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Balancing hope and fear – Swedish young adults' housing strategies on a scarce market

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ABSTRACT

This study explores emotions in young Swedish adults' search for housing. Along with this purpose the theoretical aim is to explore the role of emotions in action and decision-making. Through semi-structured interviews and based on sociological theory of emotions the following questions are answered: What are the main emotions associated with looking for housing on a scarce market? How do these emotions orient decisions and strategies in the housing search? How are these emotions managed by the subjects in order to avoid emotions that hamper and encourage emotions that promote continued searching? In the light of the uncertain future, housing search is driven and changed by temporal emotions such as hope, fear, hopelessness, confidence and trust. The strategies and experiences of the housing search is compromised and conflicted by moral emotions such as shame, anger and sympathy. To uphold hope needed to continue searching, active emotion management is needed. Hope in specific events are held down while a general long-term hope is built up in order to continue what appears to be fruitless actions, creating a seedbed for future possibilities.

Keywords: Emotions, emotion management, housing strategies, housing shortage, young adults, hope, fear

Introduction

The Swedish housing market has long been characterised by shortage. Out of 290 municipalities 183 predicted that their housing supply would not meet the need for the period 2015-2016. For resource weak groups such as young adults and immigrants the prospects are particularly grave (Boverket 2015a). An estimate of over 700 000 accommodations must be built to meet the need by the year 2025 (Boverket, 2015b). These numbers will be far from met at the current pace and the housing crisis rendered a lively public debate during the spring of 2016.

For young adults the alternatives available to find housing are fragmented and require strategic work and resources. Most landlords whether they are public or private require their tenants to have a stable and sufficient income. Apart from economic capital, contacts and an understanding of how different queue systems works is needed. Meanwhile, house prices and loans are constantly rising, bringing the imminent threat of a burst real estate bubble. With requirements such as financial stability and economic capital enough for a deposit, a housing mortgage loan is not a viable option for many young adults. Young adults do not only have a harder time getting access to housing, they are also increasingly living under precarious, expensive and illicit conditions. In the largest cities almost a third of all 20-27 year olds who have left the parental home live as subtenants or lodgers or other housing forms that lack protection of tenancy. This number is the highest ever recorded in Sweden (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015a; Boutredningen, 2007).

Independent housing is an important symbolic and material part of the transition into adulthood (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). In late modern society the importance of individual decision making has increased (Giddens, 1991). Following this trend, the transition into adulthood has become less scripted and more dependent on the choices made by those entering the housing and labour market. When fateful decision are put in the hands of individuals with limited knowledge the free choice can become a burden (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002). Meanwhile deregulation has resulted in a segregated market where housing is no longer a given social right (Grundström and Molina, 2016). Structural conditions are experienced emotionally by the individuals living within them. As a whole generation of young Swedish adults navigate their

way into the scarce housing market, increasingly held responsible not only for their choices but their failures, it is likely to be an emotional experience.

The study of emotions in relation to the housing market can be motivated in several ways. The home is a social, cultural and emotional construct (Easthope, 2004). The future goal of people looking to buy or rent housing is thus an emotional object in itself. Furthermore, navigation on the housing market contains planning and decisions, directed towards an uncertain imagined future. Within sociology there has been an increased awareness of the role of emotions to action and decision-making (Archer, 2000; Barbalet, 1998). Emotions such as hope and desire are involved in the imagining and planning of the future of young adults (e.g. Bryant and Ellard, 2015). A few studies have been published focusing on emotions on the market of housing in particular (e.g. Christie et al., 2008). In relation to action in a context of risk and uncertainty “non-rational” strategies, such as hope and trust, have been highlighted (Zinn, 2008).

In this study I will explore the role of emotions in the search for housing. More specifically I will focus on the emotions of young adults as they navigate their way through the alternatives of the housing market. On an empirical level I aim to increase the understanding of how the housing shortage affects and is experienced by young adults. I also aim to contribute to theory development about the interface between emotions and action. The following questions will be in focus:

- What are the main emotions associated with looking for housing on a scarce market?
- How do these emotions orient decisions and strategies in the housing search?
- How are these emotions managed by the subjects in order to avoid emotions that hamper and encourage emotions that promote continued searching?

Starting with a literature overview positioning the study in relation to previous research the article will move on to present some fundamental theoretical standpoints on the study of emotions. Following this some methodological considerations are laid out. The study is then put in a structural context through a presentation of the housing market alternatives in Gothenburg, followed by the analysis itself.

Literature overview

At large the field of housing research has disregarded emotions. According Clark et al (2006) the literature on the residential mobility process has two major strands: the equilibrium approach and the dissatisfaction approach. Both frameworks view the decision to move as the given outcome of and disequilibrium or dissatisfaction in current and desired housing conditions. However, the field of housing research has been criticised for being too positivistic, viewing the housing market in terms of a career or ladder, assuming rational actors with similar preferences (Clapham, 2002; Munro and Madigan, 1998). There has been, Clapham argues, a disregard for the relationship between attitudes and behaviours and constraints and opportunities. Consequently there is a need to understand the agency/structure interface of the housing market and increase the understanding of how choices are made, how strategies are developed and how markets work (Clapham, 2002; Munro, 1995; Smith et al., 2006). From a more economic standpoint, a behavioural turn within housing research has been supported with the recognition that housing decisions are socially and culturally embedded and dependent on emotions, occurring in a context of uncertainty making rational choice-based frameworks insufficient (Marsh and Gibb, 2011; Watkins and McMaster, 2011).

Following this critique several empirical studies explore emotions in relation to housing decisions. In their studies of the property market of Edinburgh, Munro, Smith and Christie

(Christie et al., 2008; Munro and Smith, 2008) show how emotional attachment to an object and feelings of fear and hope are integral to the buying process, arguing that desperation could be the basis for price bubbles. Levy et al (2008) show how emotions and that it “feels right” play a big part in the final decision when buying a house. Analysing the home-buying experiences of first-time buying families in Copenhagen, Jørgensen (2016), argues that emotions and materiality work together creating a sense of security for the family. Notably, all studies above focus on emotions in the process of buying a home.

