

(RE)ACTING THE CITY

**PHYSICAL PLANNING PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES
IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS OF THE
ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY**

Ana Mafalda Madureira

Blekinge Institute of Technology
Doctoral Dissertation Series No. 2014:04
Department of Spatial Planning



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Doctoral Dissertation in
Spatial Planning



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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. The research aim is addressed by focusing on three questions: 1) how have the practices of physical planning been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy 2) how has physical planning responded to this urban policy context, and 3) which potential dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

By an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy I understand an approach whereby there is an attention placed over strategies to promote local economic growth and attract investments, companies and specific types of people in to the city. Arguably urban policies focus less on welfare-related and redistribution strategies. There is an adoption of private sector discourses and tools to promote the city as a place to live, work and invest in. These discourses and tools pass through place-making strategies, marketing, engagement in speculative, risk-taking market-led projects, and seeking partners with whom to establish alliances that will serve to promote the city.

The strong emphasis of Entrepreneurial City approaches on interventions over the built environment implies a greater attention to what is happening to the practices of physical planning in municipalities that have adopted this approach. Existing studies tend to emphasize that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for public sector, and by extension for physical planning, in the governance and steering of these projects.

The dissertation focuses on large-scale urban development projects – Brunnshög, in Lund, and Bo01, Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie, in Malmö. The projects were chosen due to their likelihood to illustrate physical planning practices marked by an Entrepreneurial City approach.

The main findings of this thesis refute the idea of a turn in urban policy towards entrepreneurial city approaches, and illustrate instead a process by which new practices and values coincide with previously established settings and practices. Physical planning is adopting the discourses of an urban policy approach where intercity competition for new industries (preferably in knowledge-intensive sectors) and residents (preferably the “creative classes”) guide urban development projects. The governance setting is marked by the need to establish working networks and partnerships that will create the capacity to act. Experimentation, piece-meal approaches and inter-project learning mark the adaptation strategies to an urban policy context that is still changing. Potential dilemmas lie in the fragmented character of the partnerships required to execute the projects, and in the assumption that these projects will result in the rehabilitation of the socio-economic trends of the city and promote local economic growth. Additionally the resulting built environments are prone to processes of gentrification and displacement, and spatial and socio-economic polarization.

I. Introduction

While local governments in the Nordic countries are still involved in delivering welfare, many of them are concerned with entrepreneurial city politics as well. Judging from the experiences of the city of Malmö, being the local arm of the welfare state is a role that has by no means been abandoned. . . . Still, politics is about setting priorities and the future prosperity of the city is often framed in terms of entrepreneurial visions. Buzz words such as “strengthening the brand of the city” and “enhancing its competitiveness,” in order to be an “attractive city,” are frequently translated into policies by Swedish local governments. Such activities might challenge the traditional policies of local politics, and thus our traditional idea of the meaning and function of local politics. From the perspective of city leaders, alternative discourses, such as the “Just City” or the “Welfare City,” are seldom expressed. (Dannestam, 2009)

[Malmö Stad was] trying to find a new path for an industrial city, where that industrial path was closed. (Interview Reepalu).

Nobody really saw any possibility for a good development for the city [after the closure of the shipyard, and SAAB]. But there were of course other good things happening then, like the decision between Denmark and Sweden to build the fixed link between Malmö and Copenhagen. Then [Malmö Stad] realized that we could use this and instead of being an isolated city with a quarter of a million inhabitants, we could be a part of a larger metropolitan area, of a larger economy which could give new possibilities. (Interview Johansson).

The aim of this dissertation is to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning¹ within an entrepreneurial city approach to urban policy. I depart from an urban policy context that has been characterized as marked by a turn towards an entrepreneurial approach (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Dannestam, 2009). I hypothesize that physical planning, as an integral part of urban policy, will be equally affected by this entrepreneurial approach to urban policy.

By an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, I understand an approach whereby there is attention placed on strategies to promote local economic growth and attract investments, companies, and specific types of people into the city. At least in official discourses, urban policies focus less on welfare-related and redistribution strategies. Additionally, there is an adoption of private sector discourses and tools to promote the city as a place to live, work, and invest in. These discourses and tools pass through place-making strategies, marketing, engagement in speculative, risk-taking market-led projects, and seeking partners with whom to establish alliances that will serve to promote the city. The city becomes a product to sell, and the urban policy is formulated in order to better shape and promote that product (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990; Wood, 1998; Hall and Hubbard, 1998; OECD, 2007; Dannestam, 2008; MacLeod, 2011; Cochrane, 2007).

¹ In Sweden, the bulk of the planning tasks are found on the local level. Urban planning, or *Fysisk Planering*, is a formal responsibility of the local authorities. In this dissertation, the concept of *physical planning* will be used to indicate municipal urban planning and the local planning department. A lengthier discussion about the scope of the concept can be found in chapter I.3 – Scope.

1. Introducing the Entrepreneurial City approach

During the 1980s, western countries, especially the UK, experienced what some scholars classify as a rolling back of the boundaries of the nation-state (Brenner, 2004), motivated by an ideological push favoring a decline in the role of the public sector in policy making and implementation (Harvey, 2005). This resulted in what is understood by these scholars as a decline in the influence of the public sector in urban policy (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Hohn and Neuer, 2006; Moulaert and Cabaret, 2006; Tasan-Kok, 2010), in public sector urban planning (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Tasan-Kok, 2010; Tasan-Kok and Baeten, 2012), and in what I understand as changes in the context in which urban policy, and consequently physical planning, is conducted. This rolling-back is associated with processes such as decentralization, privatization, market-led projects and initiatives, and financial constraints on public spending. Such processes are also encountered in discussions about Neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; 2002b; Smith, 2002; Cochrane, 2007) and “Entrepreneurial Cities” (Hubbard, 1996; Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1998). Throughout the 2000s, the trends that influenced urban policy and planning in the 1980s and 1990s have become institutionalized and mainstreamed (Cochrane, 2007; Tasan-Kok and Baeten, 2012) throughout most Western countries, including Sweden (Montin, 2000; Elander and Strömberg, 2001; Khakee, 2005; Dannestam, 2009).

I refer to the Entrepreneurial City as an “approach” because I want to highlight that it is not a theory, in the sense of a strong body of concrete propositions and empirical claims that can be tested and logically verified or refuted. The Entrepreneurial City is shorthand for a very diverse set of policies, strategies, and trends in urban policy making and urban governance that scholarly literature has identified as emerging parallel to a progressive neoliberalization of the economic and policy-making field (McGuirk, 2012; Leitner, 1990; Lovering, 2007; Cochrane, 2007; Brenner and Theodore, 2002b). However, it is difficult to claim an ideological or entirely intentional turn in urban policy towards neoliberalism, or even that local policymakers and urban elites are deliberately engaging in what could be jointly defined as “entrepreneurial city politics.” This is due to the fact that one of the characteristics of Entrepreneurial City politics is its piecemeal approach and its fragmentation, which plays against the delineation of a strong body of claims that can set a theoretical frame for this type of urban policy (Cochrane, 2007). Therefore, the term “approach” will be used here to reinforce the idea of a contextualized response to the changes in the governance and local economy settings that influence urban policy responses at a city level. It is also meant to denote the less conscious method by which local policymakers engage with other levels of government, with private and public stakeholders, and with discourses that promote and characterize what, in scholarly literature, has been classified as “urban entrepreneurialism.” It is also meant to draw attention to the Entrepreneurial City as a process or a direction in the way urban policy is conducted, not as implying a final state or a condition.

The emergence of this entrepreneurial approach to urban policy (from here on an “Entrepreneurial City” approach, or simply the “Entrepreneurial City”) is described by geographers and urban planners as occurring due to a series of worldwide transformations that had specific consequences for the socioeconomic and political life of urban areas. For example, the role of urban areas as promoters and hosts of economic development was arguably recast with globalization (Sassen, 1992). There is a claim in scholarly literature that due to the free movement of investment capital, as well as goods, machinery, people, and ideas, it is less possible for the nation-state to control the economic fortune of a region or a locality (Brenner, 1999; 2004; Swyngedouw, 2004; Ward and Jonas, 2004). Olds points to this situation in connection to the globalization forces influencing urban mega-projects in the Pacific Rim:

The perception of enhanced mobility of capital has generally led the state to alter policies in order to make nations/regions/cities appear more attractive to inward investment. . . . Overall, the perception of a global space of flows has engendered a strategic and entrepreneurial development strategy on the part of the local state, driven by the perception that cities and regions are engaged in rigorous inter-urban competition. (Olds, 2011)

Some scholars and consultants argue that “place,” especially its geographical unit of analysis – the city, the city-region, and global cities – takes over the role of the nation-state as the center for and of globalized economic activities (Sassen, 1992; Scott, 2001; Ward and Jonas, 2004; Boland, 2007; OECD, 2007). Brenner (1999) argues that although the current round of globalization has rendered states more permeable to transnational flows of various types, this has not triggered a dismissal of the nation-state but rather a redefinition of its connections to both sub- and supra-national units, a reterritorialization of the role of the state. This means that in the effort to simultaneously promote and adjust to capitalist-derived changes and to globalization, the state has had to deploy new forms of industrial, technological, and urban-regional policy, and focus on the promotion of urban and regional growth poles that will favor the investment of this transnational flow of capital. From this perspective, the state level is itself a promoter of a focus over place-specific characteristics, an agent for the commodification of place within the competition for investment and capital: “The current wave of state re-scaling can therefore be interpreted as a strategy of political restructuring that aims to enhance the location specific productive forces of each level of state territorial organization” (Brenner, 1999:66). Also for Sassen (1992), place remains a central aspect to the circulation of people and capital in a globalized economy, and urban areas especially see their role redefined as targets of strategies to promote economic growth through state- and local-level interventions (Cochrane, 2007).

Additionally, Harvey (1989) argues that, faced with the changes occurring in the production of manufacturing goods worldwide and with the international flow of capital, old manufacturing centers in the Western world had to rethink their economic base following the decline of their traditional manufacturing industries. City authorities opted to directly engage in policies to attract investments and new industries to their cities. A growing awareness among local politicians of an increasing competition between regions and cities for footloose capital (financial and human) arguably resulted in a need for each individual city to distinguish itself with regard to the social, environmental, and cultural assets that add a distinctive character to the city and distance the city/region from its international competitors – other cities and other regions (Hubbard, 1995; 1996; OECD, 2007; Gospodini, 2002; Glaeser et al., 2000; Glaeser and Gottlieb, 2006; Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010; Florida, 2002). The claim is not that there is intercity competition for inward investment or that this type of competition in itself is new. What have changed, according to these scholars, are the factors that determine the competition between cities. Instead of the existence of a large pool of skilled or low-paid labor, of raw materials, or of good accessibility/market, new factors are considered as defining the competitive advantage of a city. These new factors are its quality of life, the availability of highly educated people in its workforce, the richness of its cultural life, and the availability of amenities and services. I would add that this represents the mainstream discourse that feeds into the proliferation of local development strategies addressing intercity competition. It justifies and reinforces the discourse about the need to focus on the promotion of the city to attract investments, companies, and specific types of people and activities.

