into an idea or tentative concept (Charmaz 2006: 88). These memos have been compared with each other and transcriptions in helping to be analysed and categorised to understand what's going on in the empirical data. For instance, writing memos and field diary has facilitated the conceptualisation of different categories of urban second home dwellers, the place-specific desires in urban second home dwelling and urban second home dwellers as enhancers.

**Maps**

The illustrated maps in chapter IV portrays the quantitative calculation of national registration of cooperative housing members in Gamla Stan from the documents by Bolagsverket and the urban second home places mentioned in the interviews. The maps' purposes are to illustrate the interrelations between Stockholm's urban second homes with the primary residences locations. It is not an actual truth or representation of the social world. It only represents a slice of the social world. The maps were collected from https://www.google.se/maps and processed by the author.
A captured slice of a phenomenon: reliability, validity and generalisations

“we can claim only to have interpreted a reality”
(Charmaz 2000: 523)

Dealing with the exploration of the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling, I argue, alike Charmaz, that I have only “discovered” an interpreted version of the phenomenon aroused from the interactive process in the field situated in its temporal, cultural and structural context in Stockholm and London (2000: 523-524). From the interviews, observations, photography documentation, documents and media, I have interpreted, analysed and composed one particular socio-spatial reality of the phenomenon. Since there is no single reality to be captured, replication is argued to be “an artificial goal to pursue” (Lewis et al 2014: 355).

Research, as mentioned previously, is always time-based and context-based, and with new and different participants and reading more literature, the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling is always open to new interpretations. Validity is sometimes referred to a finding which is well-founded and accurately reflects the subject matter being studied. The aspect of accurately is misconceiving, due to there exists different and competing perceptions and understanding which make it rather impossible for a qualitative research to reflect a phenomenon accurately. Validity in qualitative research is situated in being able to “describe a phenomenon in rich and authentic detail and in ways that reflect the language and meanings assigned by participants” (Lewis et al 2014: 354, 357, Ormston et al 2014: 12). The many interviews and the 28 telephone interviews especially regarding Gamla Stan hope to entail the “rich and authentic detail” in the thesis.
Chapter IV. Shaping interrelations through urban second home dwelling

“When we look at the world as a world of places we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and place. We see a world of meaning and experience.”

(Cresswell, 2004: 11)

This part is the first chapter presenting results with a theoretical analysis relating to the first research question of which interrelationships are shaped by urban second home dwelling and who are the dwellers. The analysis portrays how owners of urban second homes interrelate and are having extended interrelations (connections) to places. Where they may be concentrated indicate particular geographies of specific meaning to the individuals, potentially shaping a virtual city/county. The analysis grasps who the urban second home dwellers are, having spatial advantage and privilege and the agency of shaping these interrelations between places.

Stockholm

For the Stockholm case, I have designed a typology of the heterogeneous group of urban second home dwellers categorised based on the empirical data provided by Bolagsverket, the telephone interviews in Gamla Stan and other interviewed participants in Stockholm. The four groups of urban second home dwellers co-existing in Stockholm are: the global urban second home dwellers, which consists of Swedish expats and Swedish citizens living and working abroad. The local urban second home dwellers, referring to Swedish citizens living in the Stockholm region or in another part of Stockholm city. The third group are Swedish citizens living in other towns and cities in Sweden, which compose the national urban second home dwellers. The fourth group are retired urban second home dwellers.

The global urban second home dwellers

One of the common characteristics that tie together the global urban second home dwellers based on the interview with the real estate agent, Richard Lagerling, selling housing in Östermalm, Gärdet and Djurgården, all city parts located in the inner-city, is how their Swedish relation connects Stockholm with large metropoles in the world. The Swedish expats that have or are currently interested in buying an urban second home in the affluent and attractive city part Östermalm are working and living in the large metropoles. Places such as London, Hong-Kong, different locations in United States, Switzerland and France. In the interview, Lagerling points out a particular interesting change where the urban second home dwellers are currently placed and work with that correlates to theories by Sassen (2012) and Sklair (2010). For example, many of the recently and prospected global urban second home dwellers are Swedish expats in
London and Switzerland working in finance, compared to 10 – 15 years ago when many of the urban second home dwellers in Stockholm were located in France.

In the interview with Lagerling, a generation difference was emphasised in the various profession characteristics of the global urban second home dwellers. In general, the Swedes working abroad looking or having a secondary space in Östermalm are professionals working in the finance, business managers, executives for international corporations and own corporations. Analysing the generation of the individual, an explicit pattern become visible. People born in the 1970s are exclusively working in the finance sector with a few exceptions compared to urban second home dwellers born in 1940s, who tend to be business managers and executives. This particular category of urban second home dwellers are also Swedish individuals who started their career and company in Sweden, which then have emerged with other corporations and been transferred abroad.\footnote{Interview with Richard Lagerling}

This transition in occupation among the younger global urban second home dwellers illustrates how, what Sassen points out, the expanding finance markets, the legal entities and bodies combined with the service sector as the becoming dominated workplaces in the present-day global cities (2012). Many of the already owners to urban second dwellings in Östermalm can be referred as being part of the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2010), and the new important actors in the restructuring of world economy in global cities (Sassen 2012). Sassen argues that the new emerging economy in the cities, to services and finance, portrays whom possess the professions with the affluent salaries today (2012). Although, Stockholm may not be considered as a global city, the urban second homes indicate a linkage to other global cities and metropoles where the finance and headquarters of international corporations are concentrated (see figure 5 for places interrelated by the global urban second home dwellers). Through the movement between the dwellings, one in Stockholm and the other in a headquarters location, the interrelations of places to be as global dwellers become visible. Together, the places to be for the urban second home dwellers reveal the construction of the different spaces in the imaginary “virtual” city, where the global web of urban second home dwellers actively self-chooses to spend their time and construct their sense of being in the world through their temporal dwelling practices.

Wealth is another mutual trait among the global urban second home dwellers in Östermalm. Their wealth is not only communicated through working in the finance sector, but also the preference in having an urban second home in Östermalm. Overall, housing prices in Östermalm are very high. In the interview, Lagerling emphasised the cooperative housing boards reluctance towards excepting someone to buy a property in their house with the purpose using it as a övernattningslägenhet, which has contributed that these residents tend to become very expensive. Reflecting the affluence required to even be able to consume space in Östermalm as the purpose in doing urban second home dwelling. However, it is not only the price of the housing in Östermalm that indicate the affluence but also their preference of space of the övernattningslägenhet (see figure 2). Based on the interviews collected for this thesis, many urban second home dwellers using a övernattningslägenhet tend to be shaped as a smaller flat-unit around one-room and two-room. The preference among the urban second home dwellers that have been in contact with the real estate agency Lagerlings is instead a two, three and four
room apartment. At Lagerlings website\textsuperscript{12} and at another luxury real estate agency, Eklund Stockholm New York\textsuperscript{13}, one can find the prospected urban second home dwellers request of space ranging from 140 square metres to 250 square metres in the inner-city.

As previously stated, the domestic/native relation to Sweden is essential in the preference in doing urban second home dwelling in Stockholm. For the global urban second home dwellers Lagerling explains, that most of them tend to be Swedish expats or spouses to Swedish people living abroad and of middle age. In the telephone interviews with participants in Gamla Stan, it was expressed that many families and individuals are living abroad from time to time and may plan coming back to Sweden. Further, the appeal of urban second homes is not only based on a relation to Sweden through kinship, but sometimes the domestic/native relation is combined with investments and thoughts of retirement in the near future. Lagerling explains these interrelationships:

“One wants to have a place where one can spend some time and be with the family and the grandchildren. You are reaching the end of your working career and starting to consider getting retired eventually. Then suddenly, it become more interesting to to come back more often to Sweden...I have noticed that it has got more common and common primarily among those who are 40-talister and 50-talister (born in the 40s and 50s).”

In conclusion, the global urban second home dwellers are sharing the common traits of affluence and living and working abroad, where their professions illustrates the change in the new economy in the cities mostly based on a finance sector and shaping interrelations to Stockholm with the global cities and metropoles that can be referred as a virtual city.

The national urban second home dwellers

From the findings in Gamla Stan combined with the interviews with other urban second home dwellers in Stockholm, there is a tendency of interrelating Stockholm with other cities and towns in Sweden through the movement to and from the urban second home. One particular sub-group among the national urban second home dwellers are the members of the parliament. The many övernattningslägenheter is provided by the Swedish Parliament to the Members of the Parliament that are not living within a commuting distance. These övernattningslägenheter are filled with people from all the current eight political parties in the government with different backgrounds interrelating the inner-

\textsuperscript{12} http://www.lagerlings.se/lagerlings-soker/, subject to changes.

\textsuperscript{13} http://www.esny.se/sv/object/wanted/type/grond 9 April 2015

\textsuperscript{12} http://www.lagerlings.se/lagerlings-soker/, subject to changes.

\textsuperscript{13} http://www.esny.se/sv/object/wanted/type/grond subject to changes.
city of Stockholm to the rest of Sweden through the most powerful political institution of Sweden located next to Gamla Stan. These urban second homes represent a political and a democratic function, with similarities to the state fraction (Sklair 2006, 2010). But rather than being a part of a transnational capitalist class, they belong to a national capitalist class.

Another sub-group among the national urban second home dwellers are the ones who need to be in Stockholm to perform their work. From the interviews in the case of Stockholm, several have mentioned that Stockholm possesses Sweden's largest working sector contributing to the need and desire in doing urban second home dwelling. Some of the mentioned working sectors are in the academic world, unidentified IT-jobs and working for different organisation with their head quarter located in Stockholm. Composing a sort of technical national fraction of urban second home dwellers. The last example exhibits how organisations and companies can have a cooperative housing in possession in the inner-city to provide accommodation for their employees, experienced as under-occupied in the building by participants in Gamla Stan. Contrastingly, there are also some national urban second home dwellers who are working somewhere else in Sweden but choose to keep their housing in Stockholm.