Further insights into the experiences of young people on the housing market come from the field of transition research. Over the last decades the school to work transition as well as the housing transition of young adults have been protracted (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). During this period the trajectories into adult life have been more diverse and less scripted, presenting more alternatives to choose from, but little guidance on how to make these decisions (Bryant and Ellard, 2015). In order to grasp this increasingly individualised experience, the future imaginations of young adults have moved into focus. In a comparative study of the future labour market plans of young adults in Bristol and Gothenburg, Devadason (2008) distinguishes between different kinds of hopes and dreams in decision making, arguing that the Swedes could afford to have vaguer, more highflying hopes and dreams due to a more extended social safety net. In their study of disenfranchised young people, Bryant and Ellard (2015) argue that hope not only plays an important part in future thinking but that hope in itself can be regarded as a form of agency.

While several studies implicitly or explicitly show that emotions matter in relation to housing decisions and the future planning of young adults, emotions are rarely conceptualised in relation to sociological theory of emotions. It is my belief that there is a need for more studies exploring *how* emotions matter in the specific context of housing. Drawing on theory of emotions, this study will fill this gap.

Furthermore, many studies explore emotions in relation to homeownership, ignoring the process leading up to the choice of tenancy. In a Swedish context where renting is the preferred and dominant alternative among young adults, but where the interest in homeownership is slowly increasing, separating the home-owning and rental sector would leave out several aspects of the housing search (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015a). By including all types of tenure I present a more complete picture of the Swedish housing market, while gaining knowledge about emotions in relation to tenure choice and the context of rented housing.

Theoretical framework

Central to this study is the notion that emotions are both the outcome and instigators of social processes and events, forming a link between structure and agency. As described by Barbalet (1998 p. 27) “Emotion is provoked by circumstances and is experienced as transformation of dispositions to act.” Since all actions are directed towards a future that cannot be known emotions have a temporal dimension. Archer (2000) describes the inner process leading up to action as a dialogue between the past, present and future self. The present self draws on past experiences in negotiation with the future self about the possible outcomes of acting. In this process emotions are “commentaries upon our concerns” through which we appraise our situation, value our options and handle the uncertainty of the future (Archer, 2000 p. 195).

In the analysis I will make a distinction between temporal and moral emotions. While sensations and feelings are just bodily experiences, emotions always have a direction (Barbalet, 1998). While all emotions can affect behaviour with an uncertain outcome I will use the concept of temporal emotions regarding emotions experienced in the present due to something that could happen in the future (what Baumgartner et al. (2008) call anticipatory emotions). Notable

examples of emotions with the future itself as a primary object are hope and confidence. In a process towards a future goal, such as the housing search, time is an essential aspect. Hope arises from a desire to be in a different, future situation, and a recognition that while this future is possible one cannot be sure to possess the capacities to get there (Lazarus, 1999). Confidence on the other hand is the internal assurance that our capacities can move us from the present to the desired future (Barbalet, 1998). Both hope and confidence thus carry the promise of future change, needed to dare to act in uncertainty.

If temporal emotions concern what we want to and can do, moral emotions concern what we *should* do. Morality consists of cultural codes and norms of what is just, good and acceptable. A moral emotion arises in reference to these codes containing evaluation of the own behaviour. When misbehaving in relation to the moral code, guilt or shame is experienced (Kemper, 1978). In order to avoid the shame/guilt we act in accordance to social expectations (Turner and Stets, 2006). Moral emotions thus connect us to social structure and culture through self-awareness. Shame can also be experienced in relation to the moral self. An important part of the inner dialogue between our past, present and future self consists of efforts to find internal consistency and commitment. When we act against what we consider to be the true self, its moral identity or commitments, we generally feel bad (Archer 2000). We are thus aware of our emotions, and we have emotions regarding our emotions. Dictated by sociocultural feeling rules of how we are supposed to feel we try to manage our emotional appearance as well as our emotions. In this study I will focus on the inner management of emotions Hoshchild (2003) calls “deep acting”. The alteration of the emotions experienced can be done in several ways, pretending and convincing ourselves, either evoking new emotions or suppressing the emotions currently experienced (Hochschild, 1979).

In the context of decision making and especially in relation to a study focusing on experiences on a market, a few things must be said about rationality and emotions. In western culture, emotion has been regarded as the opposite of rationality, disruptive to the process of rational thinking (Barbalet 1998). Essential to this study is however that emotions are an integral part of action and decision-making. My view, consistent with Barbalet’s “radical approach”, is that even the most calculated decisions require background emotions of calmness and control in order for the actor to dare bridge the gap of uncertainty. Emotions are, as Williams (2000, p. 564) puts it “woven into the very fabric of our reasoning”. Often these crucial background emotions, in opposition to the more visible foreground emotions, are not recognised in everyday events, explaining why actors are sometimes not aware of their effect on their behaviour (Wettergren, 2013). Apart from the role of confidence and hope in “rational” economic decisions, emotional attachment, emotional interpersonal relations and the manipulation of the emotions of others have been shown to be vital to economic transactions (Pixley, 2002).

Method

The explorative approach of the study warrants an open and flexible methodology. In order to understand the context in which emotions emerge, how they are handled and the actions they influence I needed to get close to the individuals experiencing them. Therefore, material for the study was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews.

Looking for patterns in the emotional experiences of young adults on the housing market, the sample criterions used were simple. Participants should be 20 to 30 years old and have current or recent experience of looking for housing in Gothenburg. The choice to restrict the study to my home town was made primarily out of convenience, but since Gothenburg suffers from a grave housing shortage it is also a suitable choice (Boverket, 2015c). Focusing on one city moreover

puts the informants in a common structural context. This enables me to study their experiences in relation to specific institutions such as the public housing queue specific to Gothenburg.

The informants were recruited through Facebook. An event describing the study, criterions for informants, and information about how the interviews were to be conducted, was spread through my personal network. The text specifically asked readers to spread it to others matching the criteria. The event was also posted in a Facebook group designated for housing advertisement. After the interviews informants were asked if they knew others that might be interested in participating. This open recruitment process will of course affect the sample. While the event appeared to have a quite large spread outside my own immediate network the friends of my friends might be a quite homogenous group. It is also possible that people actively expressing interest in this type of study are particularly emotionally or politically engaged in the subject. However qualitative research can never aspire to be quantitatively representative, and the informants recruited constitute a group with varied experiences and conditions.