Entrepreneurial City approaches employed by the municipality to promote local economic development by improving a place’s attractiveness often rely on urban regeneration (Lovering, 2007; Smith, 2002) and urban design (Hubbard, 1995; 1996; Gospodini, 2002; Hutton, 2004; 2006), associated with private-sector-inspired approaches to urban policy such as branding, marketing, speculation, risk taking (Harvey, 1989;

Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Kavaratzis, 2004; Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007), and developing specific neighborhoods of the city as a product to be sold (Gospodini, 2002; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). These strategies indicate that business approaches are invading the field of urban planning and setting the context within which physical planning occurs.

a. Problem identification

The strong emphasis of these Entrepreneurial City approaches on interventions into the built environment of a city or neighborhood implies a greater attention to what is happening to the practices of physical planning in municipalities that have adopted this approach. The group of people involved in the planning project is potentially more heterogeneous, with the widening of the governance structures both vertically and horizontally (Lovering, 2007; Montin, 2000; Brenner, 2004; Healey, 2006; Hohn and Neuer, 2006). The partnerships built around a planning project can include policymakers and public officials, private developers and property owners, and many other stakeholders with specific claims and demands for and over the project. This fragmented and multifaceted group of “planners” might indicate that the influence of physical planning has been watered down with the involvement of so many stakeholders in the planning project. It also brings about new dilemmas for physical planners, namely:

- 1) How to coordinate aims, demands, and inputs derived from such a fragmented landscape of projects and stakeholders (this issue will be addressed in paper 1);
- 2) How to plan for ideally “all,” but at least a majority, of a city’s inhabitants and needs when the socioeconomic characteristics of the city’s population and the intended users and uses of the projects do not always coincide (this issue will be explored in paper 3); and
- 3) How to use urban design and place-making to simultaneously promote new images and new visions for the city (this issue is discussed in paper 2), while keeping in mind the current problems that the city and its population might be facing (this issue is discussed in paper 4).

Painter argues that entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy must be understood in a logic of learning, reflexivity, and adaptation to the contextual changes, not as a “natural” answer to these changes (1998). He argues that entrepreneurs are made through processes of “inculcation of particular knowledges, ways of reasoning and self-understandings” (ibid.:260) and similarly, entrepreneurial urban policies also arise as a consequence of learning, reflexivity, and knowledge from the participants involved. Physical planning evolves and changes according to external stimulus provided by the changed urban policy context, and through reflexive practices when working with urban development projects and strategies that endorse the Entrepreneurial City ethos.

Studies focusing on Entrepreneurial City approaches to interventions into the built environment, and what is being done by physical planning, are fewer (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Gualini and Majoor, 2007; Tasan-Kok, 2010). Existing studies tend to approach this turn by emphasizing that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for the public sector, and by extension for physical planning, in the governance and steering of these projects (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Elander and Strömberg, 2001). In this dissertation, the goal is to shed light on the physical planning practices developed within the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach and explore the potential dilemmas for planning practice, assuming the context of the Entrepreneurial City is not a problem but is rather a setting for the practice.

Additionally, previous research has focused on highly visible projects, which attract national and international investments and attention and frequently have clearly defined execution times, as tools to

promote a new image for the city (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Beriatis and Gospodini, 2004). These studies have been less attentive to the mainstreaming of the themes and practices of Entrepreneurial City approaches to less visible projects, which are necessary for the consolidation of the new image of the city.

There is some research regarding how possible challenges arise for urban policy from the adoption of the Entrepreneurial City approach, especially as it opens up room for gentrification, segregation, and polarization processes in the city (Andersen and van Kempen, 2003; MacLeod and Ward, 2002; Smith, 1996; 2002; Lees and Ley, 2008). This literature is dominated by Anglo-Saxon examples and contexts, but very few discussions have been held in the Swedish context and for planning practice (although see Hedin et al., 2012; Baeten, 2012; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2005; 2008). The entrepreneurial approach focus on specific types of people and activities can potentially translate into dilemmas for the Swedish physical planning practice, which is traditionally oriented towards the promotion of equal access to welfare-related infrastructure (Cars and Hedström, 2006; Hedman, 2008; Nilsson, 1996).

Finally, Entrepreneurial City approaches engage in place-making as a tool to promote a new image and attract investments for the city. The underlying assumption is that the image of a place can be steered, shaped, and marketed as any other product for sale (Lovering, 2007; Bradley et al., 2002; Collinge and Gibney, 2010). However, these strategies fail to recognize that the image of a place results from both purposive and spontaneous events (Collinge and Gibney, 2010; Massey, 1993). Physical planning, as actively involved in these strategies, is faced with the challenge of including history and engaging with the socioeconomic groups that inhabit the city, while attempting to profile the city for new groups, activities, and a new image of and for the future of the city.

2. Aims, research questions, and paper alignment

My research aim is thus to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. I do this by focusing on three questions:

- 1) How have the practices of physical planning in Sweden been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy?
- 2) How has physical planning responded to this urban policy context?
- 3) Which potential dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

The first question dwells on the ideas, norms, and concepts that mark the Entrepreneurial City approach and how these might influence the practice of physical planning. The second question focuses on the tools, organizational settings, and norms that develop within physical planning practice in order to adapt and face up to the Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. The final question explores potential challenges, dilemmas, and opportunities that might be created by the influence of and responses to the Entrepreneurial City approach (figure 1).



Figure 1 – Research questions

The dissertation comprises four empirically oriented papers. These three questions are raised, in different degrees, in the different papers. Figure 2 presents each paper according to the research questions raised in the paper and the link to subsequent papers (for a more detailed overview of each paper, research gap, and key contributions see appendix 4).

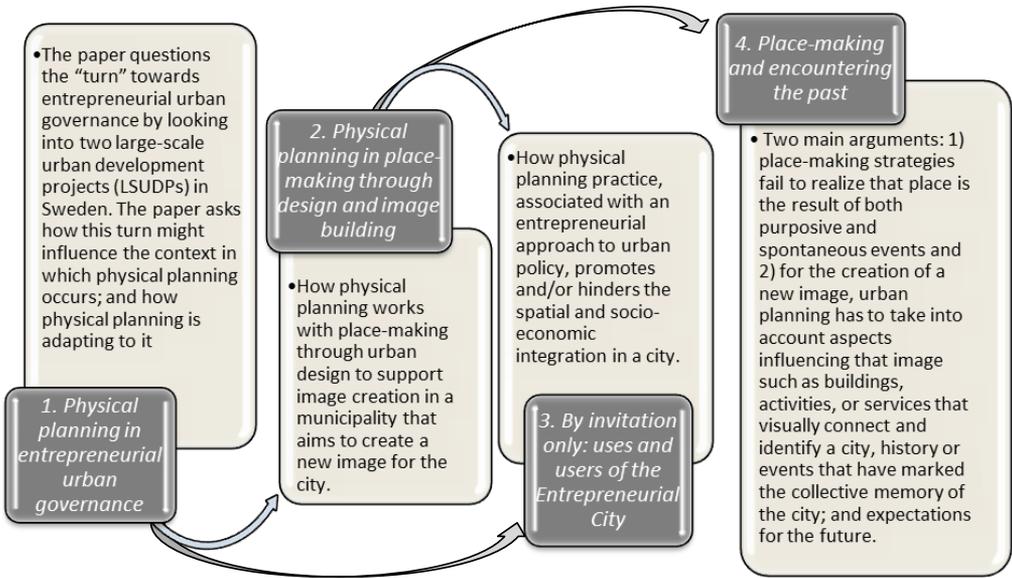


Figure 2 – Paper alignment, titles, and research questions

3. Scope

This dissertation focuses on large-scale urban development projects (UDPs). The projects were chosen according to their ability to illustrate physical planning practices marked by an Entrepreneurial City approach.

The dissertation focuses mainly on projects in a city with a strong industrial tradition – Malmö, in Sweden. Former industrial cities such as Malmö offer privileged cases to study because they potentially exemplify three aspects:

1. An urban economy where new economic activities, such as high value-added industries and tourism, cultural, and leisure activities, are replacing traditional manufacturing industries that have been relocated or simply closed down;
2. A social context where the closure of industries has led to a possible “image crisis” to the city itself, and where companies that were subsequently created have employed not the redundant industrial workforce, but an educated and young labor force.

3. Cities with a strong industrial tradition often have a built environment that is associated with this past. This built environment illustrates a period of the city’s history that local policymakers and residents might want to preserve to benefit from preserving certain old images, or to abandon in order to build a new image for the city. The transformation in the industrial city is urgent, radical, and visible – what to do with this industrial heritage? The time perspective also changes as transformation can happen at a much faster pace than in other towns.

Earlier research has argued that this turn toward Entrepreneurial City approaches has already been happening in Malmö, with regard to institutionalized practices and to urban discourses (Dannestam, 2009; Möllerström, 2011). My methodological approaches will be further discussed in chapter II. Appendix 1 contains a short descriptive introduction to the cases.

The discussion of physical planning practices is subdivided in the papers and in chapter III into three interconnected spheres (figure 3):

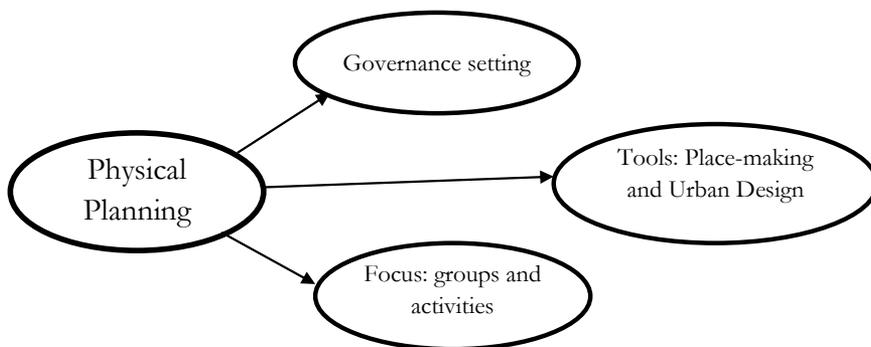


Figure 3 – Spheres of physical planning practice

The distinction of these three spheres is pertinent because it allows the discussion to focus on variables that affect the practice of physical planning. First, the literature review pointed out that in the context of the Entrepreneurial City approach, urban policy is conducted in contexts of interorganizational networks and partnerships, where decentralization, fragmentation, and complexity are characteristics of the governance setting in which physical planning will also be integrated. This issue is explored in paper 1.

Second, the literature review pointed to an emphasis on urban design and place-making strategies in the context of the Entrepreneurial City approach. Physical planning works primarily with shaping the physical structure in view of the management of demands, functions, and people over a territory. As place-making and urban design gain importance in urban policy as tools to create attractive neighborhoods and promote the city, they are also likely to receive attention by physical planning and generate new practices and challenges. These issues are explored in papers 2 and 4.