From the findings of the case of Gamla Stan, there is a strong tendency that the urban second home dwellers in Gamla Stan are having a higher education and are predominantly belonging to the middle class and the upper class. As many participants of Gamla Stan expressed, one need to have a lot of money in order to live in Gamla Stan and especially as an urban second home dweller. In a sense, one participant from Gamla Stan uttered, people with similar professions and socioeconomic status access most of the urban second homes. Being a national urban second home dweller is to be affluent and/or having a privileged position in society, drawing upon belonging to the middle and upper classes, in being member of Parliament, and having a higher education and well-paid job. The interrelations shaped by national urban second home dwellers depict a map of affluent and privileged people linking Stockholm to the rest of Sweden, which is illustrated in figure 4. The places the national urban second home dweller is performing its social-spatial practices can further be regarded as a virtual country.

The local urban second home dwellers and the retiree urban second home dwellers

One of the more fascinating groups of urban second home dwellers is the locals. Many people who had chosen not to *folkbokföra* oneself in Gamla Stan are in fact *folkbokförda* in another part of Stockholm, often at Östermalm and Södermalm. But it is also common to be national registered in other municipalities in the Stockholm region. The locations of the national registration are often places in affiliation to the archipelago such as Djursholm, Nacka, Lidingö, and Vaxholm which can be viewed in figure 3. This discovery indicates how Gamla Stan, an area valued as attractive and with an increasing wealthy population, interrelates by the urban second home dwellers to other “attractive” and “rich” areas in the Stockholm region, shaping their self-segregated virtual city. The local urban second home dwellers are similar to the national urban second home dwellers in terms of working with high-educated professional jobs. Some have their own enterprise,
everything from small construction companies, lawyers, and dentist. This interrelation helps to shape an “imaginary place” composed by high and middle socioeconomic and attractive areas, where the residents are using these different places for various things in their life. Another related group to the local urban second home dwellers, and the identified fourth group of urban second home dwellers, are the retired individuals who spend several months or a half-year in Spain, France, Thailand or at the summerhouse in Sweden. The group of retirees as urban second home dwellers were frequently mentioned among the participants in Gamla stan, and as an elderly man said: “the more retired people in a cooperative, the bigger chance there is that is empty”. Another man stated this expression of urban second home dwelling as “it is only retired people who live like that”, relating to this type of urban second home dwelling in having more free time. Again, the aspect of working with high-educated jobs was prevalent among the retirees, since many of them had previously been working, for instance, with architecture and engineering.

Figure 3. Local urban second home dwellers’ other interrelated homes/places (black dots). Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by the author.
London

London: keeping the global city status and an attractive place for the super-rich

London is the capital of urban second homes, the favourite place on Earth for super-rich, out-competing any global city of its attraction to billionaires and millionaires to spend their money and time in London (Peretti 2015, Paris 2011). Further, as the capital of urban second homes it shapes interrelations to all parts of the world and brings places
together to an “imaginary place” and “virtual country/city” in London for both overseas non-British citizens and British citizens (Gallent et al 2005, Paris 2011).

Particular strategies are used to entice affluent people to the city that has also contributed to the urban second homes existence in London. For instance, the “resident non-doms let super-rich avoid paying taxes based on the criteria that the individual who has foreign income and capital can get an advantageous remittance (Rosebank)\(^\text{14}\). The fixation of attracting wealth to be spend in the city to increase the economic growth, in combination of its strong global city status, and the fixation on ownership tenure form throughout the years in the 20\(^{th}\) and 21\(^{st}\) century has made London to an over-heated capital accumulation landscape in London’s housing market (Rees 2015, Gallent et al 2005). One of the new strategies for alluring investments from overseas into London is through the marketing by the construction companies of their new built housing abroad, before they are entering the market in London (Rees 2015). Which in turn can be argued to have led to the massive purchasing of new residential properties by foreign investors (Rees 2015, Peretti 2015). In the interview with Katy Warrick, researcher at Savills, it was stated that Russians, China, Pacific Ocean and the oil countries in the Middle Eastern are popular customers of multiple dwellings at fancy and wealthy locations in the city. The reasons are multiplied, such as vacation and holiday, business, residence during education for their children, to dodge money, laundry stolen money, hide money and avoid paying taxes\(^\text{15}\).

A former empty property officer in Camden described, in investigating prospected long-term urban second homes, they often found names of persons and sometimes companies in British Virgin Islands, Jersey and Cayman Islands. London, already being considered as one tax haven itself, interrelates to other tax haven spots in the world. Consequently, urban second homes in London tell a geographical narrative where money and wealth are concentrated and hidden in the world. Many of the urban second homes can be discovered in wealthy, attractive areas, some of them placed in the centre of London and others in north around Hampstead Heath area, all neighbourhoods with an association to affluence (Paris 2011, Bar-Sinai 2009).

**The surrounding areas of London and pied-á-tierre**

London’s urban second homes are not only of high interest to foreigners, Non-UK residents or global urban second home dwellers. They are a very much common phenomenon among the British citizens too, the national urban second home dwellers. One type of the national urban second home dwellers are labelled by Savills, a real estate agency, as *supercommuters* (Savills 2014). They are people who live in Cambridge, Oxford and other counties nearby London’s boundaries. Katy Warrick says, some of these supercommuters might have a pied-á-tierre. A pied-á-tierre is a small apartment usually situated in the central bits of London, used occasionally in the weekdays. Further, Katy

\(^{14}\) Although, the “resident non-doms” refers to the individual of not having UK as their domicile this rule is more complex and the individual can during some circumstances actually have UK as their domicile by not being a UK resident and such.

\(^{15}\) From e-mail conversation with Paul Palmer, interviews with Katy Warrick and the Empty Property Officer.
Warrick, says that they have seen this coming through the last five years. The people being able to buy a pied-à-terre are defined as “the high earners” composed by city workers, bankers and lawyers. Many of these people are found in the categories of the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2006, 2010), and the new sectors of world economy in the global city (Sassen 2012). With their professions, they have been enabled a spatial privilege. Through the access to residences, the high earners are shaping a “virtual city” consisting the parts of London where they live and work, and with the counties around London’s borders for enjoying their home-life in a country-scape setting and lifestyle. In general, the people who purchase second homes in London are normally “top-end, very wealthy” according to Katy Warrick. But it is essential to point out, that affluent groups in society are not holding all urban second homes existing in London. Because of the ownership tenure form, many of the urban second homes standing empty in London have been inherited. In places such as Newham, Tower Hamlets, Ealing and Wandsworth, urban second homes are found to owners who do not have afford to refurbish, and may find bureaucracy difficult in order to sublease. Buy-to-let properties are another housing type that has in recent years been discovered to have British and overseas investors urban second home dwellers by letting the properties stand under-occupied without renters. This urban second home dwelling has coined the term Buy-to-Leave, which is used frequently in the media, by professionals, officials and the public. Buy-to-Let can be seen another way for already wealthy UK-residents to invest and gain more capital buy using their spatial advantage of already being in the housing market, to invest more in these properties (Peretti 2015).

Interrelated affluence and the global status: Stockholm and London

A common characteristic among urban second home dwellers in Stockholm and London is affluence. The prerequisite in doing urban second home dwelling is to have a ranging portion of wealth, bringing desirable and affluent places together through the multiple dwelling. As witnessed from both cases, there are particular categories of people in line with the TCC defined by Sklair. Many of these people are having high income jobs working in the finance sectors, international corporations, legal sectors and such. The difference between the two cases is in London there is no absolute criterion of affluence in being an urban second home dweller as a consequence of the ownership housing tenure form, which has led to many long-term urban second homes in areas with a less affluent population due to the issues of having afford with renovation after inherited the housing. This issue has not been traced in the case of urban second homes in Stockholm, but Lundmark & Marjavaara have discovered second homes in rural sites can position individuals as “involuntarily” second home owners and the feeling of being stuck (2013). Another category that combine similarities as much as illustrating the dissimilarities between the cities is the idea of being a global city. In analysing who the global urban second home dwellers are in each city, it becomes evident that Stockholm is not a global city in the sense of attracting the wealth of other nation’s citizens in doing urban second home dwelling in Stockholm. But rather, Swedish citizens and expats who work globally

16 E-mail conversation with Paul Palmer, and interview with Empty Homes
in the global financial markets, in international and big corporations and with other professional jobs, are circulating to these different global cities and metropoles. The global city status in Stockholm is based on the urban second home dwellers’ domestic/native relation to Stockholm. The decision in doing urban second home dwelling at this current time can be partly as an investment and combined with changed family situation and retirement prospects. Most importantly, “foreign” interest in residential properties in Stockholm is grounded in having a relation to Sweden, by being Swedish, or their spouse may be Swedish. This is particularly the case of the urban second homes at Östermalm. Drawing from the empirical findings in Gamla Stan, the domestic/native relation is portrayed by the high concentration of people having an urban second home that is folkbokförd [registered] somewhere else in the Stockholm region, and in other towns in Sweden.

The concentration of many different interrelations to Stockholm from the rest of Sweden indicate the power position Stockholm possesses in Sweden’s geography. In attracting business, highly-educated people, political and financial sectors that in turn allure people from various parts of Sweden in doing urban second home dwelling in Stockholm. Even though Stockholm may not be a global city in comparison to London, it is the city, which has global attributes in Sweden. Attributes the city of Stockholm is visioning to construct in order to compete with other global cities in their desire of becoming a city of world-class (Vision 2030: 2007). Furthermore, Hay’s idea of interrelations between places constructing “imaginary place” and “virtual country/city” was found on the locations of the multiple residences belonging to the urban second home dwellers in Stockholm. The links illustrated a tendency of an affiliation of interrelations of attractive places. The “imaginary place” is characterised by higher socio-economic groups, cities and interlinking people with high-educated professions, retired individuals who used to have the high-educate jobs. The places compose a self-chosen segregation among the urban second home dwellers where their sense of being-in-the-world is negotiated and experienced.