The informants and the interviews

Ten informants between the ages 22 and 30 were recruited - eight women, one man and one genderqueer person. Some were students, others worked and one was on sick leave. While their economic and social conditions varied they do not represent the most underprivileged groups on the housing market. In general, I would categorize them as middle class or aspiring middle class. A majority had some tertiary education and a few had a finished degree. All had names passing as north European. Some had previous or current circumstances aggravating their possibilities to find housing such as a penalty point in the enforcement service record or periods of living on sickness benefit or social security. A few stated that it was very hard to get a permanent employment within their field of work. Only one discussed buying a home as an economical viable option, and none appeared to get regular economic support from their families. Only one originated from Gothenburg

At the time of the interviews they had different living arrangement and various forms of tenancy; lodging, subletting apartments from strangers or acquaintances, renting with protection of tenancy, living in the parental home, and one was illegally renting in a garden house on an allotment. The conditions of the current tenancy varied, ranging from structured written contracts to oral or vague agreements, not specifying things like time of notice. While they had in common that they considered themselves to be searching for housing, the urgency and purpose of the search varied from being forced to move, having to find any quick solution to searching for a bigger apartments or a more permanent home. Two informants had just found new housing where they expected to stay for a while and the interviews reflected their previous experiences.

The interviews were loosely structured by a thematic interview guide and conducted in places of the informants' own choice; in workplaces, at the informant's home or at a local library or a café, or at the university. Inspired by Gabriel and Ulus (2015) the informants were asked to recall their thoughts and feelings in specific situations, such as when writing an email to a potential landlord. They were also asked to describe a positive and a negative situation connected to their search. I never asked about specific emotions except when trying to get the informant to elaborate on an emotion already mentioned. Sometimes the informants were asked to specify the emotions involved, but to avoid loss of focus on the context this was done after allowing the informant to elaborate freely (Burkart and Weggen, 2015). Being asked to describe feelings can be a strange experience. While all informants had experienced the specific situations they were asked to recall, the time that had passed since could have had some distorting effect on their memory (Burkart and Weggen, 2015). The emotions extracted from the interviews should be seen as a mixture of the recollection of events and the emotions experienced in the interview situation

when looking back. Therefore, the content of the interviews should be regarded as, at least partly, constructed in the interview situation. The interviews were recorded and lasted between 40 minutes and one hour and 15 minutes.

Methods of analysis

Emotions can be observed in three ways – in declaration (explicitly voicing the emotion “It feels so hopeless”), through action (an informant beats her fist on the table) and through narrative (Gabriel and Ulus, 2015). The emotions discussed in the analysis have thus not always been explicitly voiced in the interviews. In some situations, it is even possible that the informant would not recognise it as an emotion at play in the described situation. It is also possible that they would be unwilling to explicitly talk about certain emotions. Several emotions, such as shame, are notorious for being hidden from view in everyday life. Through narrative structure, such as wordings and phrasing, these low visibility emotions can become visible (Kleres, 2011). Shame for example can be communicated by describing shameful situations.

Apart from transcribing the interviews I listened to them several times to get a feel for the content and the informants. That way I could make a list of preliminary themes and codes before approaching the text. The list was elaborated on throughout the coding process in an abductive manner (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). The codes focused on specific emotions explicitly and implicitly mentioned in the text as well as other themes. When reviewing the codes my focus was on the common context and objects of singular emotions and how they appeared and interact with other emotions.

Ethical considerations

Throughout the study I have followed the ethical requirements of the Swedish Research Council (2002). All informants were informed about the purpose of the study, their voluntary participation and how the information given by them would be anonymised, stored and used. Some informants expressed special concern regarding their anonymity due to them living under illicit conditions. In relation to precarious details these concerned informants have been consulted on what to include in the text to ensure their safety and peace of mind.

Another concern has been my position as a researcher and informants’ experience of the interviews. In some cases, their housing situation and experiences on the housing market, have been an emotionally heavy burden for the informants. As discussed by Gabriel and Ulus (2015) - when the object of scientific inquiry is emotionally troublesome aspects of individuals’ lives, it requires particular ethical consideration. On some occasions when interviewing it became clear that we had moved close to a topic which was sensitive and hard to talk about. In those situations, I had to question to what extent I should push deeper into the subject, gaining valuable insights at risk of putting the informant in an uncomfortable situation. While I before the start of the interviews, made it clear that the informants were free to deny answering, I once refrained from certain follow up questions out of concern for the informant. My general impression, however, is that most informants did not find the interview experience distressing and some expressed that it was nice to get a chance to reflect on the subject.

The housing market in Gothenburg

An estimated 42 200 young adults in the region of Gothenburg desire but lack housing of their own (Hyresgästföreningen, 2015b). For those who lack the economic capital to buy a home, the alternative is renting. In this section I will give a background to the search alternatives available focusing on the renting sector and the options explored by my informants.

A node in the renting sector of Gothenburg is Boplats, a corporation co-owned by the city of Gothenburg and the public and private housing corporations (Boplats, A). Through the website boplats.se the public housing queue, as well as the queues of several private landlords are accessed. The site also displays advertisements for subletting and lodging. Candidates apply for specific objects and are prioritised based on number of days in the queue. Applicants are only allowed to decline a certain number of offers. Many private landlords accept applications through Boplats, but they are not required to prioritise based on number of queue days and can select tenants based on their personal profile. With some exceptions, landlords require the tenant to have a stable yearly income of three times the annual rent and/or a warrantor.

In December 2015 Boplats had 165 266 registered applicants. Receiving a first hand contract through the public queue took a mean of 3.7 to 7.3 years in queue depending on the district (Boplats, B). The number of days required increase each year with the number of people registered in the queue. When accepting an offer, the applicant's queue days are deleted. Being a segregated city, it is far easier to get housing in the stigmatised and often materially neglected neighbourhoods in the outskirts. This is the background to the phenomenon described by the informants as "saving queue days". When becoming eligible to a non-desirable apartment in a marginalised neighbourhood, after about 3-4 years, accepting an offer would lead to the deletion of all queue days. Faced with this prospect many stay in the queue despite being able to get housing in some form, in the hope of getting a better offer in yet a few years.

Apart from the official housing queues, some landlords have queues of their own. External exchange of housing contracts between tenants with different landlords is also an option, often administered through specific websites. Those who lack the queue time and economic capital needed to get established on the first hand market are left to subletting and lodging. These options can be accessed through Boplats, but more common among my informants is the use of the advertisement site Blocket.se, other websites designated for the purpose, the social media site Facebook.se, and individual social networks. On Facebook people advertise their need or supply of housing through events or groups focused on housing advertisement. In accordance to Swedish law subtenants and lodgers lack protection of tenancy and can be evicted without reason (Hyresnämnden, 2005). They are also often forced to accept high rents and poor or illicit conditions like living without written contracts and without the consent of the main landlords (Boutredningen, 2007).