Third, even though planning in Sweden has a strong territorial component – the planning of land and water areas (Boverkets, 2006) – the ultimate goal is to promote “societal progress towards equal and good living conditions and a good and lasting sustainable environment for the benefit of the people of today’s society as well as for future generations” (Law, 1993:419; quoted in Boverket, 2006). This means that although, at the municipal level, physical planning has traditionally been preoccupied with the safeguarding and planning of territory, this translates into goals for the management of the public realm, public spaces, and the *equal* access of the public to services, infrastructures, and activities. With the

emphasis of planning projects on attracting investors, companies, and jobs, particularly within knowledge-intensive sectors, and creative people into a neighborhood, there is a danger of a myopic and segregational view of the city and its inhabitants invading the practice of planning. This issue is discussed in paper 3.

a. On the concept of physical planning in a Swedish context

The concept of *planning* is hard to define. What is urban planning, and what are its subject, purpose, and scope? In this dissertation, I am concerned with the *practice* of urban planning, not with the *discipline* of urban planning. I focus on urban planning as *public* intervention into processes of city development related with land use and the built environment. I am not concerned with what the object, methods, and theoretical grounds are against which this practice can be classified as an independent disciplinary field.

I define planning as beginning to analyze a problem in order to inform how to act in the future, how to develop a certain project so as to address the problem identified in the analysis, or what to do now in order for a potential problem not to occur in the future. Thus, I understand planning as a future-oriented activity with a normative tendency, as it aims to formulate suggestions/alternatives on how to act on a physical territory. I understand the object of planning as both social and geographical, as it is, arguably, concerned with avoiding potential conflicts of uses and users over a single territory and ensuring an equitable distribution of resources and externalities. The geographical focus varies from a plot of land or a street to a neighborhood, a city, a region, or an even larger territory (UN Habitat, 2009).

I focus exclusively on urban planning done by the municipality because the public sector's influence in spatial processes remains an overarching characteristic of Swedish planning activity and field of action. It remains an important player through the combined action of regulations that are defined by public authorities and that regulate the planning field, by the financial and human resources that the public actors manage to mobilize, and by the development of networks and partnerships with individual and collective actors. As Huxley and Yiftachel argue, in the context of a supposed communicative turn in planning theory:

It is not that community groups do not engage in shaping their environments, or that private companies do not plan; rather, even in times of neoliberal reorienting of the role of government, most planning practice in the West, as well as other parts of the world, ultimately draws on regulations and resources of the state. (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000: 334).

I use the concept of **physical planning**, instead of urban planning, to strengthen the emphasis placed on the role of the public actor in the Swedish context and with regard to interventions into the built environment in a municipality. When it comes to the process of planning itself, I focus mainly on the process of designing the plans for a specific urban renewal project, including the earlier discussions and motivation for running the project, and the steps intended to lead to the implementation of the project by the project teams. I exclude the implementation itself for purposes of analysis but also because in my case studies, the implementation was often in the hands of each individual investor and stakeholder, or it was still at a too early stage. Additionally, the decisions regarding what the project would look like, its main goals, and the links with the rest of the city had already been made in the design phase of the planning process.

The emphasis is placed on the governance structure of which the physical planning is a part of, on the characteristics of the built environment to be created in the planning project, and the attention given to

users, activities, and actors within the project. These will be the aspects upon which the empirical analysis will focus. However, the practices of physical planning in the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach are also influenced by external factors to the activity per se and by internal factors (table 1).

Within the “external factors” one encounters the characteristics of the socioeconomic transformation – for example, a city undergoing a process of rapid industrialization like in the case of the British cities in the nineteenth century, or the type of restructuring encountered in shrinking cities. These external factors will be discussed in chapter III, which focuses on the Entrepreneurial City approach as a context for physical planning practices.

I understand “internal factors” as those that define what planning is and does (object of planning), how planning does what it does (the method of planning), and who does the planning (the profession of planner). The answers to these questions differ according to the administrative system and legislation that frame the planning activity, which are country-specific. They also depend on the theoretical perspectives and paradigms that are being used to define the practice of planning.

Table 1 – Internal and external factors influencing the practice of physical planning, and where they will be discussed in this dissertation

	Influences on the planning practice		Chapter on this dissertation
External factors	Socioeconomic and political characteristics of the context framing planning practice		The Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy – chapter III – conceptual perspectives
Internal factors	What is the object of planning? Who is the planner?	National planning legislation	What is the object of planning, who is the planner, and how is planning conducted according to the legislation framing Swedish physical planning? – chapter I.3 – on the concept of physical planning
	How is planning conducted?	Dominant paradigms and theories influencing planning practice	Rationalism, voluntarism and utopianism (see Strömgren, 2007)

With regard to dominant paradigms, Strömgren (2007) discusses the development of ideas about what planning is, what it does, and who does planning, for the Swedish context. He compares the Swedish planning context to an ideal type of modern planning and to dominant planning theories. Strömgren concludes that Swedish planning is dominated by continuity and stability, and that the planning debate is dominated by the perspective of planning as a rational policy process. In Sweden, (public) planning is expected to be used in all land-use issues, and is also supposed to “be coordinated with planning activities in other political areas, which are organized in accordance with rational principles. Thus the comprehensive and rational model of decision making is indirectly formulated as the primary method for reaching decisions in a democratic market society” (Strömgren, 2007:257). With regard to the role of planning, Strömgren concludes that the dominant planning paradigm of rationality influences the straightforward division between the role and obligation of the planner and that of the politicians and civil society: “Professionals are supposed to develop and test different planning alternatives, while politicians decide on planning goals and finally on which plan to accept” (2007: 257). Consultations with civil society are expected to be a component of preparing for the political decision, and are thus a complement to the professionals in facilitating the decision made by politically elected bodies.

I will now discuss the internal factors by focusing on how the object, the method, and the professional of the planning activity are defined and understood in Swedish legislation. The difficulty of defining planning objects, methods, and professionals helps to demonstrate where the difficulty lies for a delimitation of the planning activity and field of competence within a changing external context.

The Swedish system of government is divided into three tiers: the national level, the regional authorities – County Administrative Board (*Länsstyrelse*) – and the municipalities (*Kommun*) at the local level. Spatial planning as field of public policy intervention is also divided into three levels. On the national level, the government prepares the proposals for legislation and decides on ordinances for the application of laws, on the distribution of resources for infrastructure investments, and on whether appealed plans can be formally established. Government agencies such as the Environment Protection Agency, the National Heritage Board, the Swedish Road Administration, or the National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning provide advice and guidance in planning, are responsible for the preservation of the national interests, and can also draw up plans for roads, railroads, etc.

At the national level there are no plans produced, but two important pieces of legislation exist that set the frame within which the planning activity is to occur: the Environmental Code and the Planning and Building Act (PBA).

The Environmental Code is the umbrella legislation under which the PBA must be implemented. Under Section 1 of the Environmental Code of 1998, it is stated that “the purpose of this Code is to promote sustainable development, which will assure a healthy and sound environment for present and future generations. Such development will be based on recognition of the fact that nature is worthy of protection and that our right to modify and exploit nature carries with it a responsibility for wise management of natural resources” (Boverket, 2006:15). Thus, legislation regulating the built environment and building is subordinate to legislation concerning the natural environment. The PBA contains the “provisions on the planning of land and water areas as well as building” (Boverket, 2006:11).

The County Administrative Board does not have any formal planning tasks, but according to the PBA, it is responsible for the supervision of the planning and building administration within the county and should cooperate with the municipalities in their planning duties. This regional level is another safeguard of the national level’s interest within the planning field and, as such, operates more as a safeguard and adviser than as a developer of the plans themselves.

Also on the regional level, the county councils (*Landsting*) are usually responsible for regional transport, health care, and traffic planning, but are not involved in the formulation of any formal regional plan. Only the Stockholm County Council is responsible for the elaboration of a regional plan for the greater Stockholm region.

Finally, the bulk of the planning tasks are found on the local level. Urban planning, or *Fysisk Planering* as it is referred to in Swedish, is a formal responsibility of the municipalities, and in principle, the municipality has a planning monopoly. In order to conduct its task of planning the use of land and water areas, each municipality must prepare and maintain a comprehensive plan that covers the entire municipality and provides general guidance for decisions concerning the use of land and water areas, and on the development and preservation of the built environment (SFS, 2010). The municipalities are responsible for the preparation of comprehensive plans and detailed development plans and for issuing building permits (table 2).

Table 2 – Overview of Swedish planning system and main administrative entities

	Planning responsibilities	Plans
National level		
Ministry of the Environment	Environment and planning laws Environmental quality objectives	Makes no plans
Government agencies and boards	i.e. Boverket – National Board of Housing, Building, and Planning Interprets laws and regulations and makes recommendations on planning, management of land and water resources, urban development, building, and housing Monitors the function of the Planning and Building Act (PBA)	Makes no plans
Regional level		
County Administrative Board (<i>Länsstyrelse</i>)	Represents the central government on county level Supervises environmental protection, nature conservation, cultural sites, and planning Checks if large-scale planning projects are compatible with national policies Comments on municipal land-use plans	Makes no plans
County Council (<i>Landsting</i>)	Responsible for health and medical care, and for public transport	Makes no plans (except in Stockholm region)
Local level		
Municipality (<i>kommun</i>)	Responsible for social services, childcare, preschools, schools, health and environmental protection, waste collection and management, emergency services, infrastructure (urban streets, water, sewage system) Mandatory – comprehensive planning	Comprehensive plan (<i>Översiktsplan</i>) – legally not binding (gives guidelines) but mandatory to prepare and keep up-to-date. Detailed planning (<i>Detaljplan</i>) – legally binding. Required for all urban building, development, and use of land (exploitation). Building permit (<i>Bygglöv</i>) – granted when the project complies with the detailed plan and corresponds to the requirements of the PBA regarding aesthetics, cultural, health, and safety issues.

The municipalities are considered to have a planning monopoly because no alteration to the use of land can be made unless it is based on a municipal plan (COMMIN, 2007). Landowners cannot build on their land unless in accordance with the municipal plans, and with very few exceptions, the state cannot decide on a use of land that is incompatible with the municipal plans. However, the preparations of these plans

follow the guidelines defined by the Environmental Code and the PBA, and the plans have to respect the general indications provided by the central and regional levels. Also, the more recent changes to the PBA are seen as reflecting a decrease in the monopoly situation by the municipality in planning-related matters (COMMIN, 2007). This monopoly is being challenged by the different forms of power that are sitting at the negotiation table – partners representing the political, financial, and professional world; by the legal trials and examinations in court of controversial planning decisions; and by an increased citizen influence, a consequence of the demand for increased public participation stipulated on the PBA but also due to media coverage.

The planner as a professional category is never mentioned in the PBA, but its existence is implicit in the definition of municipal responsibilities in the field of management of water and land use. According to Nilsson (2003), planners in Sweden do not have a legitimized profession but are often the appointed officials responsible for the planning tasks. Alongside the so-called physical planners with a formalized education degree, the planning activity is performed by architects, human geographers, civil engineers, and surveyors. But the responsibility of the planning official, his field of competence, and partly how the process of planning should be developed are all aspects defined in the PBA. Thematically, planning acts concern both natural and built environments, with ramifications for societal concerns, the respect for and careful management of natural resources and the environment, with the aim of achieving “good living conditions” and attention to what is being done in the neighboring municipalities. It is not surprising that the definition of a planner is a tricky one. A planner is expected to combine the professional skills of an architect, an engineer, and a surveyor, to be familiar with property economic issues, and to understand national economic issues. Ideally he/she should also reveal competences in the field of geography, political science, sociology, and statistics. In practice, this means that “planners” are multidisciplinary teams of people with complementary competencies for the task of plan formulation. The profession is at best diversified and at worst chaotic in terms of the knowledge base and the skills required.