Comparatively to London, there is no need for a “British” or “English” relation to London to have an interest in buying and owning an urban second home in the city. Indicating the possession of global status, the city has in attracting foreigners to the city in doing urban second home dwelling, and a broader global network of places in the imagined “virtual country/city”. Although, there is a great amount of British people having an urban second home, such as politicians, people working in the finance and other high-paid professional jobs, or as a pied-a-tierre and investments, the national and local urban second home dwellers in London co-exist with the many foreign global urban second home dwellers, portraying the heterogeneous group of urban second home dwellers. London, being a massive metropole with large financial sector and other great job opportunities attract people from all over the world in pursuing a career in various work sectors. Non-British Citizens with big business corporations feel the need to have a place in the city of London for business and to meet other in their business. Global urban second home dwellers in London are also parents who want to secure a place for their children to live when they are starting university (Paris 2011, Glucksberg 2016). Other reasons why London is such an attractive place for urban second homes is its status as tax haven. Particular strategies, laws and regulations were created for attracting the super-rich to live and spend their money in the capital of UK (Peretti 2015). Further,
houses were also bought by super-rich foreigners and overseas investors for tax reasons, to dodge taxes and to hide and launder stolen money, or potential emerging problems in the home-country (Paul Palmer, Paris 2011: 157). It is difficult to draw any certain conclusions if Stockholm is used as a tax haven or having residential properties used as investments, since no similar information were found in the empirical findings. From the field study in London, it is explicit that new-built housings are used as investments, known as “Buy-to-Leave”, housings planned for sublet but are left standing empty by the urban second home dweller. In contrast to London, it is harder to invest in housing in Stockholm. From the telephone interviews with many of the cooperative housing board members and chairmen, it was distinctively clear that many cooperative housings are less inclined to let legal entities and persons to buy a property (or the right to live) in the cooperative housing. A reason to this inclination is said to be the experienced problems with empty homes and non-present occupiers in the cooperative housing. The legal system how to buy and sublet in Sweden hampers the investment and speculation opportunities in housing in contrast to London.

A particular characteristic that has been explored in the Stockholm case is the retiree urban second home dwellers who spend time at their sommarställe\textsuperscript{17}, but also abroad in France, Spain and Thailand for several months during the year. This group of urban second home dwellers have not been mentioned or emphasised in the case of London. A shared feature in each case is the aspect of urban second homes in the hands of organisations and companies. In London, for example in Tottenham, the football club Tottenham owns many houses next to the Stadium are leaving them empty to decay instead of developing the heritage listed housing\textsuperscript{18}. This is evident in Stockholm too based on the findings in Gamla Stan, were several participants have expressed organisations and companies’ presence as urban second home dwellers. The organisations and companies in Stockholm may leave the housing empty for longer period of times, but not to decay as in the case of Tottenham in north London. In the end, London is the capital of urban second homes and the leading global city. Home of the financial markets and a tax haven for the super-rich, contributing to a cityscape of long-term empty urban second homes, decaying buildings and city life in their urban second home dwellers doing dwelling. Although Stockholm is not experiencing this specific urban second home dwelling, Stockholm is in the playground with cities who wants to be like London. As it is stated in the vision 2030, Stockholm is wanting to be a city of world class, competing to be the best region and metropole in the whole of Europe (Vision 2030: 2007). The vision of becoming a city of world class brings up new relevant questions to the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in Stockholm. Will the demand of urban second homes increase in accordance to the hunt of world class status, and will it affect the city’s responsibility for housing provision, and the current spatial practices of the geographies of Stockholm? Simply put, what are the consequences in the search of gaining the status of world class?

\textsuperscript{17} Summer place/resort, holiday home
\textsuperscript{18} Acquaintance working at architecture firm in North London
Chapter V. Urban second home dwelling manifested spatially, socially and temporally

In the collection of empirical findings about the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling, I notice that there was a *place-specific* meaning and importance why the urban second home were located or purchased in that particular place in Stockholm or London. Similar as tourists, who travels to “places to die for” and having an aspiration being a part of a particular “cultural desire” and “cultural production” of a lifestyle (Urry 2004:26, Urry 1995:213, Paris 2011: 31). This section represents the second part of the results discussing how the understanding of “cultural desire” and “consumption of place” can bring a more in-depth analysis to the *place-specific* locations, in how urban second home dwellers use, desire and consume space spatially, temporally and socially in Stockholm and London.

Stockholm

**Place-specific trends and the social construction of popular, trendy and desired urbanity for the urban second home location**

The empirical findings in this thesis suggest, that there is a correlation between the categorisation of urban second homes in Stockholm with the number of housing without national registered individual found in a report from Hyresgästföreningen (Bergenstråhle & Palmenstierna 2015). Further, in the closer analysis of Gamla stan, it is not only dwellings lacking national registration that can be classified as urban second home. The dwellings *with* national registration/folkbokförd, can also be identified as urban second homes due to the temporal and sporadic use of the housing. As stated in the findings in the report from Hyresgästföreningen, there is a more clustering with residents without national registration in the inner-city areas (Bergenstråhle & Palmenstierna 2015). Most urban second homes locations that I have been in contact with and traced are also in the inner-city, following the trend of tourist gazing second home locations in already established and attractive areas are attracting new potential second home owners (Marjavaara 2008: 36). Richard Lagerling, who has worked as an estate agent for 23 years selling housing in Östermalm, stresses a similar view why people chooses to live at Östermalm:

> “Traditionally, Östermalm has as long as there has existed cooperative housing, been the most expensive area and it has to be grounded in that it is the most popular....Are there many who choose to live here, then others are going to follow, so to say.”

Alike buyers for cooperative and ownership housing, and people queueing for rental
housing, people seem to get enticed by already popular areas. There is a “cultural desire” to have an urban second home in already attractive areas. But, Lagerling seem to notice a difference between the older and the younger generation of urban second home dwellers. The younger generation does not seem to be as tied to the traits “prestige” and “fint”\(^{19}\). Instead they purchase something for a particular function, or quality of life. This idea of specific quality of life and functions are grounded in the choice of the geography of the urban second home. Speaking to a professor with an urban second home at Kungsholmen\(^{20}\), the mentioning of a particular function such as the communications between different places, and primary home were essential in the choice of location for the urban second home. Besides the communications, the participant had some demands on the urban environment and its amenities. The desired urban milieu should consist of a couple of cafés and restaurants nearby, where one can sit and work, meet people and go out and eat dinner at. The professors sum up his particular “consumption of place” for the urban second home:

“\textit{A good dwelling for me in the city shall have such places here, have infrastructure nearby, and everything that exist, the bakery, the café, some good grocery stores, and some cosy bars. Then I feel good.}”

In contrast to a former urban second home holder in Gamla stan, who expressed one’s reasons for the location of the urban second home because it is “fräckast”\(^{21}\), the professor initial decision was instead grounded in not wanting live in an area that was considered too \textit{hip} or \textit{cool}. A neighbourhood labelled as too \textit{hip} or \textit{cool} would prevent him to perform his work duties at cafés, considered as crucial importance in his particular everyday urban second home dwelling. The place-specific reasons, although being located in the inner-city, were selected to suit a life-style with suitable amenities, services and transport. The social construct of the images of the place was of importance to combine the “cultural production” of a particular way of life.\(^{22}\) Another person with access to multiple dwellings explained how the urban second home in Gamla stan filled a particular “cultural desire” of participating in an urban life-style in Stockholm. This was expressed in explaining the different purposes of their multiplied homes:

“All three homes have strong home-feelings; they fulfil different needs. We are in France during the winters, because it is warm and we can escape the darkness of January. The country house to be in the nature and experience closeness to nature, and the third place is because to be in the city and to experience the city.”

In the discussion of the reasons behind the place-specific location of the urban second home, there was a tendency of mentioning other parts of the inner-city. A participant said that the choice of Vasastan was because they wanted the housing “not to be in the middle of the city, but not Östermalm.”\(^{23}\) Another urban second home dwellers in Gamla Stan expressed that “Östermalm is a rest home”, and Gamla stan is the best place for

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\(^{19}\) Fint can mean both beautiful area as much as it is a good area

\(^{20}\) A part of the inner-city

\(^{21}\) Fräck is a word implying something being trendy or cool

\(^{22}\) These two informants are both from the Gothenburg-area with an urban second home in Stockholm belonging to the same generation.

\(^{23}\) In Stockholm there is a notion of “middle of the city” in the inner-city, mostly referred to space around Centralstationen and Norrmalm in Stockholm.
them to live in.

The articulation of their preference to certain areas and disfavour of other places, produces a differentiated image of the inner-city, simultaneously as they contemplate the desired characteristics for a specific city environment. This indicate a “cultural desire” for a specific urban life-style tied to a distinct place. As Lilja explains in the research of segregation in Stockholm, the housing has become a way of investing into an urban life-style and cultural consumption (2011: 170). The urban second home, is coupled to a cultural consumption of the city as much as the primary home is. But it is not always a distinctively active choice behind the location of the urban second home. A Gamla Stan resident explains how they were offered an opportunity to live in Gamla Stan while they were searching for a flat, after the decision to move out from their villa due to changed family situation. The place-specific meaning of a “cultural desire” in consuming particular places become more evident in the description of the city area, and why one was inclined to purchase or rent a second home in a specific city part of Stockholm.

The participants’ effort in describing Gamla Stan, portrayed a general feeling of “a small city in the city” atmosphere in Gamla Stan coupled with the feeling of enjoyment. The historical character of Gamla Stan was an inevitable vital aspect of the desire to live there. Many informants in Gamla Stan with and without an urban second home, express the specific feeling of living in a historical area and that people who live and spend time in Gamla sten are probably interested in cultural attractions and a bohemian life-style. The place-specific location of Gamla stan also creates the idea of having a short distance to everything in the city. The centralstation, service, other inner-city parts and the boats to the archipelago were mentioned as within a strolling distance. The many place-specific characteristics of Gamla Stan indicate a process and development of a “cultural desire” that urban second home dwellers desire to experience, and a “place to die for”.

The place-specific attributes of Östermalm, are also grounded in the area’s central location, not being considered as “messy”, and having a presence of a more residential area than what Gamla Stan has. The place-specific features separate themselves in the different architecture in the two inner-city areas. Gamla Stan has buildings from 1300 to 1700 with high restrictions regarding any refurbishment and change of the dwellings. Many of the flats are small. In comparison to Gamla Stan, there is an experience of Östermalm consists of more quality and larger flats, and having proximity to greenery, which is lacking in Gamla Stan. The association of Östermalm as a “nice” and “beautiful” is mixed with the notions of prestige and status tied to the city area. The difference in association of Östermalm attracts a different sort of urban second home dwellers, that are perhaps more interested in living in a central beautiful residential area, than in a historical central area. The distinctive preferences of a particular type of architectural aesthetic of urban second home are communicated through the associations of Gamla Stan with historical buildings and Östermalm with its beautiful and luxury flats. Different architectural quality and shape portray one of many place-specific developments of cultural desire by the spatiality of the urban second home.