In search of a home

Early it became clear that it is impossible to talk about the informants' current situation without touching upon their past experiences of looking for housing. The search is an evolving process that changes both within and between search periods. It is conditioned by economic and social capital as well as previous experiences. To understand the emotions involved in the search for housing, a crucial component is to understand the ultimate goal of the search: a home. The housing search process is a series of events and actions which all aim towards finding a place to stay, preferably one that can be called home. A home is not only a material structure but a social, cultural and emotive construct created out of social relations (Easthope, 2004). In line with this, informants make a clear distinction between housing and a home.

"This is either just roof above my head, it's simply something I'll have to manage with until my next housing and hope that things will get better. Or it is a dwelling, I like it there, but it's not mine, it's not my home. Or it's a home. And it is wonderful. Your own, where you're safe and calm." - Felicia

While housing is “roof above the head”, a home is something associated with several emotional implications, such as safety and control, calm and rest. Central to the informants’ perception of “a home” is stability. This does not necessarily mean a contract with protection of tenancy, but that one can expect to stay there for a long time if wanting to, being in control of when and if to move out. It means not having to consider rules set by someone else or to be the weaker part in a power relation. As Eli, who had previous bad experiences of not feeling at home when lodging describes it:

“A place with integrity. Where I’m in charge. Or where I can have my place, where I have my basic conditions. I can... yes, to have a place where I can retreat and not think about anything. Where I can, like, move freely and not have to analyse how the things I do are perceived. Where I feel like I can be myself, be at ease and without demands on me” - Eli

Long term stability in turn means being able to unpack and to get to decorate. To some informants it is also symbolized by the prospect of having time to create relations with neighbours and the neighbourhood or to get to plant things and watch them grow over several seasons. Long term stability and control is however not all. This is clear when talking to the one informant who lives with protection of tenancy and the informant remaining in the parental home. In these cases, the driving force is the longing for a more functional home and a home of one’s own (as opposed to a home shared with family). A home where rest and “alone time” is possible with control over all aspects of one’s living. Some informants express how the home becomes like an extension of the self, and the will to decorate can therefore be seen as a concrete need to express identity.

The conditions needed to fulfil this sense of safety, control and belonging are individual. It must be noted that *the home* here is treated as a future ideal picture. This does not mean that the informants never will consider or speak of their current dwelling as home. Some informants acknowledge that this ideal home is not likely to be the outcome of this specific search period - they probably will end up finding some form of temporary housing. However, the qualities associated with a home constitute the recurring object towards which actions are aimed throughout the search.

Emotions, decisions and strategies

The search for new housing is an action-filled process. It consists of spending hours on the internet, on social media and different advertisements sites, sending mails, making phone calls, collecting tips and information, viewing possible apartments and neighbourhoods, filing for mortgages, persuading landlords. When acting we draw upon our past experiences trying to propel ourselves into a desirable future existence. In this emotions are “commentaries upon our concerns” judging our situation and our future possibilities and desires (Archer, 2000, p. 195). The following analysis is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on how emotions with clear temporal objects, experienced in relation to the possibilities of the market, drive the search forward. In the second part I will show how moral emotions experienced in relation social expectations and norms affect and complicate the experience of the search.

Temporal emotions: Hope and fear, confidence and trust

Hope is crucial to human agency. It is needed to bridge the gap between our certain capacities as agents and our future desire (McGeer, 2004). If hope relates to our future desires, fear is the expectation of a negative outcome and the prospect of harm (Barbalet, 1998). Through hopes and fears we elaborate on the outcomes of the uncertain future.

“It’s the feeling of looking at a dream. To get to dream. And it’s the same thing when you walk around town looking at houses or apartments and go “oh, it would be nice to live here!” My partner and I do that now “This would be a good apartment”. And suddenly you start to dream about a future where you have stable housing. And it is quite fun to dream about. “Oh, finally we will get a place where WE can get to build a home!” Because that’s probably a central part: I haven’t had a home in several years. And that’s what’s fun. To imagine that “Oh, I will have a home one day and this could be my home”. - Anna

“I’m at home quite a lot. Or, I’m that kind of person who is very social when I’m amongst people, but then I need.. I need my... alone time. (...) If I’m not comfortable where I live, then that recovery process is... yes, if I feel that I can’t recover, or how to say it, get emotional rest... It becomes like sleep deprivation but for the emotions. I can’t appreciate meeting friends and I can’t get any work done. It’s like walking around in chewing gum. And it’s like - yes, to have an enjoyable home is almost the foundation for me to work as a human being (...) And the stress that I might have to move, might have to accept a place where I won’t be comfortable. Then it’s like I know that the coming years of my life will go to hell” -Karin

The quotes above illustrate how the long term hopes and fears of the house search relates to the ideal home. The prospect of finding a home fuels hope. But there is also the fear of the negative counterpart of a home and future miserable housing conditions. Informants describe the presence of fear as low key stress and underlying worry, some imagining how they, at their given moving date, would have to stand in the street, surrounded by furniture and nowhere to go. While acknowledging that they have always, somehow, managed to find housing before and that this scenario is perhaps unlikely or even irrational, it is still an object of fear.

In the interviews there are also more concrete fears connected to the effects of unstable or undesired housing. Informants worry about the effects that their housing search, or current and future housing conditions (such as dependency on others, having to live with parents, friends or partners as a last resort, or living under crowded conditions) will have on their personal relationships. Some informants fear uncertainty itself and how subsequent feelings of worry and stress will take over their life. When motivating why it is important to find stable housing, Nora also describes worry of having to go through another tiresome search: *[I want] time to feel at home and feel safe (...). I’m stressed to have to end up in this situation again. Even before I’m in the situation I stress about ending up there” - Nora*

The fears of the possible future consequences of bad housing and continued struggle can thus be far reaching. Many informants mention the fear that in the long run they may become forced to disrupt their life and leave Gothenburg if failing to find stable housing. *“Well, if I don’t have housing (...) then I’ll have to leave Gothenburg. And that’s inconvenient because this is where I have my life, and where I build my life” - Erika*

Fear is also experienced in relation to specific events within the search process. The most prominent example of this is informants avoiding to use the advertisement site Blocket.se, regarding it as unsafe or not serious. Another example is how some informants try to bring a friend when viewing a sublet apartment, in fear that the hirer could have dishonest intentions. This is fear of actual physical harm but also a fear of ending up in a situation with a general lack of control. Fear thus affects the decisions and strategies of the housing in many ways. It pushes the searcher forwards in fear of what will happen else. Some informant express that when their moving date approaches, fear of failure causes them to lower their standards and consider to settle for less ideal circumstances. However, fear of harm or of having to live under bad, insecure

conditions, also contributes to upholding certain criteria, avoiding housing and strategies that are perceived to be unsafe or uncertain.