Also related with the scope of the planning tasks, geographically the area of intervention can also differ considerably. A municipal planner might be responsible for developing the comprehensive plan for the entire municipality, focusing on detailed areas, or cooperating with other municipalities in the definition of a regional plan. In small municipalities, the planning department is also small, which grants their planners the opportunity to develop plans across different thematic fields and in many geographical areas. However, in larger municipalities, a larger planning department assures that each planner can focus on specific geographical and thematic problems. But planning can also be understood as encompassing any geographical level above the region and the municipality – spatial planning can be done on the national scale and even on the supranational level.

The PBA also gives some indication of how the planning process should be conducted. Public consultation is an aspect that is safeguarded from the early beginnings of the definition of a detailed or comprehensive plan, and is run by the municipality. Each process must be accompanied by public consultation and an exhibition of the plan proposals. The consultation must include property owners, local companies, residents, special interest organizations, schools, and those responsible for the provision of social services in the areas affected by the plan. Failure to include this aspect might result in complaints and lawsuits (COMMIN, 2007).

Currently there is a proposal under discussion at the national level that might alter the character of the municipal planning monopoly and of the detailed plan. In 2012, the government commissioned a Plan Implementation Survey (*Plangenomförändretredningen*) to review the procedure for implementing the detailed plan. The task was also to investigate the conditions required to simplify and shorten the planning and building process by reviewing the requirements for detailed plans and for planning permissions, the

possibility to use a so-called simple planning process, and opportunities for the city council (*kommunfullmäktige*) to authorize the municipality board (*Kommunal Nämnd*) to adopt a detailed plan (SOU, 2013:34).

The proposal argues for the establishment of a mid-level plan between the comprehensive and the detailed plans, an area plan (*områdesplan*). This would provide land-use indications that would make it easier for appeals to happen before reaching the detailed planning and the building permission phases. The commission also argues that housing is a public interest issue, and that in certain cases there might be a need for a regional perspective to address housing shortages or problems, and that the state should, in certain cases, also intervene in the case of housing problems in a specific municipality. This implies that although a municipal monopoly on housing questions might be influenced by regional and state demands, one could also interpret this proposal as strengthening the need for physical planning as a tool to guarantee access to housing for all.

The proposal is for the detailed plan to be dispensed with in certain situations, and for the issuance of building permits to be done only on the basis of the area plans. Although in principle this suggestion would speed up the planning process, in practice it does not entail any legal alterations to the statute of the comprehensive plans, and the area plans do not carry any legal weight in court. Therefore, the only binding plan (the detailed plan) would be dispensed with and replaced by a non-binding plan (the area plan) to validate a legal instrument – the building permits. This could have implications for both the municipality but especially for private interests, and the planning process would overlook the instrument that in a courtroom frames the relations between collective and private interests.

Finally, the other avenue to simplify the planning process suggested by this commission is to concentrate the public consultations during the phase of elaboration of the area plans, but it is not clear how this consultation should happen, who should be invited, and in which setting. The elaboration of a detailed plan becomes the exception rather than the norm, and although public consultations for the detailed plan should in principle still take place, how the information is made available and in what time frame are not made clear by the proposal (SOU, 2013:34).

We can conclude that in Sweden, planning is an activity that focuses primarily on the municipal level, broadly framed by regulations defined on the national level (Environmental Code and PBA), and with the advice and monitoring of the regional level. The recent proposals for changing the planning process, especially the near dismissal of the obligation to prepare a detailed plan in order to issue building permits, might indicate that the stage is set for a greater involvement of private stakeholders and regional and national interests in decisions on local land-use. This might, in turn, suggest a decrease in the municipal planning monopoly, but further developments and studies are needed to map the development of the municipal planning monopoly in the near future.

The object of physical planning is the management of the land, water, and built resources on the municipal scale and the formulation of plans. This formulation is done in consultation with the public, although the legislative requirement is for the interested groups to be contacted; in other words, there is no need to consult the general public but only the groups that are directly affected by the project. Also, when it comes to method, we can infer a sequence of actions for the plan formulation: the task is assigned to the planning department, which consults the interested groups and formulates the draft proposal, which is approved or rejected by the municipality.

We can also conclude that when it comes to the profession, there is no clear definition of who the planner is in terms of specific competences and educational background. The “planner” is a civil servant responsible for developing the plans required by the municipality’s mandate. The technical aspect is

highlighted in this sense of the role of the planner as an expert in planning-related issues. Also implied is the role of the planner as a mediator between the interests of the government and other interested groups.

In the planning legislation, the specifications about the planning object, process, and competence indicate a field where professional dilemmas are easily encountered. What values are incorporated within planning projects and what dilemmas do planners face? This dissertation brings up these questions in the urban policy context of an Entrepreneurial City.

II. Research Design and Methodology

Flyvbjerg (2006) wrote that “Good social science is problem-driven and not methodology-driven, in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problematic best help answer the research questions at hand.” This implies that we have to be driven in our research process by the problem that aroused our curiosity to begin with, letting this problem guide the research process. Flyvbjerg’s conclusion also implies that our choice of method should reflect the problem at hand.

This chapter focuses on the methodological framework of this dissertation, explains and clarifies my methodological choices, and highlights how the empirical material was gathered and analyzed with relation to my research aim. It starts by discussing what constitutes a case study, why I chose this method, and what constitutes my study object. The second part introduces the different methods for collecting information that were used in this dissertation.

1. Case studies research

a. What is case study methodology?

Case study is a methodology that is commonly encountered in social sciences-oriented disciplines, where the richness derived from context is an element that adds to a piece of research, and where context-specific variances can determine whether a theory can be fully applied to a case. Putting it very succinctly, a case study is supposed to capture the complexity of a case, and researchers use this methodology when they are looking for the detail of interaction of the case with its contexts (Stake, 1995).

Gerring criticizes the disparity of meanings associated with case study methodologies, noting that calling a study a “case study” can mean “(a) that its method is qualitative, small-N (Yin, 1994); (b) that the research is ethnographic, clinical, participant-observation, or otherwise ‘in the field’ (Yin, 1994); (c) that the research is characterized by process-tracing (George and Bennett, 2004); (d) that the research investigates the properties of a single case (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Eckstein [1975] 1992); or (e) that the research investigates a single phenomenon, instance, or example (the most common usage)” (Gerring, 2004: 342). Even though the above definitions appear to cover many disparate aspects of research (qualitative, process-tracing, ethnographic) that are not exclusively connected with a case study approach, they also bring forth some of the main predicates of the approach, according to my own interpretation of what case study research is: a method used for studying small samples or a single case, where the goal is to gain insight into the interdependency between the case(s) and its context, that draws on qualitative (but also quantitative) research methods in order to gain contextual wealth of the phenomenon, and where there is a close interdependence between the researcher and the research-object. This final point is understood in the importance of interpretation in case study research, a point that I return to further ahead.

Although there are still suspicions about the use of case study methodology for the development of social sciences, thanks to authors such as Yin (2003), Stake (1995), Flyvbjerg (2006), Ragin and Becker (1992), George and Bennett (2005), and others, the case for adopting a case study approach is stronger nowadays than it was the case in the 1960s and 70s. Addressing five common misunderstandings about case study research, Flyvbjerg explains the usefulness of this approach by arguing that the “case study produces the type of context-dependent knowledge that research on learning shows to be necessary to allow people to

develop from rule-based beginners to virtuoso experts” (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 221). This is an understanding of knowledge as deriving not exclusively from the generalization of large samples and derived theory-building, but also from the recognition that there is more to a case than just the similarities and statistical responses it generates when combined with other cases. When examined alongside other cases, an individual case amounts to more than just the information it presents by itself. It is for this extra knowledge, the added insights gained from careful analysis of a single or small sample of cases, that case study research is useful. This does not mean that “rule-based learning” (Flyvbjerg, 2006) is not important. Understanding context-independent knowledge is often the first step in the learning process. One starts with an understanding of the generalities and basic characteristics. It is to evolve to a nuanced view of reality that the contextual knowledge of cases is useful (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

b. What is a case?

The case is a unit which is interwoven with its context in what Stake classifies as a “bounded system” (Stake, 1995). Distinguishing the specificity of the case, Stake argues that “the case is a special something to be studied, a student, a classroom, a committee, a program, perhaps, but not a problem, a relationship, or a theme. The case to be studied probably has problems and relationships, and the report of the case is likely to have a theme, but the case is an entity” (Stake, 1995: 133). This dissertation studies the practices of physical planning in a municipality – Malmö (the case) – through the analysis of urban development projects (embedded unit of analysis) within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban development in Sweden (the contextual framework in which the cases are analyzed).

Different types of case studies require different methods for collecting and interpreting data (Stake, 1995). Therefore, it is important for the researcher to be aware of which type of case study she is using when defining the research strategy. Yin (1981) subdivided the case study approach into three different types. *Exploratory* cases are ideal when there is little previous knowledge or access to information about other similar cases. This type can be considered a prelude to subsequent investigations, and frequently the case study approach is associated only with this type of option. *Explanatory* case studies are used for conducting causal investigations. *Descriptive* case studies require a descriptive theory to be developed prior to the research itself and can offer a stand-alone analysis, with little emphasis on generalization.

Stake (1995) distinguished between the *Intrinsic* type of case study, when the research has an interest or claim on the case; *Instrumental*, when the case is used to understand something else, to accomplish something beyond the comprehension of one particular case; and *Collective*, when several cases are studied.

My own case study is *Exploratory*, following Yin’s categorization, and *Instrumental*, following Stake’s. I consider it to be *Exploratory* because there are few previous studies dealing with this problematic, and because I am exploring the practices of physical planning in two Swedish municipalities within a context of Entrepreneurial City approaches. My goal is ultimately to explain the adopted practices in light of a turn towards Entrepreneurial City approaches – therefore, the explanatory element is important in my study, but possible explanations can only be derived for the urban development projects under analysis here, and thus the explanatory element is less significant.

Being *Instrumental* does not mean that the case selected will be a perfect example to try to understand other cases, and neither is that the objective of the research. If one wants to know about other cases, then one can study other cases. The goal of the research is to learn about the one specific case – that is the first obligation of the researcher (Stake, 1995). However, the case or cases under analysis must be selected in order to provide some understanding about the case and its context (Tellis, 1997), and this understanding

might open up opportunities to learn about or develop insights into other cases. The cases can also provide scope for the formulation of hypotheses to be further investigated in future studies. Therefore, the projects I deal with in my study were carefully selected, a process that I return to later in this chapter.

c. Why did I choose this approach?

From the earlier stages of the formulation of my PhD proposal, it became clear that a case study approach would be the appropriate method to follow. My research concerns a “contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control” (Yin, 2003), and a case study is an appropriate methodology to use when a holistic and in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin et al., 1991).