The place-specific meaning of the member of parliaments övernattningslägenheter are much integrated as a part of the large working place that exist in Gamla stan. Further, they are all placed with a walking distance to the Parliament. The place-specific locations
speaks of the necessity of a working life that is easy to get to work and to a sleeping space quickly, due to the fact that the working days last from “7 to 23”\textsuperscript{24}. Övernattningslägenheterna reveals the spatial relation to other physical buildings, and the social structure and spatial practices of the particular working life-style (dwelling) of being a member of the Parliament. Their urban second home dwelling illustrates a particular culture socially, spatially and temporally bound up with politics. The social practices bound up with their work have an interdependent relation to the spatiality of the buildings that represents the political sector.

Although there are different place-specific characteristics in choosing location for an urban second home, the place-specific attributes possess distinctive similarities. The shared urban second home place features are the wishes to reside in the centre, but not in the “city-city”, having service and provide some sort of experience of an urban life. Being placed near communications, infrastructure and transport, and consuming a place that is “nice”, “cosy” and “beautiful”. They are all consuming a place with functions and traits associated with Stockholm’s inner-city areas. The location of the urban second homes in Stockholm, in accordance to the arguments by Urry, are expressing a consumption of place and a development of “cultural desire”, in relation to the essential aspect of its geography and architecture. The aforementioned functions and qualities of place indicate the particular consumption of the urban second home’s location that illustrate the place-specific cultural desire.

The third factor, which indicate the desirability of specific “leisure activity” can be interpreted in the case of urban second homes as particular social and everyday activities and a “cultural desire” for a specific urban life-style. It is explicit how owners of urban second homes choose a location of an inclination of specific preferences of a life-style in Stockholm’s urban context. By selecting a place depending if it is socially perceived as “hip”, “cool”, “historical”, “beautiful” and can offer service that enables place-specific desired activities, life-style and experiences. The “leisure activity” that is component of place-specific cultural desire can also be translated into work activity. As a consequence of many of the urban second home dwellers are using the housing to enable their work. Particular services are then required to support certain work activities. This way of practicing urban second home dwelling transform cultural desire into a profession desire, in desiring places to be in for performing a place-specific profession in the inner-city.

**Temporal usage and consumption of urban second home dwelling**

In the analysis of the place-specific usage of space in doing urban second home dwelling in Stockholm it became evident how urban second home dwellers consume not only place differently, but also consume mobility differently. As Paris argues, the existence of urban second home dwellers prerequisite mobility (Paris 2011: 15). In the requirement of being mobile in doing urban second home dwelling becomes a common character of

\textsuperscript{24} Interview with a female member of parliament:” you work from 7 in the morning to 11 in the evening, then you don’t stand and cook dinner when you come home”
an urban second home dweller it also depict the various negotiations of “staying with things” (Heidegger 1971: 149).

One particular negotiation of the absence and presence with things and space were illustrated among the professors and Members of the Parliament. Their “staying with things” occurred between Tuesday to Thursday, a middle of the week spatial engagement. One of the professors said, “That is what they call in Germany DMD professors. Dienstag, Mittwoch, Donnerstag.” The working days for the Members of Parliament were also Tuesday- Thursday. The other days are meant to be spend in their local unit for the political party. Both urban second home groups said that sometimes work required, or if something in particular happened in Stockholm such as a cultural event, they could stay in Stockholm over the weekend. Another common aspect for the national urban second home dwellers, were their movement by train. At one point I was having a telephone interview on a Thursday with an urban second home dweller in Gamla stan, who was travelling back to one’s “first home”, while seated on a train talking about urban second homes with me. Being mobile by train is a key factor among the act of urban second home dwelling for the politicians and the academics (national urban second home dwellers). That is, to move between a life of work in relation to an urban second home Tuesday-Thursday, and spending time at their home location the other days of the week. Their urban second home dwelling are shaping distinct routines in “staying with things”.

The urban second home dwellers who purchase cooperative housing by Lagerlings are having a dissimilar temporal place-specific existence in Stockholm. In contrast to the member of parliaments and the academics whom are traveling home during the holidays and summer weeks, the group of Swedish expats, representing the global urban second home dwellers, use the urban second home during family feasts and school holidays. To some extent, the Swedish expats are replacing the presence of people of urban second home dwellers who spend their time in Stockholm in the middle week for work at Östermalm. The retirees and elderly living in Gamla Stan are another example of a different consumption of movement in combination with consumption of place. The trend among this group of urban second home dwellers are to spend a half year at a residence in Spain, France, Thailand, or summerhouse/country house elsewhere in Sweden. The importance of place-specific locations of the consumption of movement is that all of the areas are central to transport and communications for enabling the movement presenting the “capacity of travel” between the homes. As with second homes in the rural sites, a high degree of mobility is a condition for consuming places and the urban second homes.

**London**

**Inheritance, capital and the architecture of the buildings**

In London, many empty residential properties are contemporary rooted in the inheritance of the ownership of the house and the super-rich leaving them empty²⁵. Some

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²⁵ Interview with Empty Homes in London
of the people who inherited dwellings in London do not have afford with the refurbishment of the houses. The complicated bureaucracy is another contributing reason why people are leaving dwellings under-occupied\textsuperscript{26}. Housings which are empty because the owners have difficulties with money for refurbishment, are found predominantly in areas such as Newham, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and Ealing\textsuperscript{27}. Much of the architecture in these neighbourhoods are directly built towards the working classes and middle classes. In contrast to the many empty urban second homes are found in Mayfair, Kensington and Chelsea and North Hampstead, which were built to attract more affluent groups in society. These urban second homes are not kept empty due to lack of money, rather the opposite. Large homes are often kept empty by overseas investors for tax reasons, such as tax avoidance, launder stolen money or simply because the owners are rich enough to leave dwellings empty for capital accumulation.\textsuperscript{28}

Capital, the lack of it or the excessive amount of it, relates to the derelict of many empty urban second homes in London. Essentially, the empty urban second homes are a financial mean, and even though they are not being used, owners seem to have a difficult time enacting a sale. The housing market is a heated one, and the former empty property officer in London describes how “ghost homes” are valued for the same price as homes with permanent residents, because of its location. This type of urban second home dwelling demonstrates a place-specific desire concerned with capital, a \textit{financial desire} rather than a cultural desire.

The prerequisite of capital to enable a purchase or investment in urban second homes were further confirmed by Katy Warrick at Savills. She explains that urban second homes are consumed in the category of “prime” locations in the housing market. Known as being out of reach for the average Londoner, whom earns about in average 33 000 pounds a year. The average Londoner can only play on the mainstream housing market. From the empirical findings, many of the areas where urban second home dwelling is a socio-spatial practice can be traced in the central of London, built for the aristocracy and the affluent in areas such as Mayfair, Kensington and Chelsea (Wilkins 2013). The price in combination with the new built market is also coupled with particular overseas investors, suggesting a preference in place-specific location based on ethnicity and nationality. From the sales figures from Savills, a pattern reveals that residential properties at the top end worth 5 million pounds are bought by the Russians and the Middle Eastern. The lower case of the prime is bought by China and the Pacific Ocean and less prices in the housing market become “domestic”. The second hand buildings are more interesting for the Europeans than people from China and the Pacific Ocean. In China and Pacific Ocean they are used to live in new-built residences in their home markets, which the place-specific marketing of new built residences in London to buyers in China and Pacific Ocean reflects.\textsuperscript{29}

An example of how Europeans are clustering together for their holiday in second hand

\textsuperscript{26} Stated in the interview with Empty Homes, Empty Property Officers in Camden and Paul Palmer from Empty Homes UK
\textsuperscript{27} The legal situation is another essential reason to homes in different parts of London standing empty
\textsuperscript{28} E-mail conversation with Paul Palmer
\textsuperscript{29} Interview with Katy Warrick
Figures 6.7. Long-term empty urban second homes in Mayfair (above) and Newham (right).
houses are in Belsize park, where many urban second homes for leisure and holidays bought by Europeans are located. The wealth invested and the preference for the very top end of housing in central London expressed by the Middle Eastern, is an explicit visual phenomenon in Mayfair, Kensington and Chelsea. However, as Katy Warrick says, the areas have always been attracted by the internationals. But equally as important, the areas have always been attracted to the people with excessive amount of money. The place-specific consumption of place in Mayfair and parts of Kensington and Chelsea have historical roots in the socio-spatial practices of urban second home dwelling (Wilkins 2013). Hay’s (2013) utterance of the “virtual country” of the transglobal super-rich community is coming into play during the summer months in the West end in London. The time when the World’s super-rich inhabit West end to socialize with each other during the summer months, historically known as the ‘Season’ (Wilkins 2013).

The Season was characterised by the rich from the countryside coming to London, as the social event was crucial for networking in the nineteenth century (Wilkins 2013: 110-111). The spatial practice of urban second home dwelling in the Season were incredibly place and time specific, and the “cultural desire” consisted of the desire of taking part of the social scene by the super-rich. Today, the West End is still an important place for super-rich, but there has been a transformation whom is performing the socio-spatial practices and consumption of place. The super-rich coming from the rural sites of UK has been replaced with an international community of Middle Eastern entering the West End by airplanes and Ferraris instead of horses and carriages (Wilkins 2013, Rudge 2013). In a sense, the practices become re-produced in the built environment by having the reputation of being a place for the wealthy since the area was established, and a place to be and die for (Urry 2004: 206). That is, a global icon for the super-rich to spend time before they die, partaking in the tourist gaze for what is known for West End; luxury places, bar, clubs, restaurants, the closeness to Hyde Park, Green Park and the intimacy with the Royals at the Buckingham Palace (Wilkins 2013, Rudge 2013).