Connected to the fear of failing to find suitable housing and having to live under uncertain or unsafe conditions are the feelings of hopelessness felt towards the market. Elin shares a first-hand contract with her partner but is struggling to find a bigger apartment:

“I feel very... trapped where I live now. And it feels very hopeless to get hold of anything else. I feel that I don't have any expectations of finding anything. And that is... distressing. I had such a luck when I found this apartment, previously I have always been a subtenant or had a room somewhere far out for which I paid a lot” - Elin

Hope in some form is crucial for all action. When going online, when writing a mail or when waiting for a reply from a landlord there is always the hope that “maybe this time I will be the lucky one”. One can have several hopes, hopes in specific events as well as a general long-term hope. Ratcliffe (2011) argues that hopelessness is not just the absence of hope, it is the awareness of the absence of hope and is therefore an emotion in itself. When talking about hopelessness the general meaning is not the loss of all hope but hope lost in relation to something specific (Lazarus, 1999). In the case of the informants this can be translated into losing hope in the conventional housing market, but not in ever finding housing.

Some informants describe how they once had a vision to find a first hand contract but after being confronted with the conditions on the market this prospect disappeared. To some extent informants appear to have an underlying conception that aligns with the notion that good housing is a social right that can be expected to be provided by the welfare state, something that in practice is not true on the contemporary market (Grundström and Molina, 2016). In general, the informants are aware of the terms of the market which also means that they are painfully aware of the length of the housing queues and their own position and limitations in relation to this. Thus hopelessness appears to have been acquired over time when confronted with the reality of the market.

Informants express that they don't know how to stand out from the masses. In regard to the automatized system of the public housing queue this is particularly prominent. Declaring interest in an apartment by just clicking a button on a website creates a feeling of lack of control, increased by the fact that it is often unclear when or if one will get notice on the outcome. The act of sending emails, when there are hundreds of people emailing regarding the same advertisement, is a similar experience. Some informants make clear that they got their previous housing through “sheer luck”, further indicating lack of control over their current situation, implying that many actions on the housing market cannot be expected to have any effect at all. The notion that it is hopeless to get stable housing without years in the queue had already caused one informant to abandon the idea of renting altogether. She was now to buy a tenant ownership. Similarly, others were less inclined to pursue options perceived as hopeless. In general, the few informants who did not aspire for a first-hand contract appeared to feel less hopeless about their own prospects.

Through hope and fear the possible outcomes of the uncertain future are considered. Through confidence a possible future is brought into the present, bringing a sense of certainty to what can never be known (Barbalet, 1998). Central to all actions is the actor's confidence in their capacities and their ability to bring out a desirable outcome. In the interviews these abilities denote economic resources, such as the stable income and employment required to get a first hand contract or monetary savings to use as deposit when buying an apartment. But the source of confidence can also be social capital and personal attributes, such as the ability to talk for oneself,

stubbornness, awareness that one has a social background that is considered desirable by landlords. In that sense confidence is very concretely connected to class and social position.

“But as it turns out many of these private landlords choose people who they think are cool. And by cool I basically mean have a stable income. And now I have realised that I can just ask my employer for a really nice job certificate. So I have sent an application to a private landlord (...) I called [the reception] and small talked a little about the places, and then I kind of asked like “But how many are applying?” And she said “Well, I won’t lie, we get a fair share of applications but... if you have good references and an employment it will probably turn out good for you””. - Sebastian

As this quote illustrates, confidence in one’s capacities rise when they are recognised and validated in social relationships (Barbalet 1998). Notably, self-confidence in the interviews is often constructed in relation to how the capacities of others can be expected to score on the competitive market. Many informants state that they are not really *that* worried, they *should* be able to succeed, because they know that they have capital and characteristics which others may lack. Some informants also express confidence in their own search-skills and in inventive ideas that have turned out successful. Success, even in the smallest way, can thus lead to increased confidence.

Another type of confidence visible in the interviews is the confidence and trust in others. An important part of this is confidence in the own abilities to build and utilise social capital (Bourdieu, 1984). However, confidence in the own social capital contains an amount of trust in that others can and will help in the search process. Like confidence, trust is an emotion through which we handle an uncertain future. But when trusting another we believe that they not only can but *will* use their capacities to bring out a desirable future to us. Trust inevitably put us in a dependency state (Barbalet, 2008). Several informants state that their social networks have been crucial in their current and previous searches. Experiences of solidarity from others are often highlighted as positive aspects of the search. If all else fails informants know that there is always a couch for them to stay on at the home of a friend and family member. While this is generally described as something positive the negative aspects of being heavily dependent on others is recognised by some informants. This will be discussed further below.

Lastly, a few informants talk about a kind of confidence or trust that cannot be ascribed neither to themselves nor to specific others. It is rather a form of ontological trust, an almost deterministic trust in that life will sort itself out, that this will pass and that things will get better (Giddens 1991).

“The fact that I feel that it will turn out well has nothing to do with housing - ... that it is good. It’s about my own personal trust (...)”

Q: “What is it you trust?”

“Life. That it becomes what it is supposed to be. And that... yes, that it is handled. Reality has never yet been so hard that I have... that I have stopped. It just moves all the time. And I’ll have to see where I end up..” - Signe

The balancing of temporal emotions

As shown in the previous segment emotions affect housing decisions and strategies in several ways. It is important to recognise that emotions are not easily separated in the everyday events of the housing search. Like the informant in the quote below states it: looking for housing is an emotional roller-coaster. The informants also have more or less conscious strategies for dealing

with their own emotions. The balancing of emotions and the informants' emotion management will be discussed in the following segment.