My departure point was that due to a supposed turn in urban policy towards Entrepreneurial City approaches, fields in which urban policy is influential, such as physical planning, might be also facing changes in their practices. I thus had an initial idea that I would try to see whether it would hold and how it would hold in the context of my case. One of the five misunderstandings about case study research, according to Flyvbjerg (2006), is that the case study is appropriate for generating a hypothesis at the onset of a research process, but not for testing this hypothesis or for theory building. I agree with Flyvbjerg when he argues that this misconception reduces the potential field of research for which a case study approach would be appropriate. For example, it is in the testing of hypothesis that the careful selection and analysis of cases can contribute the most (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A case study approach implies the careful and purposeful selection of the case or cases for analysis, and as was the intention behind my own study, these cases can be used to test a proposition or hypothesis. For my own study, the initial idea was that according to previous studies, Entrepreneurial City approaches are influencing the field of physical planning, especially in Anglo-Saxon cases. But would these Entrepreneurial City approaches also influence countries with a different welfare tradition, such as Sweden? And if so, how would these approaches influence the practice of physical planning?

What is my unit of analysis?

In *Instrumental* and *Exploratory* case studies, some cases might be more suitable than others, so it is important to think through the selection of each specific case. The first criterion for case selection, according to Stake (1995), is maximizing what we can learn from it. Can this case help us understand the problem at hand? Can it give us insights, i.e., is it a typical or most-likely case to observe the problem at hand? Does it apparently refute an established theory? Can it allow for generalizations? Even if these questions cannot be fully answered at the onset of the research, they should guide the selection of the case; in other words, the case should have the potential to address them.

Bearing in mind that my case study focuses on physical planning practices within an Entrepreneurial City approach, I opted to study urban development projects in two Swedish municipalities where there was a clear link to an Entrepreneurial City approach. At the beginning of my study, I selected Malmö municipality and the Bo01 project as a unit of analysis, due to the previous knowledge I had of the project, because I knew that I could get easy access to some of the key actors involved in the project, and because previous research had already indicated that Malmö was taking a turn towards an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy in recent years (Dannestam, 2009) and that Malmö was a municipality currently striving to find a new path for its local economy (Vall, 2007).

Malmö is an interesting case because the city mayor, who took office in 1994, has a background in architecture and worked extensively as a city planner prior to becoming mayor. Additionally, Malmö is a city with a tradition of union movements and is linked with welfare provision (Vall, 2007). Historically, it was also a city dealing with a transformation to a post-manufacturing, post-heavy industry, post-blue-collar era, with many high-profile cases of urban development projects meant to contribute to the emergence of a new era for the city (for example, Bo01, but also the city tunnel, the Öresund bridge, and the establishment of Malmö Högskola).

Malmö is thus a critical case (Ragin, 1992, Flyvbjerg, 2006) around which I tried to experiment with my initial ideas. However, as Yin (2003) indicated, multiple cases allow for stronger conclusions to be drawn. I considered this during the first stage of my PhD research, wondering whether it might be wiser to add other countries and planning projects to the study. However, working with other countries would add too much contextual confusion to the study, as it would mean dealing with other planning systems. Thus, for sake of time, access to sites and information, and information management, Malmö became the central case in the study.

Later in the process, after reflecting on the advantages of having multiple cases for learning and for confronting assumptions from the cases, I decided to include in one of the papers a project in the municipality of Lund also. Lund is quite a different case from Malmö. It does not have a dramatic history of transformation leading its urban development, but the project selected – Brunnskög – fit well within an Entrepreneurial City approach because it can be seen as a flagship for the municipality, generating national and international attention due to the co-location of research labs in the neighborhood. As such, it was also included with the expectation that other physical planning practices could be inferred in a context that is similar, but not the same, as the one in Malmö (figure 4). It was a pragmatic choice.

A short introduction to the cases and the projects is included in appendix 1.

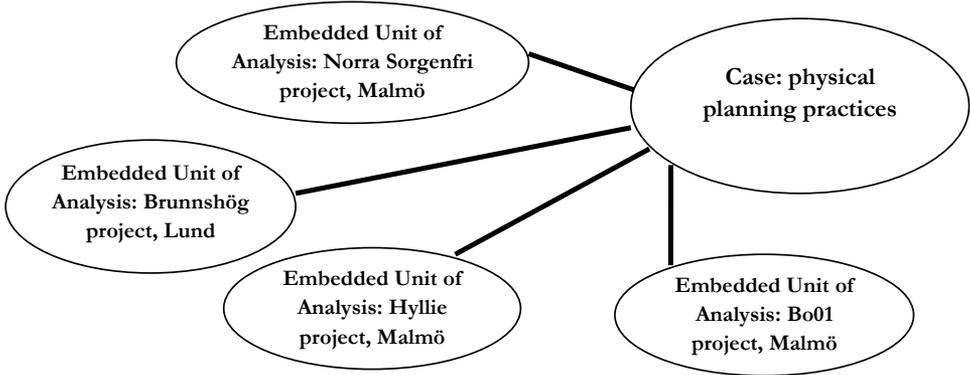


Figure 4 – Case and Embedded Units of Analysis within the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach

d. Case study methodology and theory

A case-study methodology is focused on examining single or small-N cases. Can the resulting investigation contribute to the development of theory? This issue has often been raised as one of the problems of case study research. In my perspective, this is related to how one defines theory, how one understands how cases can contribute to theory development, and how one perceives the relationship between Knowledge and Reality. I will briefly discuss these three aspects to explain why I believe that case study methodology does indeed contribute to theory development.

What is a theory?

Let us start with theory – what is theory and what is it useful for? Hubbard et al. (2002) argue that at its simplest definition, a theory is a set of ideas about how the world works. Similarly to a map, a theory is a “selective portrayal designed to detail with clarity a richer and more complex reality” (Hubbard et al., 2002: 3). Agreeing with this perspective, I consider a theory to be a simplification of reality, and a scheme by which one can explain a part of that reality. This means that for me a theory is never a complete picture and is never itself complete. It can develop, and it has to engage with other confronting theories, be enriched by new cases where it is applied, and face being abandoned and forgotten if it does not provide enough explanation as to why something happens. A theory is in a permanent state of development from the time it is born until the time it is abandoned. It is also not universal, in the sense that a theory implies a specific language to explain a part of reality, and a specific assembly of concepts to communicate that snapshot of reality; as such, it cannot be shared universally but instead spreads within a specific community.

How can cases contribute to theory development?

If I understand theory as a snapshot of reality and in permanent development, then in my understanding case studies do provide a means for theory development because they provide exemplary wealth that can either sustain the theory (contributing to its development and growth of application) or refute it (contributing to its dismissal or, more likely in social sciences, decreasing the scope in which a theory can serve as an explanation). In the context of my own research, highlighting how physical planning is conducted within Entrepreneurial City approaches can help to explain how Entrepreneurial City approaches are influencing the practices of physical planning, and where there are conflicts, juxtapositions, and dismissals of entrepreneurial approaches in physical planning.

Some scholars argue that providing examples is already a sufficient contribution to theory and to social sciences research, especially in a field such as planning, a practice-oriented discipline where the wealth of a repertoire of cases is essential for the (practice-oriented) knowledge of the discipline (Johansson, 2007). Flyvbjerg shares this view, arguing that “the highest levels in the learning process, that is, virtuosity and true expertise, are reached only via a person’s own experiences as practitioner of the relevant skills” (2006: 223) whereby it is by examples and contextual knowledge that expertise comes about. He goes as far as claiming that “formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development whereas the force of example is underestimated” (2006: 278). Although agreeing in principle with both these positions, I consider it important to keep in mind what the links to theory and to theory development are within my own research. For planning practice, the links to theory will allow other cases to position themselves in relation to my own, therefore contributing to a greater wealth in examples and perspectives over a similar

problematic. When it comes to teaching and to planning education, a link between cases, as examples, and the theories that can be used to read and interpret them is also useful because it helps the student to link the one case with other examples, to draw connections and, in this way, to increase the (nuanced) knowledge of the field of planning.

The conceptual structure is a way to ensure a link between the empirical case and the theoretical framework it draws from. As expressed by Stake, “The design of all research requires conceptual organization, ideas to express needed understanding, conceptual bridges from what is already known, structures to guide data gathering, and outlines for presenting interpretations to others” (1995: 15). Formulating the conceptual structure around *issues* (Stake, 1995) or key concepts or problematics, potentially drawn from the theoretical review, helps to guide the focus of the analysis of the empirical data. For Stake, an issue forces attention to complexity and contextuality, highlighting problems and concerns. In my own research, I formulate the *issues* around the problematic of a supposed “turn” from a context for planning before the 1970s to a new context after. This “turn” is the problematic situation framing the practice of physical planning nowadays. I discussed this turn as occurring from a situation A to a situation B in the concluding discussion of the literature review (Chapter III), trying to present the two situations as extreme to bring forth the differences, but also by contextualizing and *nuancing* what it could mean to the practice of planning, discussed mainly in the empirical papers. This theoretical framework guided the data collection and was further refined and revised by the empirical material.

Flyvbjerg (2006: 227) argued that case studies are ideal for the testing of hypotheses and propositions (which he calls “soft” theory and which is different from the “hard” theories of exact and natural sciences), and for generalizations. It is through the intense observation of a case and the application of a proposition to a new example that the proposition can be verified or not, and that theory and knowledge develop. The famous “black swan” episode illustrates this point and supports the argument for how a case study approach contributes to theory development. One can use case studies to falsify central elements in a theory of social sciences, and thereby undermine the theory as whole. However, one could add that social sciences lack embracing theories that represent a generalizable and widely accepted explanation of Reality. Instead, it is more often encountered that when a case study shows that a theory does not fit, it merely decreases the scope of applicability of that theory, without negating the theory’s relevance in explaining other cases in other contexts.

Knowledge and Reality – Introduction to Critical Realism

My own interpretation of Knowledge and Reality helps to explain my take on theory and on the usefulness of case study methodology for theory development. I will draw from critical realism (Bhaskar, 1978) to make my point. Critical realism is a philosophy of science developed by Roy Bhaskar that adapts realism to social sciences. According to Yeung, critical realism is “a scientific Philosophy that celebrates the existence of reality independent of human consciousness (realist ontology), ascribes causal powers to human reasons and social structures (realist ontology), rejects relativism in social and scientific discourses (realist epistemology) and re-orientates the social sciences towards its emancipatory goals (realist epistemology)” (1997: 52). Critical realism argues for the existence of three stratified domains of Reality that influence what we “know” (ontology). Table 3 provides an overview of these domains:

Table 3 – Stratified domains of Reality, according to Critical Realism

	Domains		
	Real	Actual	Empirical
Mechanisms	*		
Events	*	*	
Experiences	*	*	*

*Areas of investigation (Bhaskar, 1975 in Banai, 1995: 565)

The *Real* is the domain of mechanisms, structures, or process. These influence the *Actual*, where the effects of these mechanisms occur. What we can experience is the domain of the *Empirical* (Banai, 1995). In this distinction, critical realism distances itself from other philosophies of science such as empirical realism, which equates the real to our experience of it, arguing that the world corresponds to the range of what our senses can grasp (Sayer, 2000: 11). For critical realists, the “real” “is whatever exists, be it natural or social, regardless of whether it is an empirical object for us, and whether we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature” (Sayer, 2000: 11). The Real exists in the intransitive dimension. **Intransitive dimensions of knowledge** are the phenomena we study (objects of study, physical processes, social phenomena, or in this dissertation, urban policy). We try to understand the Real by analyzing and theorizing about the structures, causal powers, and processes it includes. But we are never completely sure that what we are experiencing and how we theorize it are in fact manifestations and accurate accounts of the Real. The **transitive dimensions of knowledge** are the theories used to explain or describe the intransitive dimension’s objects and phenomena, for example, classifying as “Entrepreneurial” the urban policy being taken. This means that the transitive dimension can change, for example, when a new theory is formulated that manages to explain the phenomenon better than pre-existing theories. It does not mean that the phenomenon itself has changed – just our understanding and explanation of it (Collier, 1994). The Actual amounts to what we can observe of the Real (which does not mean that we do observe it – we do not observe entrepreneurial urban policies, but we name them after what we can observe: urban marketing strategies, speculative investments conducted by the municipality trying to stimulate local economic growth). It represents the middle level between what is the Real (intangible) and what we can grasp of it (tangible). The Empirical amounts to what we experience, measure, and observe.