The choice of having an urban second home in London for the Middle Eastern to spend their holiday, illustrates Paris concept of second homes in the city as a part of a cultural production. The city of London offers different spatial experiences, shopping and cultural resources, a different scenery of lifestyle and experiences in comparison to what can be offered in many countries in the Middle East (Paris 2011: 34). The super-rich young men expressed a desire being enabled partaking in activities and experiences that are not allowed back at home in Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In London they can go clubbing, socialising in mixed gendered space in a different way, and be exposed to drinking (Rudge 2013). In this way, the built environment and its services and amenities offered a fulfilment of the desire of certain freedom, that is normally restricted for them in their home countries. Expressing similarities to the desire of freedom among the gentrifiers found in Gaufield’s study in Brooklyn (1989). Through the practices of consuming place, the transnational community of the super-rich in London, is illustrating how “urban second home neighbourhoods shift from local focal points to become attractive global spots” (Bar Sinai 2009: 10). Simultaneously, as the central prime areas are being consumed, they also get wasted (Urry 2004: 208). When the urban second home dwellers are leaving, as they did in the nineteenth century, West End, Knightsbridge and the

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30 Interview with Empty Property Officer
surrounding posh areas, fall into silence and a depleted city life re-emerges.

Supercommuters and pied-à-tierre owners are living another expression of urban second home dwelling. Pied-à-tierre owners are embodied by high income earners working in the city as bankers, lawyers and other city workers that live outside the borders of London (Katy Warrick 2015, Savills 2014). Their urban second home dwelling is not so much about the “culture desire” in desiring an urban lifestyle or holiday activities in London. Rather, the consumption of place by holding an urban second home is caused by long hours commuting by train or car to work by enabling a countryside lifestyle. The reasons in developing a work-related “cultural desire”, profession desire, for an urban second home are the desire to spend nights in a nicer environment than what a hotel can offer, simultaneously the pied-à-tierre holders can accumulate private capital. Further, Paris argues that mobility and the capacity to travel have contributed to the growth of second homes in the rural sites (2011: 15). In contrast, the supercommuters purchasing urban second homes are to an extent constrained in their mobility with the insufficient transport and commuting options, which cause the rise of pied-à-tiers in central London. A particular type of architecture intended and designed for studio-flat users such as supercommuters, is the Heron Tower completed in 2008. Heron Tower is a skyscraper, 246-meter height with 47 floors close to the financial district around Liverpool Street and Bank area in London. The skyscraper is a symbol that has been lifted up to mediate the wealth of finance, being used by people working in the financial sector.

**Place-specific desires: mutuality and difference in Stockholm and London**

In many ways there are similar groups of urban second home dwellers and their choice of location for a second home in London and Stockholm. Both of them are high income earners pursuing an urban second home to perform their work (global and national urban second home dwellers). The place-specific locations for övertattningslägenheter and pied-à-tierres are normally somewhere central. In Stockholm, there is an expression of importance of short distance to infrastructure and transport. Meanwhile in London, the discussion was about the proximity to work, since many of the people who are enabled to invest in pied-à-tierre are high income earners working in the financial districts of London. Studio flats, pied-à-tierre and övertattningslägenheter illustrate how the largest working places in London and Stockholm embrace people to work in the cities from the surrounding areas. Being homes for the greatest concentration of working places, they swallow people from elsewhere that creates a need for occasional and temporal stays in the city to perform their profession. Because of the high concentration of high income professions in Stockholm and London, many see it as a necessity in doing urban second home dwelling to perform the desired work, but simultaneously are not willing to pursue a permanent stay and lifestyle in each city. Affluence is another requirement in doing urban second home dwelling in both cities.

31 Interviews with Katy Warrick and Empty Property Officer
32 The financial districts in London are situated in the city of London, zone 1, and Canary Wharf located in zone 2 in east London.
Leaving dwellings under-occupied requires money, both in terms of paying rent for housing that is not much used during the year and purchasing urban second homes as övernattningslägenhet and pied-à-terre.

Buying an urban second home in a particular place is as much as tied up as a “cultural desire” and “cultural production” in wanting to be part of distinct socio-spatial practices in a neighbourhood, as much as it is a consumption strategy, a financial desire, in the urban housing market (Paris 2011: 60). Examples in Mayfair, Kensington and Chelsea are illustrating an affluent urban life-style practice in combination as a strategy for the super-rich to hide and launder money and avoid taxes (Paris 2011, Paul Palmer). It is difficult to say if buying urban second homes in Stockholm’s housing market as a financial desire is occurring to the extent to be called a phenomenon. Talking to some participants in this thesis, there has been some suggestions of cooperative housing bought for speculation and investment. Especially where buyers are investing in cooperative housing refurbish them and then sell them to a higher price within a short period of time. A specific street in Östermalm known for being considered as “attractive” was mentioned in the conversation with Lagerling as being targeted as a consumption strategy for investments mixed with social values. As many other participants in the study have said, the laws and regulations in Sweden concerning speculating in housing is experienced as having hampered a similar development as in London.

In London, the financial desire in doing urban second home dwelling has coined the term “Buy-to-Leave” as a consumption strategy. It is a concept for new built dwellings, mostly in neighbourhoods situated around central London and the financial and business districts, where owners let the new housing stand empty whilst the value is ticking up. As stated earlier, the fast up-going value on the market is making it profitable to let space stand un-used. In the cases, space is utterly used temporally. The national urban second home dwellers in both cases illustrated a middle of the week “Staying with things”, whilst the global urban second home dwellers stayed during the holiday months, particularly in the summer.

The place-specific positions of urban second homes in different places in both Stockholm and London present a description of different socio-spatial practices attached to the variegated urban landscape that prevail in each city. The architecture, the different work sectors, business, activities and built environment attracts different urban second home dwellers to come at different times during the week and the year. Their social and cultural preferences matter through the “cultural desire” of being a part of a distinctive urban lifestyle, place and activities, but also in having a financial desire, a work-related profession desire and a political state power desire. In the end, the use of space related to urban second homes represents practices of mutuality and difference. Mutuality by doing one expression of dwelling, urban second home dwelling, and difference in the specific desires in using space by being urban second home dwellers.

33 The speculation in flats is witnessed as becoming a frequent occurrence among new built housing: Erik Hedevind ‘Bo-klipparna tjänar miljoner på dig’ in Östermalmsnytt, 2015:10
http://pdf.direktpress.se/flashpublisher/magazine/13178
Chapter VI. Spatial impacts and experiences in the neighbourhood

Last section discussed the place-specific location of urban second homes and how a “cultural desire” exists in the urban landscape of Stockholm and London. Particularly, it illustrated different ways of practicing urban second home dwelling in relation to time, space, social and cultural life of work, life-style and leisure, related to people’s financial means, shaping and practicing different desires in being urban second home dwellers. This section aims to give further insight of the place-specific location of socio-spatial practices of urban second home dwelling by addressing the third research question how the neighbourhood/area is influenced by urban second home dwelling, and what consequences and experiences may emerge from the dwelling. The research question relates to experiences both from urban second home dwellers and those who share the space with them.

Stockholm

Less engagement, extra work and mixed feelings

Among the 30 participants whom participated in this research about the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in Gamla Stan, said that they experienced some sort of emptiness in the building with mixed reactions. Two tendencies of experiencing the emptiness caused by urban second home dwelling were less engagement and extra work for permanent dwellers in the cooperative housing. Regarding the aspect of less engagement among the urban second home dwellers, an elderly man residing in Gamla Stan regret letting a newspaper using one of the flats temporarily in the building. “They are not contributing so much to the union”, and expressed the annoyance it brings to the house. A woman who reflects over how the urban second dwellers are influencing the neighbourhood further acknowledges the idea of less engagement:

“of course, the engagement, the presence makes that one is more active in the existing activities, and if you only use a housing as stay-over accommodation..then you are not interested in anything else than accommodation”

The less engagement is also expressed by urban second home dwellers. A female Member of the Parliament described the feelings towards the övernattningslägenhet and how she may affect the area: “It is different if you live here. It is more like a place where you have the bed”. Declaring that it is difficult to get a picture of the area, what is going, and whom the people are living in the neighbourhood. Other urban second home dwellers were also stating that they did not know anyone else than their neighbours in the cooperative housing of the people inhabiting in the area. To dwell is to participate in engagement and interaction (Gallent 2007), and doing urban second home dwelling has restricted the possible engagement with people and the materiality in the area. There is partly a missing collective dwelling in terms of in the social and cultural institutions (King 2004: 23) in the specific space the urban second home is located, contributing to a
dwelling of imbalance between the private and the public.

The mixed feelings towards what potential consequences urban second home dwelling caused were found in the discussion if it was experienced as a problem for the other permanent dwellers or not. Reasons behind the varied feelings towards the emptiness in the building seem to be determined by the size of the building and how many members there are in the cooperative housing. A female cooperative housing board chairman demonstrates why they are saying no to övernattningslägenheter:

“It doesn’t work. If you are a small cooperative housing, then you cannot have two who are working themselves into pieces, while the other houings2 are used as övernattningslägenheter... Because there is a lot of work to maintain the building...In this house where I live there is only five flats. Think about if everyone is renting out their flats and live on different places in the world, and if something is happening to the building, who takes the responsibility for it? An example, we had a boiler that busted and we had half a meter of water in the cellar. If we all were situated overseas...who would fix the boiler?”

A shared experience by many cooperative housing and in the interview with Lagerling, was the increased difficulty to maintain the building, consequently leading to an overload of work for the permanent dwellers compared to the urban second home dwellers. Argued by few, it would be different if it was a bigger cooperative housing with more members. But, some members have phrased that they do not experience problems in the emptiness or any influence by the urban second home holders. Interestingly, some of them who has articulated their reflections of experiences in the building and neighbourhood are themselves practicing urban second home dwelling. Additionally, there are also individuals whom are not doing urban second home dwelling that experiences the circumstances alike.

Other mixed feelings occurred with the practices of urban second home dwelling were the conflicting feelings towards the privileged position of being an urban second home dweller and accentuating the already spatial injustices occurring in Stockholm. A male Member of the Parliament says, that his own impact by being a member of the Parliament with a high salary is more of a reinforcing impact on the already on-going segregation and spatial injustice occurring in Stockholm. He describes his conflicting experience in this matter:

“So I think you are a bit shattered in that way, that you are a part of that bit [segregation in Stockholm], in the world as a member of the Parliament, but you don’t really want to be it.”