“All the time it feels like walking into a wall. Like “yes, this is fun, I could apply for this apartment, but I will never get it!” And still you have a small, small hope, somewhere deep inside. And then it all fails anyway. So. It’s kinda like an emotional roller-coaster to look for housing” - Nora

The fears and hopes of the search process have many future objects, both close and concrete and distant and diffuse. The process leading up to action can be understood as an inner dialogue between our past, current and future self (Archer 2000). In the interviews it is clear that the possible conditions of the present and the future are in constant interplay and the emotions involved in the search are ambivalent. Like one informant states there is an excitement in the possibilities of uncertainty, but at the same uncertainty is the source of her stress and worry. Connected to hope in a positive scenario is always a feared negative scenario (Lazarus 1999). Yet the uncertain future must be approached. The informants explicitly and implicitly balance their present needs and wants with future possibilities and constraints.

“I guess I’m worried, because it feels like it will be so hard to find something. And I’m worried that I will just... pick something to get a roof above my head. And then I will regret it. If you’re not comfortable where you live, it affects you so much. And then I get worried that I will end up in a place where I’ll feel like shit”- Karin

The quote above illustrates the informant's fear of wasting her queue days on bad housing in desperation to solve her current situation, which could lead to several years of being stuck in a place that will make her miserable. Fear of the future possibility of homelessness is thus weighed against the fear of having to live with bad future conditions. *“It’s very much a balance between what you would like to do and what is possible in the short term, and what is smart and right to do in the long run”*(Malin). Malin is driven more by hope to find an apartment of her own than fear of direct homelessness, but she must consider how her current hopes and wants could put her in a financially unsustainable situation. She repeatedly returns to the need of staying in control and not making rash decisions.

Similarly, informants describe the housing search as something that requires strategic and smart decisions. One informant compares it to a mathematical equation that needs to be solved. Meanwhile it is hard to overview the options and decisions often have to be made quickly without time for consideration. Some informants talk about being stuck or trapped in a corner, having only bad alternatives to choose from. Elin describes how she has put her active efforts on hold for a while:

“But now I have just put it on hold the last month. I cannot take it. Like, I’m out of ideas, or. I don’t know how to go on when... Now it’s just in someone else’s hands really. So the only thing I can do is to click a button. Then someone else has to find me. And it is very hard to have to wait for that. It’s very hard not to be in control, when you’re the active party. And it is hard to run out of ideas. [Normally I would] “Yes, okay, we’ll solve this somehow”. But there is no somehow anymore”. - Elin

In a situation where everything appears to depend on luck, hope in specific actions diminish. Remaining is a general, long-term hope that something might simply appear, based on

ontological trust or confidence built up from previous experience that everything eventually works out. When this hope is lost too, what remains is despair (Lazarus, 1999; Ratcliffe, 2011). Informants recall episodes when they have questioned why they even should continue at all, being very close to giving up. One informant describes the experience of realizing that what she believed was her last resort, to buy a tenant ownership, would not be possible. When all hope appeared to be lost, she spent a whole day in bed unwilling to talk to anyone. Since agency is so closely tied to hope, the loss of hope can be passivating. This the informants are very aware of. When asked how they handle feelings of hopelessness the most frequent answer is avoidance. They simply try not to think about it because if they do, they might be unable to cope with it.

Hope contains the risk of disappointment. Conscious emotion management of fear, hope and hopelessness is therefore prominent in all stages of the search. When the time to move out comes closer, a common strategy is trying to push the emotions of the upcoming search and separation away. However, this strategy can be too successful, resulting in neglect of the search altogether. When expecting to hear from a landlord, several informants state that they try not to hope. Instead they try to imagine getting a no and get ready to continue their search. Simultaneously, a general hope in a positive outcome is constructed continuously by convincing the self that something positive might happen soon. A prominent example is the pattern that when receiving a rejection, the negative aspects of the place in question are emphasized to encourage the conviction that something *better* will turn up, actively constructing hope in a brighter future.

“You just have to continue. I just went on looking until I had the keys in my hand. You can’t stop until you have keys or a contract. Preferably both! Yes, because I got offers and then you just have to be half-prepared for them. So that you aren’t totally prepared because then you will get disappointed when it doesn’t happen. If it gets messed up in some way or someone else gets it. Not hope too much.” - Erika

The management of emotions involved in the search thus consists both of manipulation of the emotion itself and the object of the emotion. When convincing oneself that “I did not want this apartment”, hope is redirected to a new future object, attempting to avoid disappointment and hopelessness. Throughout the interviews informants repeat that “it will probably turn out okay, somehow”, as a way of reassuring themselves that the situation is not completely hopeless. When reassuring themselves that “Something will turn up, soon a landlord will call” they reconstruct a general hope. This mind-set, as well as an ontological confidence, appears to provide protection from feelings of hopelessness and fear. Similarly, when comparing their present experience to previous search periods, some informants state that they are less worried this time, because they are in a better position, they have better resources or they are assured that they have support from others. In that way their increased confidence in their own and others’ capabilities has a repelling effect on fear and hopelessness.

I have argued that hope is central to agency and in this context there is a need to further elaborate on that. As described, the search for housing is filled with decisions and actions that in themselves appear fruitless. Many informants state that they have no expectations of success when sending out emails and applications. Instead many actions are directed into an unknown void of possible possibilities, because “If I don’t do anything, nothing can happen”. As stated by McGeer (2004) we hope for things we only have restricted capacity to achieve through our actions. But as opposed to mere desire, hope carries “an aura of agency” (Bovens, 1999, p. 679). In relation to their study on the future thinking of disenfranchised young people, Bryant and Ellard (2015) argue that hope is essential to find agency in circumstances where the alternatives seem very limited. Guided by hope, we put ourselves in situations and circumstances that might

increase the possibility of ending in the hoped state, “inhabiting our agency” (McGeer, 2004, p. 103). As Sebastian puts it: “*I throw shit at the wall and see what sticks*”. By repeated actions guided by a general hope, informants make way for possibilities and prepare to take action. As shown, hope can in itself be a coping strategy since “it provides the grounds for our continuing engagement in life” (Lazarus, 1999, p. 675). Hope is sustained even when we see no reason for it.

Moral emotions: Shame and guilt, resentment and sympathy

The housing search occurs in a larger social context. Through moral emotions the subjects position and behaviour on the market is evaluated in relation to moral codes, norms and expectations. When experiencing shame and guilt we view ourselves through the eyes of another and monitor ourselves in relation to said codes (Barbalet, 1998). Scheff (1988) has even called shame “*the social emotion*”. However, while constantly present in social interactions, shame is rarely visible. This can be explained by the fact that feeling shame is perceived as shameful in itself (Scheff, 1988). It is therefore telling that while other emotions discussed in this paper are explicitly voiced by informants, shame is very rarely mentioned. It is however present in a narrative form (Kleres, 2011). In the quote below where Anna reveals several shames relating to her position on the market without using the word “shame”.