Case studies develop within the Empirical world, operating within this transitive dimension of knowledge. As Banai concludes, “[social structures] can be modified in form over time; they can affect as well as be affected by the conditions specific to a place. Thus the construction of knowledge of universal phenomena (operation of social structures) should be accompanied (validated) by the knowledge of the particular phenomena (the contingency of the operations of the ‘generative structures’ in space and time” (1995: 575). The case study provides an approach that can help me understand how physical planning operates within a specific context – the Entrepreneurial City. Thus, as a method, it allows me to explore the empirical in depth to make inferences about the mechanisms and effects that what I observe refers to. However, I make no claim about the extent to which these inferences will be transferable to other contexts. They might shed light on other planning practices in municipalities influenced by Entrepreneurial City approaches. But as the context changes, the effect of its mechanisms and structures also changes. Generalization is questionable because replication of causal mechanisms and conditions is also difficult to find – “Critical realism, in contrast [to empiricism], posits social structures as historically and spatially contingent. It allows for the ‘empirically-controlled identification of generative structures and their articulation in the explanation of the concrete event’ ” (Bhaskar, 1979: 85 in Banai, 1995: 567).

I have thus engaged in a type of research that is labeled as *intensive research* (Sayer, 2000). Intensive research is aimed at tracing the main causal relationships into which specific cases or individuals enter, dealing with questions that ask “how does a process work in a particular case, or small number of cases; what produces change; what did the agents actually do” (Sayer, 2000: 21). It is therefore stronger on causal explanations and in interpreting meanings in a context than on highlighting patterns or regularities that would contribute to theory-building through generalizations.

One could also ask how suitable critical realism is for researching objects in the social world. While one could assert that the physical world exists independent of the theories in the exact or natural sciences that have been formulated to explain it, it is also plausible to expect that a social sciences researcher will encounter influences of social sciences theories in her study objects. In this sense, the domain of the Real (table 3) would be influenced by the domain of the Actual and the Empirical, and one would then question the existence of an intransitive dimension of knowledge. This critique builds on four aspects: 1) an understanding of causal links between social sciences and social objects; 2) the importance of disciplinary discourses for communication; 3) the nature of lay knowledge; and 4) an abstraction from the time dimension.

Sayer (2000) argues that it is first important to distinguish the researcher from the object of study, arguing that even if the researcher and the object of study share a same concept, this does not imply that the object is influenced by the researcher. Even in cases where an academic discussion seems to influence posterior events in the social world, one could also argue that it is because researchers anticipated a change in the social world, instead of the social object having been influenced by the results of the research. Additionally, even though the data that researchers collect is expected to be influenced by their research framework, this does not imply that the research object will think or act differently because of this research framework. For example, the interviewee will answer the questions asked by the researcher, but it does not imply that the interviewee will change his or her practices because of what the researcher asked in the interview. The implication of causality in the relationship between researcher and social object is then flawed or at least unproven.

There is also an overemphasis on disciplinary discourses, which Sayer classifies as a “(per)version of hermeneutics which assumes that because we can only interpret other discourses via our own, then we are not in fact studying independent discourses but rather our own” (2000: 34). This interpretation implies that there is little or no possibility of communication across disciplinary fields and between researchers and laypeople. I could also add that this overemphasis on disciplinary discourses does not suffice to undermine the intransitive dimension, but solely states that it exists independent of how we communicate it.

Third, if disciplinary knowledge is fallible and evolves according to inputs from the “outside world,” then one can expect that lay knowledge also is fallible and evolves (Sayer, 2000:34). In the same way as concepts used by a researcher do not represent a carbon copy of the reality she intends to define, the concepts used by laypeople are also not a carbon copy of the reality identified, and are also likely to include modifications of concepts that were defined by a researcher.

Finally, the time dimension has been disregarded in relation to assumptions on reciprocity and influences of social practices, social objects, and social research. As argued by Sayer, “social structures and practices (...) are usually most dependent on concepts of actors in the past, not today, and not necessarily those of today’s social researchers” (2000: 35). This implies that the social object exists in the intransitive dimension at the time it is researched by social sciences.

Linked with theory development and contributions of case study methodology for the development of science, there are three essential elements to consider in a study: the credibility of the researcher's assertions and interpretations, the transferability (or generalizability) of the research conclusions, and the objectivity of the research.

e. Credibility, transferability and objectivity

In order to ensure that any research is trustworthy, the researcher should make sure that the results are *credible* (or valid) and *transferable*, meaning that the results could be applied to other contexts. The researcher should also ensure that there is *dependability* (an explicit link and connection) between the data and the interpretation of the data, and that her interpretation is objective by being aware of how her own values and pre-conceptions influence the interpretation (Bryman, 2012).

Silverman (2011) pinpointed why credibility in social science research is often put into question. Among the sources of a legitimation crisis, he mentions the linguistic turn, the feminist turn, and the postmodern turn, which tend to relativize and question the need for credibility. However, just because something might be relative does not imply that it cannot be credible. The researcher must recognize that the direct observations gathered from the research are already "tainted" by the socio-cultural environment that the object of research is involved in. Therefore, the data that is being collected already demands credibility control. This holds for both quantitative and qualitative research. Additionally, scientific knowledge is, from my perspective, also based on argumentation (together with facts). Argumentation implies that the parties involved in the dialogue can be convinced of the accuracy of the arguments presented. If there is any doubt concerning the credibility of the claims presented by one of the parties, then the dialogue or the argumentation terminates, leading Silverman (2011) to argue that the attempt to generate credible or valid knowledge lies at the basis of any dialogue.

Triangulation is a recurrent strategy to assert *credibility* and *objectivity* during the research process. This can be done by using several sources of data (Yin, 2003). Denzin (1984) identified four types of triangulation: *Data source triangulation* is done when the researcher looks at different information sources or contexts in order to see whether the data remains the same; *Investigator triangulation* is done when different investigators examine the same phenomenon; *Theory triangulation* happens when the same results are interpreted by different viewpoints (or investigators); and *Methodological triangulation* is done when another researcher follows the same approach in order to increase confidence in the interpretation.

In my own research, I used data source triangulation by conducting semi-structured interviews with actors with potentially different viewpoints on the same question, and by elaborating the interview templates based on the literature review and document analysis. The interpretation of the literature, document analysis, and interviews was done by articulating and comparing the information. I also used theory triangulation in my analysis of the information collected by contrasting my own interpretation with the readings done by my supervisors and other peers in journals, seminars, and PhD courses.

Using multiple case studies is another strategy to ensure validity and credibility (Yin, 2003). This is one of the reasons why I used different urban development projects to understand the same problem.

This leaves the question of *transferability* (or generalization) to be addressed. For many case study researchers, this is a minor issue: "The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and we come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness" (Stake, 1995: 8). Or as Flyvbjerg argues,

“formal generalization, whether on the basis of large samples or single cases, is considerably overrated as the main source of scientific progress (...) That knowledge cannot be formally generalized does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society” (2006: 226–227). But this does not exclude case study researchers from trying to include it into their own study. I would argue that as a rule, researchers using a case study method should strive for some degree of analysis and reflection upon issues that can be generalized to other cases, even if the focus of his/her study is on a single case.

Critical realism’s distinction of the three spheres – the Real, the Actual and the Empirical – has two implications for the **validation** of knowledge in critical realist research and for **generalization**. First, it implies that just because one thing is observable does not mean that it is fully explained by what can be observed. The existence and explanation of the object observed go beyond what is observable. Thus, observation can help sustain the validity of a claim, but causal criterion should also be included in the explanation in order to increase validity of a claim.

Second, generalization claims are difficult to make, as what has happened or has been observed can always change in the future or might be observed differently. This links the domains of the Empirical and the Actual with the transitive dimension of knowledge. “The nature of the real objects present at a given time constrains and enables what can happen, but does not pre-determine what will happen” (Sayer, 2000: 12).

Linked to the points above is the understanding of causation by critical realism. For realists, causation does not amount to a regular succession of events. They seek causation in explanation of why something happens, not in the number of times and frequency with which it happens. Critical realists look for the structures that explain why something happened as it did, what motivated it, and under what conditions it took place (Sayer, 2000). The realist view on causation is linked with the understanding that, particularly with regard to social phenomena, which take place in open systems, consistent regularities and controlled experiments are difficult (if not impossible) to conduct. “In the ‘open systems’ of the social world, the same causal power can produce different outcomes, according to how the conditions for closure are broken” (Sayer, 2000: 15).

Emphasis on interpretation

A common misconception surrounding case study methodology is that it contains a subjective bias, meaning that the method tends to verify the preconceived notions of the researcher, thus undermining the scientific value of the study. I believe that this fault cannot be directed towards the case study approach in particular but is rather a problem that can emerge with most methods. Thus, the objectivity of the researcher’s examination has to be guaranteed by a consequential use of data collection and interpretation procedures. It boils down to a matter of scientific rigor (Flyvbjerg, 2006), and the case study method has its own parameters to assure this rigor. Stake argues that “the function of the qualitative researcher during data gathering is clearly to maintain a vigorous interpretation. On the basis of the observations and other data, researchers draw their own conclusions - ultimately, the interpretations of the researcher are likely to be emphasized more than the interpretations of those people studied, but the qualitative case researcher tries to preserve the *multiple realities*, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening” (Stake, 1995: 12, emphasis in the original).

One way of addressing the issue of subjective bias and of validating one’s own interpretation is to clearly report the researcher’s initial propositions and assumptions and whether these have (not) been verified during the course of the research (Ragin, 1992; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Additionally, due to the emphasis placed

on attention to the context and its interdependence with the case, it often happens that after a careful analysis, initial assumptions are likely falsified or at least nuanced by a more thorough understanding of the case. This leads Flyvbjerg (2006) and Campbell (1975) to claim that its falsification, not verification, which lies at the heart of case study methodology.