The participant working for Stadsholmen describes the reactions from the tenants regarding under-occupied housing in their buildings as mixed and two-sided. On the one hand, there is the moral aspect of absenteeism in the homes. Questions that arise if a current tenant experiences something as empty in the house, they can feel a pity that is empty “considering how the housing situation is today”. On the other hand, tenants are utilising the emptiness of dwellings to their own spatial benefit, while already having the spatial privilege of having a public housing. There are people who rather thinks it is better
to let the housing stand empty, “you never know what sort of neighbour who will move in”. The housing renter working at Stadsholmen describes the feeling of spatial entitlement among their urban second home dwellers:

“It happens many times that you see it as your right…and it doesn’t matter if it stands empty because it my flat and I can do whatever I want with it. But it is allmännyttan. If it was the private rental sector, then they may have thought it is alright…But we have another assignment and that is to fulfil the housing shortage with the few flats that… are allmännyttan in the inner-city.”

The feeling of being entitled to space and right to the flat at allmännyttan is conflicting Stadsholmen’s commitment in trying to provide Stockholmare with housing simultaneously as it demonstrates the tenants’ incomprehension of their spatial privilege in relation to allmännyttan’s task to offer housing. The produced sense of spatial entitlement shapes a limited understanding to the wider context of the housing situation related to their spatial privilege compared to the many people who involuntarily dwell from place to place in Stockholm. The female worker at Stadsholmen even daringly proclaimed: “This housing shortage that exists in Stockholm, if everyone who rents out illegally and not using their flat according to the rules, then we could minimise the situation substantially”.

Replacement and enhancing already on-going societal processes in Gamla Stan

As a consequence of urban second home dwellers privileged social positions, possessed affluence in Stockholm and actively chosen conduct of living are closely interacted with the present conjuncture of segregation, gentrification, and touristification in Gamla Stan. This actively chosen socio-spatial practices contribute to the feature of urban second home dwellers as interactive enhancers in the processes. Many of the permanent dwellers mentioned the temporal socio-spatial practices of the members of Parliament, describing their way of dwelling to enhance the temporal living in the city and Gamla Stan and replacing “ordinary people”, and brings experiences of an extension of the state affairs in the city area. An elderly man described this enhancement as “the state has invaded Gamla Stan”. As Lefebvre said in The Production of Space (1990), spatial practices prerequisite a body, and by replacing bodies of “ordinary” people to urban second home dwellers' bodies, embodied by members of the Parliament, it shapes a greater range of temporal spatial patterns and a more regular occurrence of temporal living in Gamla Stan. It becomes a character of the neighbourhood, the representational space, of the lived and the perceived space in Gamla Stan. One of the male Members of the Parliament illustrates the peculiarity with Gamla Stan in the processes of replacement of “ordinary people” with an extension of political activities: “one feels that Gamla Stan is a bit separated from the rest of Stockholm due to the domination of political activities and tourists.” The replacement of ordinary people in Gamla Stan with politicians and other people working in the political sector portray the experiences among the participants of an explicit state-led gentrification process.

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34 Housing company for the public good and utilities
Another on-going process in the enhanced temporal socio-spatial practices in Gamla Stan is the incessantly growing number of tourists visiting Gamla Stan contributing to the experience of a city area becoming more touristified. Together with the experienced increased emptiness and temporal living in Gamla Stan enhanced by many urban second home dwellers, some residents in Gamla Stan describe the prevailed situation using the word *glesbygd*, when referring to what is happening with the decline of civic service in the area such as the *Systembolaget*, district health care centres, library, and other service stores and retail selling different commodities for an everyday-life. The activities and services offered by these amenities stores are being replaced by other sort of urban consumption activities in the ever spreading of cafés, restaurants, souvenir shops and some exclusive boutiques in the landscape. Consumption strategies better suited for tourists. This on-going process in Gamla Stan was further asserted by a female Member of the Parliament in her reflection over the neighbourhood, stating that is not suited or structured to live in the area by saying: “It is not a city area that is built for the everyday-life”.

The temporal dwelling practices by tourists, urban second home dwellers and visitors for the political activities brought a particular experience in the social landscape of Gamla Stan. One resident admitted that she finds it difficult to know know if there is someone who still lives in Gamla Stan and who they are and what they do as a consequence of the tourists “just keep surging and spilling in” in Gamla Stan. It depicts a narrative of Gamla Stan subjected to being literally *all-consuming*, (Urry 1995) where the consumption of Gamla Stan is not only a characteristic for the place visually but further transform how locals come to feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Gamla Stan. The way of relating to the non-material and material relations in Gamla Stan by the temporal dwelling practices illustrated a break with the “collective dwelling” in which the relating in dwelling becomes internally more of an individual affair disrupting the potential emergence of collective dwelling among the inhabitants.

The amount of temporal co-existence exercised by tourists, politicians and the other categories of urban second home dwellers are combining the temporal spatial practices that is restructuring the urban landscape to a more tourystificated landscape. Locals of Gamla Stan are being replaced by politicians, richer urban second dwellers and are to some extent competing over the geographies with the high amount of tourist strollers. The urban second home dwellers are not the cause to the decline and temporal character of Gamla Stan, but in co-existence with other temporal dwellers in the neighbourhood they are enhancing the already on-going changing societal processes in Gamla Stan.

**London**

**Financial and social concerns in the neighbourhoods**

The Empty Property Officer and Empty Homes stressed that neighbours and potential buyers of housing nearby urban second homes are particularly worried about their own value of the house. Most housing strategies written by the boroughs of London indicate
that empty properties can be a source of a changing social landscape in attracting squatters, contributing to crime and anti-social behaviour around the abandoned property. The borough of Barnet goes further in describing the consequences of empty properties claiming that they “can start causing problems such as disrepair to neighbouring premises...and have an effect on the neighbourhood in relation to perceptions of crime and general well-being” (Draft Barnet Housing strategy 2015-2025: 17). The general impact on the neighbourhood because of long-term empty urban second homes is associated with a negative outcome. Squatters, antisocial behaviour, crime, derelict and change of general well-being are all things that does not suit the spatial image of a well-maintained and functioning neighbourhood. However, the Empty property officer asserts that the greatest consequences are for the immediate neighbour, mentioning a case were the state of the urban second home causes dust and rats coming to the neighbour’s property.

In the prime area Primrose Hill in Camden council, residents have expressed fears over the increasing number of homes bought up by investors, as it may result in increased housing prices in the area and closed down schools and local business, because of lack of a sufficient amount of people to keep the community services and local business running (Carter 2013). These experiences illustrate similarities to the component of lack of engagement in the community among the wealthier residents in the phase of supergentrification (Butler & Lees 2006). Which can lead to decline of the desired urban life-style in the particular area that once the gentrifier desired to be part of (Lilja 2011: 160-161). Supergentrification is sometimes referred as the new fifth phase of the gentrification process that has been created from the further impacts of globalisation. Some urban second home dwellers become supergentrifiers in their selected neighbourhoods as a consequence of belonging to the new financial elite and TCC (Lilja 2011: 168, Sklair 2006) in having the world as their workplace. Paradoxically, in wanting to fulfil their desire of being a part of particular urban life style, they are simultaneously depleting it.

One of the groups belonging to the TCC in the central prime areas in London are the super-rich Middle Easterners. A social concern emerged among the more permanent dwellers in Knightsbridge, a neighbouring area to West End where many of the Season Arabs have their urban second homes, is the new nuisance deriving from the luxurious sport-cars such as Lamborghini and Ferrari, the young male Arabs from The Gulf brings to London for the summer months. The impact of the sounds from the sport-cars have caused spatial conflicts were some residents in the area are complaining over how it is impossible to sleep, due to the noise echoing every hour until late at night. The spatial experiences of the dispute are not between the rich and the poor, but rather the regular rich residents and the other super-rich seasonal residents, or as one of the regular residents illustrates the conflict: “it’s the old empire vs. the oil-empire” (Rudge 2013). The last statement illustrates the on-going displacement in the area, where the super-rich replaces the rich (Glucksberg 2016). The supergentrification is particularly evident in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, due to the increase of empty properties in the area. In contrast to the other boroughs of London, which are generally witnessing a decrease (Sedghi & Arnett 2014) 35.Consequently, the absence of spatial practices in

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35 Survey conducted by Empty homes Agency with a full sheet: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1lgLjr3bf...
Knightsbridge are bringing a hollowing of Knightsbridge and a diminishing of spatial practices of a vital restaurant life. Henry Harris, an owner of the restaurant Racine at Brompton describes the hollowing effect brought by the supergentrification:

“*My original clients, who were 50 or 60 when we opened…Some of them couldn’t afford to eat out as often after the recession, but others saw what their houses were worth and decided to realise that asset. They were replaced by non-doms who didn’t live there. In some apartment blocks 20% were unoccupied – one in five of my potential client base. It makes a big difference. In the block behind the restaurant it even became easier to park. You never expect to hear that in Knightsbridge.*”

Other social concerns were stressed by the Empty Property Officer in relation in trying to provide housing for the 30 000 people on the waiting list in Camden Council. Emphasising the situation of a “*major complete major housing crisis, where there are not enough homes…it’s like a moral obligation for people, you can’t just leave your home empty*”. The statement asserts the idea of how dissimilar capacities in buying and using housing affect other people’s possibilities to dwell in a context with experienced housing shortage (Paris 2011: 25). Thus, un-occupied housings become a social concern.

**Living dead spaces in a global city**

Supergentrification has emerged as an immediate effect in some new housing developments recently completed in London. In a sense, many new development areas skip the first phases in the gentrification process, and instantly produces spaces of dead and non-existing urban life, due to being in hands of urban second home dwellers with financial desires. The former planner of City of London, Peter Rees, calls these developments a pile of “safety deposit boxes” for overseas and domestic investors (Peretti 2015, Rees 2015). The architecture of “safety deposit boxes” belongs to the vision of 2020 in turning London to “*The best place to invest and do business on the planet*”, and let London lead UK “*out of the recession*”, in order to be “*the greatest city on the Earth*” (London.gov 2013). A key strategy to meet the vision 2020 is through homes. By using Zombie concepts (Aspen 2013) from the discourse of “*the creative city*, the city of London hopes to entice attract domestic and overseas investments in the pursuit of economic growth.

One way of using zombie concepts is the approach of using “*iconic architecture*” (see figure 13). The Zombie concepts are realised in the everlasting speed of up-raised buildings close to areas of business, finance, tech, media and creative industries in London. The buildings are altering London’s skyline, in transforming the sight of cranes to the regular view. The cranes, as much as they are transforming the visual imagery of London, they are, according to the former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, “*speaking the opportunities soon to come in London*” (2014: 5, see figures 9, 10, 11). The question many Londoners are asking is whose opportunity do the cranes speak?