“Yes, it took me maybe a week to even put on facebook for my friends that I was looking for housing. Because it feels like begging. It feels like... people know that I’m subletting again and again, and to once again say that “Hello, now I have no home again”. And then someone might question it “well, why don’t you use Boplats, you do have this many days, then you should be able get an apartment”. And then I’ll have to go into “I can’t, I have a penalty point in the enforcement service record for a tiny debt”” - Anna

Shame in the house searching process comes from both the way in which search is conducted, its enforced structural aspects, and the consequences of the lack of stable housing. Central to this is the social and cultural aspects of home as a construct, its social meaning. Several informants express that their lack of a stable home stops them from becoming “real” adults. Stable housing is “the missing piece” in an otherwise organised life. It is connected to lack of progress and a narrative of “standing still”. Informants express that they are in a state of life where they are expected to transgress into a symbolic and materialistic state of proper adulthood, and their lack of stable housing obstructs this process. When you are getting close to 30 and still lack a permanent home, people start wondering what’s wrong with you, one informant explains. Failure to find stable housing therefore becomes a failure to live up to social expectations and by extension a failure of character (Goffman, 2009). Connected to this is the shame of having to depend on the help of others.

Shame can be said to attack the whole self. Guilt, in contrast, is more connected to specific actions and misbehaviour in relation to concrete moral codes (Turner and Stets, 2006). Both shame and guilt are experienced in relation to the search process. Some informants express guilt over not taking action. They feel that they could be held responsible for their lack of success due to the fact that they avoid certain strategies, or for not accepting certain offers.

“I don’t have to dither around as a lodger for several years until I can land a nice contract with protection of tenancy. I can just become a student and a lot of things would be solved. So it’s an active choice not to make things easier for myself. And that has resulted in some feelings of guilt and the sense of “suit yourself” every time things get messed up when lodging. So there is a lot of guilt feelings.” - Felicia

Another informant questions if she perhaps is a little spoiled for having declined an offer which she deemed too precarious. In doing so she questioned whether this one event could be seen as a sign of a failure of character, which in turn could be the reason for her lack of success. As previously described, informants feel that they lack control throughout the search process, having only bad options. Meanwhile, an underlying pattern is the fear of making bad decisions and be held responsible for the consequences. Thus I would say it is a fear of misbehaving, or lacking judgement, and therefore a fear of shame. One informant describes the horror she felt when she (mistakenly) believed that she, as a consequence of missing to pay the Boplats fee, would have all her queue days deleted. She says that she did not even dare to tell her friends about the mistake. Others talk about how they feel stupid for smaller mishaps and worry about not making the right decisions. For those repeatedly being stuck in the market of unstable housing, the constant search becomes a failure to provide for oneself, being an independent adult. In this context the experience of having only bad alternatives becomes very tiresome. Some continue using certain search alternatives such as Boplats just because they feel that they are supposed to try everything. One informant uses the word “plight” and describes it as a “show”. In these instances, it appears to be more an act to avoid the shame and guilt of not making enough of an effort, than an actual attempt to find housing.

There are also instances where informants describe shame and guilt directed towards the self. A common pattern is the feeling of not being true to oneself and one’s ideals. Malin who is planning to buy a tenant ownership states that she would prefer to rent and she is ideologically fond of renting as an idea, but that she as an individual cannot be held responsible for a broken system. Her instant defence of her actions indicates that she, despite her claims, harbours some guilty feelings. Other informants describe how they throughout their search have been forced to behave in ways that make them feel untrue to themselves. This is particularly prominent in the situation of a showing of an apartment, which by several informants are described as theatre or charades. This charade can be anything from dressing up, asking questions just to appear devoted, or sometimes outright lying. Eli describes how they, despite identifying as genderqueer, felt forced to act female not to disturb the landlord’s impression. Sebastian describes how he dresses up and borrows a car from work to appear richer and more trustworthy.

“For example... I go there in proper, clean clothes, look fresh. Drive there in a car with the company logo. And I’m polite and voluble and look... like... I can become a bit angry with myself because... I guess I’m as anti-capitalistic as anyone, and then I become fed up with myself for... well for using such a cheap trick like, that I want to project money and capital because “you can trust me”” - Sebastian

In these instances, there are traces of shame for not being able to stand up for oneself. When being forced to adjust oneself or to sidestep personal ideals, there is internal struggle to keep the self aligned and consistent (Archer, 2000).

When the source of shame is outside the self a common reaction is anger (Kemper, 1978). In the interviews anger connected to felt injustice directed at the (housing) system is frequently expressed. Informants considered it unfair that they have ended up in this situation when they have done everything that can be expected of them. Housing is a right that has been denied them. Barbalet (1998) categorises anger associated with claims to rights as resentment. Resentment can be seen as a low key anger that is often expressed as frustration.

“Well, I will never get the apartments I apply for. And everything... even though I’m a person who works and can provide for myself, and still... All this I have struggled to achieve, studied and all that, just to get this safety, and still I can’t find housing. It’s frustrating. And I also think it’s frustrating that all new apartments that are being built are like super expensive. And have like floor heating in the bathroom! Yeah, sure, I guess it’s a good thing to have, but everyone can’t have it! (...) And I feel so sorry for everyone looking for housing, because it’s so hopeless.”
- Nora

We see that resentment is experienced both in relation to personal injustices and the unjust treatment of others. Sympathy and solidarity with others in a similar situation is prominent in many interviews. Informants observe that others are far worse off than themselves and they feel angry and frustrated when thinking about the hardships of less fortunate. As argued by Turner (1993) and further elaborated on by Barbalet (1998) there is a strong link between rights and sympathy. In others’ suffering we can see our own possible misery and in doing so we recognise others’ rights and basic needs as equal to our own.