Another way is by bringing out several points of view of the projects by including several sources of data and bringing these “voices” out into the analysis of the data frequently. I tried to do this by using frequent quotes in the discussion of the cases to illustrate different and complementing points of view.

I also tried to keep my interpretation mostly to the discussion and conclusions part of the papers, and to introduce the cases and the data closely following the theoretical framework defined in the beginning of the paper. The goal was to allow the reader to be introduced to the case before I actually give “my reading” of the case. However, this strategy has a limited scope, since the theoretical framework was developed in an iterative process running parallel to the collection of data.

2. Conducting the research

a. Qualitative research focus

Even though a case study approach can also include quantitative methods for data collection and analysis, my own research includes mainly qualitative methods. Among the differences between these two approaches, the key aspects that made me opt for a dominantly qualitative approach were that quantitative research aims at a broader level of generalization, with the researcher positioning herself at quite a distance from the object of study. On the other hand, qualitative research aims for an up-close perspective on the object of study, where the researcher conducting observation and analysis of the object of study within its context. As such, qualitative methods emerged as the most suitable for addressing my research aim. The quantitative data was used to provide the socio-economic setting of the case.

b. Structured, focused comparison

For my research, I found that a structured, focused comparison was most suitable for case study research. The method requires the researcher to elaborate on a set of general questions that are then posed to each of the cases. This allows for the data collected to be standardized, thus making a systematic comparison possible and facilitating the accumulation of findings (George and Bennett, 2005). By structuring the collection of data around a specific set of aspects, the method also allows for a focused comparison, as only certain aspects are taken into account.

There are three reasons why I argue that this method is well suited for my research. First, my research aims to highlight how physical planning operates within a context of an Entrepreneurial City approach. It is not guided by the goal of testing a specific theory, and the conceptual framework discussed in chapter III is intended to provide a backbone for the analysis, allowing for a structured view of the problem to be elaborated. It guides the structured comparison and focuses it. But there is not a middle-range theory in the sense that I might use it to explain the cases.

Second, I chose cases that are located in the same planning system. However, time-wise one follows the other. One hypothesis is that the learning from the earlier project – Bo01 – informed the attitude towards

the Brunshög and/or the Norra Sorgenfri projects. This hypothesis might cloud the collection of data to be specifically biased towards this learning effect and neglect other variables that also influenced the practices of physical planning within each project. Structuring and focusing the data collection on other variables beforehand might help to avoid this risk.

From a personal point of view, I believe that using a method that I have intuitively used in earlier research is beneficial. I can learn to use the method consciously, weighting my research steps and choices. That does not mean that other methods do not end up being used at concrete stages of my research. However, for an overarching method, I believe that I am comfortable with the advantages and opportunities posed by a conscious use of the structured, focused comparison method.

Additionally, in order to avoid falling into an analysis that is too context-specific and does not allow for future generalizations, I need to adopt a method that will structure my analysis in a series of parameters that are defined, refined, and updated during the course of the analysis – the structured, focused comparison serves this goal.

c. Dangers and pitfalls of structured, focused comparisons

Regarding the dangers or pitfalls of conducting structured, focused comparisons (and of case studies in general), I would like to discuss five aspects here and relate them to my own research design: 1) the difficulty in defining the focus/ research universe; 2) studies that are overly descriptive and lacking analytical content; 3) the danger of a non-scientific and noncumulative character of the resulting study; 4) the challenge of anchoring this type of research design in previous research; 5) the use of the theoretical anchoring to guide the structuring of the comparison (George and Bennett, 2005).

1) Defining the focus/ research universe. Defining the research focus and the range of cases is a challenge for any research effort. There is the threat that the focus is too broad or that the cases are not illustrative of what one wishes to discuss. In the structured and focused comparison that I develop, I can recognize these two issues. I am focusing on physical planning practices in the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach in two Swedish municipalities. The Entrepreneurial City is itself a problematic and controversial concept. It can refer to the adoption of business-oriented practices in local policy making, to the emphasis on local promotion of specific types of companies and people, or to a governance structure where a wide range of actors have a voice in urban policy. Therefore, the first step was to try to define what an Entrepreneurial City approach was and how it could frame the practices of physical planning – chapter III.

I also defined the case further. Within the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach, I focused on physical planning practices in two Swedish municipalities, and observed and discussed these through the embedded units of analysis – the cases of Bo01, Norra Sorgenfri, Brunshög, and Hyllie. I have thus identified a contextual framework (Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy) in a specific case (physical planning in Malmö).

2) Overly descriptive and lacking analytical content. The question can also be framed as “what distinguishes my research paper from a (good) newspaper article?” Especially when the issue is urban planning, the transformation of the built environment can easily turn into a description of the urban space and its physical features, with no clear intentionality. I understand that “intentionality” in the description provides the first step towards the analytical content – structuring the description of the case as a clear set of factors or aspects that the researcher is interested in. These factors can be defined

according to the findings from previous researchers that have dealt with similar problematics, developed along with a particular theory, and closely keeping in line with the research objectives. In my concrete case, the analysis is guided by the framework constructed around the Entrepreneurial City approach and its influence over physical planning.

3) Non-scientific and noncumulative character of the resulting study. I understand this problem as closely following the previous ones. George and Bennett quote Rosenau's view that most studies of foreign policy by political scientists and historians lacked "scientific consciousness" and were not cumulative (2005: 68). This is a problem that is not exclusive to structured, focused comparisons but can extend to case studies in general and is linked with the understanding of how scientific knowledge is built. There is an underlying assumption of *Progress* in scientific knowledge. Science is a cumulative process; scientific knowledge builds on top of existing knowledge. If one assumes that scientific knowledge grows by "accumulation," then one of the criteria for assessing "good" research is that it contributes to this accumulation. This can be safeguarded by using established theories, by looking into the same phenomenon through a new theory or a new method, or by looking for least-likely cases (Gerring, 2008). The resulting study thus adds a new perspective on an existing theory and explanation of a case.

4) Anchoring the research design in existing research. Although this challenge could just be seen as an extension of what was said before, I would like to discuss it individually, as I see it as especially pertinent in my own research. A well-anchored study offers several advantages: it contextualizes the research problem, which allows for the relevance of the research contribution to be more easily assessed; it shows that the individual researcher is aware of what has been done and is being done in the field, thus strengthening his/her own role of expert in a determined field; and it allows other researchers to discuss, analyze, and understand the research contribution, as it is included within a specific field of studies. It also offers a safeguard to the individual researcher as his/her conclusions and inferences are drawn (partially) from research that has already been validated by the scientific community or his/her peers.

I have found it difficult to frame my research question within existing literature for two reasons. First, little research has been done about this particular problem so far. This undoubtedly offers the opportunity to make a more significant contribution and for more freedom than if I were delving into an established problematic. Second, the related literature is vast, ranging from political sciences to cultural and human geography, planning, urban sociology, economic geography, etc. This means that there is danger of a poor literature review or of an inadequately defined research problem. I am conscious of both possibilities and have therefore continued conducting my literature review during the duration of the research process by collaborating as often as possible with other researchers through joint papers or through reviews of my own work, and by attending conferences and seminars where my work was also discussed.

5) Use of the theoretical anchoring to guide the structuring of the comparison. A theoretical anchoring supports the structuring of the comparison by guiding the formulation of the general questions to be asked from the data and by guiding the collection of the empirical material in itself. It provides much needed support in the formulation of independent variables, for example. The theoretical anchoring in my dissertation is provided in chapter III, and each individual paper dwells on a specific problem that is first framed in chapter III.

d. Data collection

Yin (2003) listed six sources of data collection in a case study approach: interviews, documents, archives, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. Not all need to be used in every case study. In my research, interviews and document analysis were the main sources of data collection. I also carried out direct observation of the urban development areas at the early stage of the data collection. A literature review was conducted to elaborate the theoretical framework that guided the analysis of the empirical case.²

Literature review

A literature review provides the background for the case study. It links the study to a broader field of study, encloses it within a knowledge gap, illuminates where the case can contribute to, and sets the stage as to how the analysis will be conducted, according to which disciplinary tenets and drawing from which existing scholars and studies. It is not a mere selection of previously done research, but a selection “of available documents (both published and unpublished) on the topic, which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed” (Hart, 1998).

In this dissertation, the literature review aimed at:

- Providing the context – discussing the “turn” in urban policy towards an Entrepreneurial City approach, what it means, and what implications it might have for physical planning. This part was especially focused on in chapter III and in the background of each of the individual papers.
- Discussing the key concepts in this research, focusing on how they are approached by other scholars and in the related literature.
- Explaining the methodological approach taken – essentially discussed and presented in the present chapter, and briefly in each of the papers.
- Understanding the context behind the case study and for each of the individual projects under analysis. This meant looking into official reports and publications by the municipality and complementary scholarly literature on Malmö, its transformation, and on each of the individual projects.
- Providing the background against which to elaborate the interviews and interpret the empirical material.

There was not a specific moment for the literature review. It was conducted in an iterative process as I was formulating the research aim, discovering related research, defining the methodological approach, and getting to know my case.

Document analysis

The document analysis was one of the essential steps to understand the context in which the urban development projects had been designed and what the formalized intentions behind the projects were.

² The research on the case of Hyllie was conducted by my co-author in paper 3 – Guy Baeten.

A document analysis has several strengths. Documents allow the researcher to go back to them frequently and provide exact information about names, dates, etc. which help to build the context of the case. Documents can offer a broad coverage (long time span, many events and settings) and are unobtrusive, meaning that they exist independently of the case study and are not influenced by it. However, it is not always easy to gain access to documentation, and there might be a biased selectivity and a reporting bias, reflecting the researcher's own intentions and assumptions about the case (Yin, 2003: 86).

I used mainly official documents such as project descriptions, *planprograms*, detailed plans, and comprehensive plans. Official documents are edited and censored texts that have been written and revised to suit a specific goal: to transmit a particular discourse. They are bearers of meaning and instruments of power (Fredriksson, 2011). It was because I was conscious of these conditions that I included in the interviews questions that would go deeper into the intentions behind the project and the context of the formulation of the project.

I could only superficially learn about the actual writing these documents through the interviews. I could not fully grasp which ideas had been left out and could only vaguely learn why certain ideas found their way into the final, edited, approved version. However, the official documents are essential to analyze precisely because they transmit the official position of the municipality and/or the planning department. They streamline the adopted discourse, leaving out the debate behind it. They are important for understanding what the official discourse is about – in this case how the city should be viewed by outsiders and by its own inhabitants, how it should develop in the future, which image it should bring out through specific initiatives and projects, etc.

An example of how I conducted the document analysis is included in Appendix 2: Example of preparatory work ahead of the interviews.

Interviews

Yin classifies interviews as “one of the most important sources of case study information” (Yin, 2003: 89). They allow the researcher to elaborate a set of targeted lines of inquiry and can be highly insightful, providing perceived causal inferences (Yin, 2003: 86). They are, however, a time-consuming method. Other shortcomings include a bias of the answers due to poorly formulated questions, a response bias, an incomplete recollection, and reflexivity, meaning that the interviewee might express what she or he thinks that the researcher wants to hear. These shortcomings, however, can be addressed through a careful preparation stage for the interviews.