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“The cranes are speaking the opportunities soon to come in London”

(Johnson 2014: 5)
Figures 11, 12. The orchard in Islington and the development at Battersea Power Station.
What is more, the urban second home dwelling in new developments of housing in London has brought the emergence of the new phenomenon Buy-to-Leave, which are Buy-to-Let properties marketed to investors to buy and sublease. By leaving them empty together with other urban second home dwellers they create a phenomenon regarded as “Lights-go-out”. The phenomenon reflects a particular absenteeism of owners in the neighbourhood. By having an infrequent presence in the area, the urban second home dwellers absenteeism push up prices without contributing to the local economy (Cumming 2015, Rees 2015). The speculating in residential properties is argued to out-price Londoners, and with the new built residential properties the prime housing market invade space in the housing market that initially were not targets for the super-rich investors (Peretti 2015, Katy Warrick 2015).

One of the buildings subjected to the experiences of the phenomena “Lights-go-out” and “Buy-to-Leave” is the Orchard close to Clerkenwell, developed by Mount Anvil (see figure 12). Reading on the website, The Orchard's personality is based on being “surrounded by the creative buzz of Clerkenwell” in an area with a distinctive culture and “community spirit all of its own” (Mount Anvil). The urban district where the Orchard is located has no resemblance of the “buzz” happening in Clerkenwell. Rather, a calm neighbourhood has been developed, where the only noises are coming from the footsteps and prams rolling towards the nursery from parents picking up their children between 4-5pm. The balconies are strikingly empty with no or little furniture and the windows are dressed with standardised long white-beige curtains, preventing any glimpses inside into the empty flats.

Co-existed difference of experiences and impacts in Stockholm and London

The question of displacement was stressed in both cities. In London, the process of supergentrification was notable in the already attractive areas and in the new developed sites. The first mentioned is a displacement of rich by the super-rich. Buy-to-Leave is not displacing anyone, but, as Glucksberg confirms, it illustrates a mismatch between the needs of the local population in London and the housing developed and purchased by foreign investors (2016: 253). The “trickle down” from the foreign investment has not been realised (Glucksberg 2016: 253), instead it has created urban second home dwellers. In Gamla Stan the experiences of displacement are between the urban second home dwellers replacing “ordinary people”, and the feeling of the state invading Gamla Stan. Combined with other temporal city dwellers in Gamla Stan, some feel it is difficult to know who lives in Gamla Stan or not. Simultaneously as the temporal spatial practices by temporal city dwellers in Gamla Stan changes the consumption of place for amenities in the built environment more suitable for the desires expressed for tourists.

In both cases the presence by urban second home dwellers have brought concerns among the permanent dwellers. In the documents about long-term urban second homes in London, it is stressed that properties that are left empty for a longer period of time can attract squatters, contributing to crime and anti-social behaviour and decrease the general well-being in the neighbourhood. Other concerns among the local population in
neighbourhoods with a high amount of urban second home dwellers are worries about decline in service, that local businesses are forced to close down and devaluing the properties. The real expressed concern among the participants in Gamla Stan was that a higher presence of urban second home dwellers bring more work for the permanent members in the cooperative housing and there is a higher lack of engagement among the urban second home dwellers. But, if the emptiness is experienced as a problem for the cooperative housing members depended on the context and the size of the cooperative. As a consequence of this concern, cooperative housings are highly opposed in letting new urban second home dwellers accessing the cooperative housings. Many participants in Gamla Stan in describing the spatial practices in the neighbourhood witnessed of more temporal stays, and many said that you could feel that more and more dwellings are used occasionally. Some of the housings seem to work as “hotels” rather than private dwellings. In the discussions about Gamla Stan many mentioned the decline in services similar to what happens in a Swedish glesbygd, the more expensive prices in the grocery stores and how the area is not structured for an everyday life. It is important to note, as in much other second home literature, urban second home dwellers are not the root to the experienced impacts and changes, but become what I call enhancers of the existing changes.

Among the organisations and individuals working with providing housing to people experienced that the urban second home dwelling is in fact intervening with the possibilities for other people to dwell and use the under-occupied dwellings, in both Stockholm and London. Some of the urban second home dwellers in Stockholm also stressed the uneasy feeling of enhancing the spatial injustices on-going in the city.
Chapter VII: Conclusion and discussion

From the analysis of the empirical findings, I have contributed with an initial classification of the different urban second home dwellers existing in Stockholm, based on the information provided by Bolagsverket, the interviews in Gamla Stan and the other qualitative interviews in the Stockholm case. It resulted in four different categories to make the heterogeneity of the dwelling practices comprehensible and be subjected for other discourses such as race, gender and age in further analyses. The four categories are the global urban second home dwellers, the local urban second home dwellers, the national urban second home dwellers and the retired urban second home dwellers. The four different groups are not completely separated entities, since some of the urban second home dwellers overlap as being simultaneously retiree, global, national, and local, due to their urban second home dwelling, of having access to more than two homes. Although the urban second home dwellers have been categorised they are also sharing more common characteristics than only practicing urban second home dwelling. In Stockholm, all of them consists of privileged and affluent groups with a domestic/native relation to Sweden. This supports the established discourse in the already existing second home literature, as second homes being for a privileged group that has grown because of people becoming more affluent (Paris 2011, McIntyre 2006, Gallent et al 2005). However, the empirical data also differed from the established discourse in the case of London, where being an urban second home owner was not always conditioned of having affluence. The analysis of the professions between the groups of urban second home dwellers, shows similarities to the fractions (corporate, state, technical and consumerist) in the concept of transnational capitalist class by Sklair (2010, 2006), and the professions in the new restructuring globalised capitalism that is mostly found in finance (Sassen 2012). Suggesting that urban second home dwellers are important actors how space is used, altered, desired, and consumed in Stockholm.

The interesting aspect of all urban second home dwellers in Stockholm having an established domestic/native relation to Sweden in contrast to London, where an established domestic/native relation to England or United Kingdom is not a necessity in doing urban second home dwelling, illustrating a shifting degree of global city status between the capitals. Stockholm’s efforts in becoming a city of world class has more or less contributed in connecting Swedish urban second home dwellers to the different metropoles in the world, simultaneously relating the rest of Sweden to Stockholm from its position as being the location for the political centre, financial centre and the largest working sector in Sweden. London is the specific place for the exact same centres and sectors but possess the global city status that many other cities are competing for. From this, it can be interpreted that the more global city or world-class status a city has, it can expect more transnational and global urban second home dwellers in its attractive neighbourhoods.

Although this thesis did not set out to have a theoretical ground in mobility it is inevitably to understand the necessity of mobility in doing urban second home dwelling in terms align with the ‘mobility turn’ tracing the power discourses of mobility (Shelley 2011: 2).
Thinking of it in terms of differentiated mobility among groups and individuals as a result of possessing different amount of mobility capital (Castells 1996: 415), rather than the often used somewhat uncritical conceptualisation of the world and us becoming more mobile in second home literature (see for example McIntyre et al 2006, Hilde et al 2010). Urban second home dwellers are possessing a high amount of mobility capital, because as Paris states “the capacity to travel” is a condition for doing dwelling since it necessarily involves travel between the multiple homes (2011: 15). The way urban second home dwelling is “staying with things”, drawing upon the empirical findings, represents movements and connections between cities, places, neighbourhoods, buildings and people that can be categorised as affluent and with a similar socioeconomic status. The urban second home dwelling is as much as connecting places as it blurs and isolate borders between places (Massey 2007). The shaped interrelations between places is composing the different urban second home dwellers virtual city/country (Hay 2013), and in choosing places where similar people like themselves reside in, the interrelations depict a segregation from others with others. The virtual city portrays a self-chosen segregated city.

The latter statement indicate the consumption of place related to location of the urban second home following the trend as discovered in second home literature to select already attracted places to temporally dwell (Marjavaara 2008: 36). This is firmly asserted in the case of London in the neighbourhoods of West End where the reproduction of super-rich use the dwellings as urban second homes visiting them during the Season (Wilkins 2013, Rudge 2013). In Sweden this is further confirmed in this study by the many urban second homes located in the expensive inner-city neighbourhoods.

The similar preferences in architecture and built environment have been further analysed by thinking with the concept of cultural desire by Urry (1995). The process of developing a cultural desire relates to particular qualities of life and activities that can be practiced in the place. These components are all consumed in doing urban second home dwelling differently, and the concept articulated a restriction in order to understand the place-specific desire to particular places to consume. As found in the collected material, the desire is not only cultural but present a new understanding of differentiated and co-existed with architectural desires, financial desires, profession desires and state power desires.

The financial desire is predominantly a desire developed in the use of urban second homes in London, on the basis of the many urban second homes clustering in particular affluent areas and new developments as investments and for capital accumulation. If this is happening in Sweden is difficult to draw any generalised conclusions about. Some participants in Stockholm have stressed the hampering of a financial desire due to the existing laws regarding in how to buy and use housing in Sweden. The imagined and represented desires allure urban second home dwellers to specific places where the desire can potentially be fulfilled and lived.

Dwelling according to different desires are bringing mixed experiences to the neighbourhood where the urban second home dwelling is taking place. The negotiation of absence and presence disguised by the ownership through different tenure forms of housing precipitate distinctive socio-spatial practices and experiences. A prominent
experience in Stockholm was the experience of additional work in the cooperative housing for the permanent dwellers. More specific for experiences caused by urban second home dwellers are difficult to identify. The experiences urban second home dwelling may effect a neighbourhood in Stockholm correlates to other existing socio-spatial practices. The conjuncture of diverse spatial practices together with the urban second home dwelling practices revealed an enhancing influence on places. Urban second home dwellers become, to what I refer as enhancers to already existing processes structures in the city, comparable to the aforementioned accentuated impacts brought by second home owners in the many different rural, coastal and country-sides (Hall & Muller 2004, Coppock 1977b, Gallent et al 2005, Paris 2008). Discovered in this study, the characteristic among urban second home dwellers as enhancers can be viewed in terms of involuntarily enhancers and voluntarily enhancers in their feelings of spatial privilege. The voluntarily feature manifests itself in the development of a sense of entitlement to space, and the involuntarily is uttered of feelings of unease of enhancing already on-going process. In the researched examples in Stockholm, the experiences of urban second home dwelling correlates with the intensified touristification of Gamla Stan, the prevailing segregation and gentrification, the diminishing of civic service and functions for an everyday life. In London, the enhancing effect by urban second home dwellers are displacement, gentrification and segregation, the phenomenon of living dead spaces and zombie urbanism. Mutually, urban second home dwellers in London and Stockholm are contributing with less presence in the area and the community. Compared to so-called “traditional dwelling”, interaction and engagement can be viewed as fundamental aspects in creating a city life and socially sustainable communities (Gallent 2007).