The sense of injustice is connected to a narrative of a broken system where those in most need of housing have the hardest time finding it. Here, the talk of a soulless automated system re-emerges, where there is no room for compromises and where the official requirements, such as a stable income and employment, as well as several years in housing queues, are perceived as unattainable. It is stated that this system is unjust since young people of today rarely are able to fulfil these requirements due to structural circumstances. It is implied new homes are built only for “the rich” rather than for those in need. Informants identify negative social consequences of the housing shortage. One informant expresses that the shortage of housing incites people against each other in the competition for housing, sorting groups into different areas of the city. Another argues that what should be considered a structural problem becomes personal when anger is directed towards landlords rather than the system which allows exploitation of tenants. How the problems of housing market are recognised by some informants as issues of class and social division, is apparent in the following quote:

“We talked about Karlatornet¹ today at work. I get so angry just at the thought that Gothenburg says “okay, lets build a giant pillar with apartments that will cost tens of billions Swedish Crowns in an area [that historically have been] a working class neighbourhood. We will see it from Kyrkbytorget. Those living in Länsmansgården and Biskopsgården up the hills will be able to look down on it and feel that “they build luxury residences while we are trying to get our landlord to maintain apartments with mould in the walls!” Argh! That’s the anger you feel, not only for your own situation but for the one of others” - Anna

Sympathy with others can have very interesting effects that would not make sense if viewing the housing market as strictly the outcome of supply and demand. For instance, informants express sympathy with people looking to sublet their apartments. One informant states that she refrained from viewing an apartment with a first-hand contract when she had just moved into a new subletted apartment, partly because she felt bad for the woman she rented from who would have to go through the trouble of finding a new tenant. Another one states that she sometimes feels bad when mailing on an advertisement, knowing that the main resident will most likely drown in replies and her mail will add to the burden. In regards to her being suspicious of male landlords,

¹ Karlatornet is a building project that will become Gothenburg’s first skyscraper and tallest building in the Nordic countries.

one informant expresses that she also feels bad for judging people in advance. All these instances of sympathy are directed towards the private persons renting out rooms or their own apartment. I therefore interpret this as instances of sympathy with others affected by the broken housing market. Sympathy can thus be felt both towards one's competitors and towards the other party in the economic transaction.

Nevertheless, sympathy can be compromised when things are at stake. One informant describes how she was going to sublet from a woman who was going to live with her boyfriend on a test basis. The informant acknowledged that the woman was sensible in keeping the apartment in case the cohabitation would not work out, describing how she herself had bad experiences from a similar situation. However, she states that her feelings were ambivalent, since she also hoped that the woman would sign over the apartment to her. Similarly, Signe describes her feelings when she realised that she and an acquaintance of hers aspired to the same room in a collective:

“Envy as a feeling is not nice. And not only in relation to housing but... in general. Really! Or when someone grabs... that's what I think is so sad now, I realised now when we talk about it. (...) On every apartment there are loads of aspirants. So one man's bread is the others like... death. And I believe in... harmony and everything to everyone” – Signe

Signe is unique among the informants in the sense that she has refrained from registering in any housing queue. She explains that it is perhaps partly out of laziness, but she also considers it a political action. Collective anger has been recognised as an important instigator for social and political change (Barbalet 1998). While no other informant has converted their frustration over the system into concrete action, there are still traces of protest and defiance. One says that she sometimes half-wishes that she won't get a first-hand contract, because it feels like an obligation to which she is unwilling to conform. Another one talks about finding alternative housing solutions such as a camper just to get away from the conventional housing system. By sidestepping the system, they in a sense dream about regaining control over their own situation.

Concluding discussions

The search for housing is guided and compromised by emotions. Through temporal emotions experienced in relation to the structure of the market and the subjects perceived possibilities on it, the search is continued and altered. The hope of finding a home drives the searcher forward. Fear of failing to find housing makes searchers compromise their wants and need, but in fear of being tricked or harmed certain criteria are also maintained and options are avoided. Hopelessness towards the market and confidence in the own capacities make searchers abandon specific search methods, consider new alternatives and embark on new pathways. Moral emotions are experienced in relation to social expectations and norms and the subject's ability to fit into these. The social importance of independent housing to adult life evokes shame for those failing to achieve it. In fear of shame, of being held responsible for personal failings, alternatives that appear fruitless are still pursued. Meanwhile there are some indications that resentment towards the housing system and sympathy with others in similar situations can potentially result in acts or thoughts of protest and solidarity.

In the decisions of the search long and short term hopes and fears must be balanced, often with scarce information and limited options. To continue the search and uphold hope, active emotion management is needed. Hope in specific events are toned down while a general long-term hope is built up. By actively convincing oneself that something will turn out the hope needed to keep up seemingly fruitless actions is renewed, creating space for future possibilities.

One purpose of this study was to explore how emotions affect housing strategies in particular. However, it is my belief that a similar emotional patterns and interplay, such as the balancing of hopes and fears in the close and distant future and the need to actively maintain and control hope, are relevant to many other situations and processes where individuals need to make important choices and act based on limited knowledge or alternatives. A similar application of theory of emotions to other fields, be it labour market decisions or the pathways of migrants, would shed light not only on how these situations are experienced but how processes of hope and fears are shaped.

While I lack empirical material regarding the informants' backgrounds to make conclusions on the subject, it could be discussed if the ideals and emotional patterns described pertain to a middle class in fear of falling. While the interior decoration industry is blooming, the children of the middle class have trouble getting established on the deregulated housing market. The idea that dream housing will be provided by the welfare state has been disappointed and with it the hope of living up to the salient home ideals and standards of previous generations. Meanwhile I have argued that confidence is strongly connected to access to viable capital, and have touched upon how fear of abuse is a part of young women's housing experience. An intersectional perspective on emotions could not only illuminate class and gender coded emotional patterns but maybe also processes of segregation on the housing market.

An aspect that has found my interest is the discrepancy made by informants between housing and a home. In times where many young adults live as lodgers and subtenants it would be relevant to further investigate what effects the lack of a home has. It could be argued that some amount of uncertainty is a part of what it is to become an adult. However, the structure of the Swedish housing market has become an obstacle that only aggravates this uncertainty. Stable housing matters and to many young adults the only thing to do is to dream, hope and wait. I believe that Erika's answer to how she would want to live if not having to consider the market is very telling:

“Well, yes, it would be amazing to have a first hand contract! It really would. Because to be lodging, or to be a subtenant, it's so uncertain. To have a first hand contact, it would be the dream! Yes!

Q: Do you believe that you will get that?

That I will get that once? I don't know. Well, I, yes, if I decide to live alone I guess I will get it in a couple of years, when I have enough days.” – Erika

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