In both cases, a moral dilemma has been identified in the many underused dwellings in times of a severe housing shortage. The urban second home dwellings found in Stockholm’s public rental housing companies, inflict their task in providing housing to Stockholmare, and in the case of London, both the Empty Property officer and Empty Homes Agency called for a better and resourceful use of under-occupied dwellings in London with the growing housing crisis. Connecting the use of urban second homes with the housing crisis, it opens up new questions relating to how space is used and can be used to meet the housing needs. As emphasised earlier, the vital issue is how can space be organised and distributed to allow different expressions of dwelling in crowded cities to co-exist in a more just urban geography, where the differential wealth, power and privilege are addressed to understand the structures of unquestioned spatial advantage that allow some people to actively choose to conduct their life through multiple dwelling whilst others are forced to temporarily dwell. Perhaps we need to create different types of tenure forms that suit a more mobile and temporal way of dwelling and being, simultaneously as we question how ownership of space should be held and legitimised.
Urban second home dwelling is always a leaving of things

The concept of dwelling in the second home literature has previously discussed it from a perspective to challenge the perception of seeing home as a single unit and place, focusing merely on the positive aspects for the people who are multiple dwelling (McIntyre et al 2006). As mentioned in the aim, the purpose of this study has been to analyse the phenomenon of urban second home dwelling in cities with a housing shortage. The concept of urban second home dwelling is not set out to extract the positive experience in doing urban second home dwelling for the privileged individual, but to understand the impact, experience and the use from a broader perspective. As a consequence, from the housing shortage, there are struggles over space in Stockholm and London, and in the contest for space, some city dwellers are being privileged, and as the literature and the empirical data suggest, people with affluence are the favoured players.

The fundamental aspect in emphasising the unquestioned privilege nature and analysing the use of space in urban second home dwelling is the revealing of the blind eye to the underused space of much desired dwellings. Previously, the urban second homes have only been viewed as occupied because ownership (including “ownership” of cooperative housing or the allocation of rental housing). Its underused phenomenology is what Bar-Sinai has identified as “disguised by ownership” (2009: 12). Because of the illusory effect urban second home dwelling has on occupancy, it is more or less preventing us – planners, politicians, and other bureaucrats and actors involved with housing provision seeking to solve the housing shortage – to see its vacancy and the potentiality in using and organising the existing housing stock to gain a more just city in its distribution and access to space. The idea of rethinking the organisation of the existing housing stock is affirmed by Berit Göransson, Examiner/analysr with expertise in housing questions at the City Planning Office, Stockholm, stating that “housing provision is not only about building housings…it is also about how you view the existing stock”. Accounting that new production of housing only consists of less than a per cent, while most dwellings are in the existing stock, concurrently as there is up to 20 per cent of dwellings in the inner city without national registration (Bergensträhle & Palmstierna 2015)

Further, the concept of urban second home dwelling is not only describing a leaving of things (dwellings), but the dwelling practices as emerged from the data involve merely an individual dwelling. In a sense, the concept provides a new understanding to the linkage of private and public dwelling (King 2004), where the particular expression of urban second home dwelling is practicing a breakage between the public and private, through being less active in the existing social and cultural activities in places, the “collective dwelling” (King 2004: 23). The absence from interaction and practical engagement has, as mentioned earlier, been stated by several cooperative housing members, brought more work for the other members. In this research, some identified urban second home dwellers are engaged as cooperative housing board members, similar to other second home literature (e.g Paris 2008, Gallent et al 2005), stressing the importance of understanding of second home dwellers to have a varied degree of
engagement in their “secondary” place of being-in-the-world. Still, the urban second home dwelling practices alter the built environment and the prevailed city life in the way they consume the city places, with their negotiation of absence and presence. In the case of Gamla Stan, the spatial practices and expressed cultural desire resemble those performed by tourists, another type of temporal city dwellers. Together, they contribute to the temporal practices, a disrupted engagement in consumption of place displacing service further from the permanent dwellers in the neighbourhood with the replacement of amenities and activities suited for tourists, such as cafés and souvenir shops, the all-consuming of places come to define the nature of life, the people and their sense of belonging to places.

From this point of view, the task is not to prevent people for living mobile lives, to dwell differently and in more places, the task is to re-organise the way we occupy housing space and the thinking of how we should use it to let plural existence to co-exist in space without inflicting others people opportunities to dwell situating them into forced mobility. The urban second home dwelling practices illustrate a different regular pattern of life where many of one’s life activities are spread over many geographies. It portrays that some of us, are more mobile, and with their privileged social positions in contemporary society, they effect other peoples’ capacities to dwell, work and fulfil their desires in being busy fulfilling their own desires found in the chosen urban milieu of theirs, as the urban second home dwelling is mostly engaged privately than publicly. To create just and more sustainable cities, we need to questioning ownership in both cooperative housings and ownership tenure based on financial terms, we need to question the hosing queue system in Stockholm, and instead address the social questions in accessing, distributing housing – if the housing shortage ever going to be solved. In a sense, the nature of second homes as “shared but separate” (Williams & Hall 2000:19) need to become more shared. The goal to strive for, should be a reassurance to always have a present dwelling staying with things in the existing cityscape.
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Mount Anvilb, The World's Greatest City available at:

Planning Advisory Service (2015) 'S106 Obligations overview' 27 March


Appendix 1. Figures

Figures

**Figure 1.** Gamla Stan. Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by Lisa Holtz

**Figure 2.** Customer who lives in London seeking övernattningslägenhet, Source: http://www.esny.se/sv/object/wanted/type/grand 9 April 2015

**Figure 3.** Local urban second home dwellers. Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by Lisa Holtz

**Figure 4.** National urban second home dwellers. Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by Lisa Holtz

**Figure 5.** Global second home dwellers and retiree urban second home dwellers. Source: https://www.google.se/maps processed by Lisa Holtz

**Figure 6.** Long-term empty urban second homes Mayfair, 25 March 2015, Lisa Holtz

**Figure 7.** Long-term empty urban second homes Newham, 25 March 2015, Lisa Holtz

**Figure 8.** Cranes Battersea, 24 March 2015 Lisa Holtz

**Figure 9.** Cranes Camden, 18 March 2015, Lisa Holtz

**Figure 10.** Cranes White Collar Factory Old Street, 20 March 2015, Lisa Holtz

**Figure 11.** The Orchard, 25 March 2015, Lisa Holtz

**Figure 12.** Icon seeks icons, Battersea Power Station. 24 March 2015 Lisa Holtz
Appendix 2. Interviews

The empirical data was collected between February – May 2015 in Stockholm and during a 10-day field study in London in March 2015.

Stockholm

Public officials and experts:
Sven Bergenstråhle, author for some reports at Hyresgästförening in Stockholm Region, 54 minutes, 28 April 2015
Richard Lagerling, real estate agent at Lagerlings with a focus at Östermalm, 35 minutes, 19 May 2015
Berit Göransson, Examiner/analysyer at the City Planning Office, Stockholm, expertise in housing questions, 52 minutes, 13 May 2015
Female Worker at Stadsholmen, an associated company to Svenska Bostäder AB, public rental housing mostly in Gamla Stan and Södermalm, 38 minutes, May 2015

Urban second home dwellers, Member of Parliament:
Female, 23 minutes, Östermalm, 1 April 2015
Female, 26 minutes, Gamla Stan, 16 April 2015
Male, 30 minutes, Norrmalm, 15 April 2015
Male, Gamla Stan, e-mail correspondence, 9 April – 10 April 2015

Urban second home dwellers contacted through friends:
Male, Kungsholmen, Skype 30 minutes with a following up 15 minutes' interview, Skype interview, 4 May 2015 and 11 May 2015
Female, Vasastan, 19 minutes, telephone interview, 24 April 2015

Gamla Stan, telephone interviews:
Female, 5 minutes, 14 April 2015
Male, 5 minutes 14 April 2015, following up interview 23 April, 71 minutes
Male, 5 minutes, 16 April 2015
Male, 7 minutes, 16 April 2015
Male, 10 minutes, 16 April 2015
Male, 5 minutes, 16 April 2015
Female, 29 minutes, 17 April 2015
Male, 5 minutes, 23 April 2015
Female, 5 minutes, 23 April 2015
Male, 7 minutes, 23 April 2015
Male, 20 minutes, 23 April 2015
Female, 23 minutes, 23 April 2015
Female, 20 minutes, 27 April 2015

37 Public rental housing as a part of allmännyttan
Male, 10 minutes, 27 April 2015
Male, 12 minutes, 27 April 2015
Female, 5 minutes, 28 April 2015
Female, 20 minutes, 28 April 2015
Female, 10 minutes, 28 April 2015
Male, 5 minutes, 28 April 2015
Male, 12 minutes, 28 April 2015
Male, 12 minutes, 29 April 2015
Male, 16 minutes, 29 April 2015
Male, 7 minutes, 5 May 2015
Female, 16 minutes, 6 May 2015
Female, 7 minutes, 6 May 2015
Female, 20 minutes, 6 May 2015
Female, 5 minutes, 7 May 2015

London

Two employees at Empty Homes Agency, approximately 60 minutes, 16 March 2015
Empty Property officer, 42 minutes, 17 March 2015
Katy Warrick, Savills, 30 minutes, 23 March 2015
Architecture firm employee, 21 minutes, Skype interview, 25 May 2015, a following up discussion from a private conversation at 24 March 2015
Paul Paulmer, e-mail correspondence, 20 March 2015

Disregarded Interviews:
Jörgen Engström, Wåhlins 20 minutes, March 2015
Acquaintance, approximately 30 minutes, February 2015
Airbnb interview, approximately 60 minutes, April 2015
Olof Pettersson, JM, approximately 30 minutes, 10 April 2015