For Bryman (2012) it is the flexibility of the qualitative interview that makes it so attractive as a method to collect information and to go in depth into an issue. I would add that this method demands a lot of advance preparation and that during the interview itself, the researcher has to be extra attentive to what is being said in order to ask questions that had not initially been anticipated, following the answers from the interviewee. It is demanding, stressful, and tiresome, and the interviews have to be transcribed immediately in order to fill in any details that might not have been captured by the recorder, but the result is a wealth of information that is not easily come by in other data collecting methods. In the interviews that I conducted, I was often met by the “institutional” person first, with the answers corresponding closely to the information I had encountered in official documentation. However, during the interview and for some of the questions, interviewees' personal expectations, opinions, and views would stand out, and it is this insider's look and the self-reflections of the interviewees that make the interview such a precious method for collecting information for a case study approach.

My own research used semi-structured interviews, as I was interested in covering some topics for discussion that had emerged from the literature review and document analysis done prior to the interviews, but I also wanted the interviewee to feel like he or she could add whatever details they might find relevant. I elaborated an interview template that I would adapt for each of the interviewees and intentionally included questions that asked for the interviewee's personal opinion on an issue, expectations prior to the beginning of the project, or what she or he would like the project to become. The interview template was formulated around themes that had emerged from the literature review and document analysis, following the focused and structured comparison method. These themes guided the interview transcripts in the majority of the interviews, except when the interviewee drifted into a topic that I was not expecting but considered relevant to pursue for the purpose of collecting another perspective or insight on the project. Only one of the interviewees asked for the interview template in advance, because she was insecure about answering in English and wanted to prepare some of her answers beforehand. This was also the only case where there was no recording of the interview and where I took hand-notes during the interview, which closely followed the template.

The respondents were all linked to the projects under study, or working for Malmö or Lund's planning department. They include planners and project managers at the municipality, developers, and politicians.

Examples of interview templates and how the templates were adapted to the respondents are included in the Appendix 3: Interview templates and examples.

Direct observation

Direct observations – in my case through field visits to the case study “site” – can help to provide information about how the site is used and to describe its physical environment. According to Yin (2003: 86), the advantage of direct observation is that it covers real time events and contexts. However, it is time consuming and selective (it might miss some facts), there is a danger of reflexivity as the observer's presence might cause change, and it can be costly.

Direct observation is not random. There is intentionality behind what is observed and for what purpose. For that, it is helpful to elaborate an observational protocol that defines which aspects the observer should be attentive to. In my field visits to the urban development sites Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri, I was specifically looking into the use of the public spaces and their physical characteristics. Brunnshög is a construction site, so there were no meaningful public spaces to observe. The guidelines for observing the two neighborhoods were adapted from Lynch's “The Image of the City” (1964): light; shape; form; privacy; the openness of the streets; the coherence of the landscape (how does it present itself to the users? Is there a sense of continuation to other neighborhoods? Is there a thematic grouping of buildings within the neighborhood/ to neighboring districts? Which physical elements stand out and why? What can these be associated with?); the activities found at the street level (economic, leisure, cultural); legibility (landmarks and significant buildings, how easily could people read and understand the place, its functions, interpreting what happens in this place).

Direct observation was used especially for the second paper, where there was special concern on place-making through urban design. Due to space constraints, direct observation is not a main method used in the final version of the paper. However, in the early stages of data collection and interpretation, direct observation was essential to understand the transformation of the physical landscape in both projects. An example of how I conducted the direct observation is included in the Appendix 2: Example of preparatory work ahead of the interviews.

III. Conceptual Perspectives

1. Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. The Entrepreneurial City approach sets the external context (see chapter I.3) in which the planning project occurs and opens up an arena for new practices to emerge within physical planning. In this chapter I will focus on what characterizes this Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy as a context for the practice of planning. I will also explore the potential impacts that a turn towards entrepreneurial approaches in urban policy has for planning practice. Therefore, this chapter is to be seen as the discussion of the urban policy context against which the practices of physical planning are set. These practices will be further analyzed in the papers.

Entrepreneurial City approaches are portrayed in scholarly literature as illustrating a turn from what was the context for urban policy in the 1960s and 1970s, towards a new context that started to take shape during the 1980s (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Special issue on New Urban Governance, 2006; Cochrane, 2007). Hall and Hubbard (1998) edited the most comprehensive review on the concept of Entrepreneurial City and the entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, although earlier authors (Mollenkopf, 1983; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard, 1996) had already approached the discussion. An entrepreneurial turn in urban policy as part of a progressive neoliberalization of public policy has also been debated by other scholars (see Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; 2002b; Jessop, 2002; Kipfer and Keil, 2002; MacLeod, 2002; Healey, 2006; Hohn and Neuer, 2006).

The term “Entrepreneurial” is linked to an approach to urban policy and local economic development that is considered by some authors to represent a *shifit* (Harvey, 1989; Cochrane, 2007), whereby local governments are steering away from traditional activities linked with the local provision on welfare and services, and adopting a more proactive and outward-oriented approach to local economic development, characterized by risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion-seeking, and profit motivation as guiding local policymaking (Mollenkopf, 1983; Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

The activity of that public–private partnership is entrepreneurial precisely because it is speculative in execution and design and therefore dogged by all the difficulties and dangers which attach to speculative as opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development. In many instances this has meant that the public sector assumes the risk and the private sector takes the benefits, though there are enough examples where this is not the case. (Harvey, 1989: 7)

The term “Entrepreneurial” is not without complexity, with Hubbard and Hall (1998) classifying it as a “chaotic concept.” Although the concept is more commonly applied to individuals (as in “entrepreneurs” or “entrepreneurial activity”), in urban policy it is often associated with organizations and collective actors. Additionally, defining the practice of entrepreneurial urban policies is necessarily linked with contextual and path-dependent aspects of the city or cities under analysis, because the characteristics of an Entrepreneurial City approach depend on what the city authorities and private actors do in the urban policy field, and in the historical and institutional paths that marked previous approaches to urban policy.

The term was first coined to describe urban policies pursued within a context of a neoliberalization of urban policy in the U.S. and the U.K., and following the critique and dismissal of a Keynesian Welfare State (Cochrane, 2007; Harvey, 2005). It tends to be associated with an approach to local policymaking

where the public actors are at the center of a turn towards a new approach to how urban policy is conducted, what is considered important, and what the focus of the policies is. As such, it is not related to a decline of the role of public authorities in urban policy, or to the simple replacement of the role of the public by that of the private sector. Instead, what is significant is a change in how public and private sectors interact within urban development projects and policies in view of promoting local economic growth.

Discursively, the entrepreneurial approach to urban policy is constructed as the likely response to the challenges that globalization poses for companies and national economies, and the opportunities that it can offer to cities that create/enhance distinct local assets to strengthen their competitive advantage in relation to other cities around the world. This is clearly formulated in a recent working paper from the OECD that emphasizes the link between globalization, urban attractiveness, and a reorientation of urban policies to foster urban competitiveness:

Globalisation and subsequent competition among cities have triggered a profound change in the mode of the governance of cities. (...) Subsequently, attractiveness has been increasingly regarded as a key factor for urban policies, since attractive cities are competitive and able to attract newly-emerging businesses and highly-skilled workforces that are the driving force in the global economy. Today, enhancing urban attractiveness is high on the agenda or urban policy in many OECD countries. (Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010: 6)

An Entrepreneurial City approach equates here to creating new combinations of urban policy, marketing the urban, and manipulating place characteristics to increase the attractiveness of the city. Intercity competition is understood as based on urban attractiveness. Jessop (1998) argues that being an Entrepreneurial City has become more than an objective trend in local economic development and has grown to also be a central element through which many cities' authorities try to position their cities in the inter-urban competition for companies and investment. He reflects that entrepreneurialism applied to the urban implies that city authorities "need to promote economic and extra-economic conditions for sustainable endogenous development; and/or to market themselves as being 'business-friendly' as well as committed to working with the private sector" (Jessop, 1998: 77).

The city is developed as a brand and a product that can serve as a setting that attracts companies, especially in fields associated with the knowledge-economy and for prestigious companies to open branches and offices. It also projects an image that will attract new inhabitants, especially those who are highly qualified, to move in and take advantage of the quality of life and urban amenities that the city has to offer, and also for private investors to invest in the physical environment of the city, be it in real estate or by creating new businesses. The municipality is looked upon as a firm offering the city as a product for sale, which would turn the policymakers into a type of entrepreneur or business manager, always on the lookout for new business opportunities, ways of promoting their own product, and new business partners that would be willing to invest in and develop the product (the city).

Entrepreneurial cities are also a result of the adoption of discursive practices that promote entrepreneurship and a more entrepreneurial-oriented position by a wide range of social actors, from policymakers and private investors to workers and ordinary citizens (Painter, 1998; Dannestam, 2009) – a shift that is arguably linked to an increasing neoliberalization of urban policy (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; 2002b; Smith, 2002):

Entrepreneurial cities are produced through an active process involving a huge effort of institutional reform and discursive construction. Actors in the urban

economy from schoolchildren to state officials and from business executives to welfare claimants have to learn how to be “entrepreneurial.” In an entrepreneurial city, each actor and institution has specific roles to perform [in order to promote entrepreneurship in business, policymaking, and society as a whole], the adoption of which is a disciplinary process. It may involve self-discipline as roles are learnt and internalised and then performed apparently freely, or it may involve a more explicit exercise of power on the part of the institutions or urban governance to compel performance. (Painter, 1998: 268)

The Entrepreneurial City is marked by a fragmentation of practices (Novy et al., 2001; Khakee and Barbanente, 2003; Healey, 2006), which makes it difficult to clearly position the Entrepreneurial City within existing theories of urban policy, or even to demarcate it as a new theory to explain urban policy. What is characteristic of an Entrepreneurial City approach is influenced by contexts, practices, and perspectives concerning the role of urban policy inherited from previous approaches and theoretical framings. Table 4 attempts to position the Entrepreneurial City approach within the scope of the Neo-Marxist School and of Regime Theory. One of the first proponents of the Entrepreneurial turn in urban policy was David Harvey, while Swyngedouw and Jessop have been key names in the discussions about how the Entrepreneurial City approach has been influencing the fields of urban policy and urban planning. Regime Theory has identified some policy shifts that have led to the identification of the Entrepreneurial City, with key thinkers such as Stone, Stoker, and Leitner helping to understand what is changing in the way urban policy is conducted. The Entrepreneurial City can be seen as an attempt to capture a change, by highlighting “turns” and “shifts” building on and against previous structures and previous schools of thoughts. I would argue that one could not claim that the shifts captured by the Entrepreneurial City approach can be fully described by Regime Theory or Neo-Marxism alone but rather both contribute to understanding what the Entrepreneurial City is.

Neo-Marxists of urban policy display considerable diversity among each other (Pickvance, 1995). However they share a common starting point, that “urban political institutions are part of the state apparatus, and hence are inescapably marked by the role which the state plays in capitalist society” (Pickvance, 1995: 253). Neo-Marxists focused their analysis on structure, looking for the mechanisms and processes that would guarantee social reproduction and processes of collective consumption within capitalist societies. The urban was identified a privileged scale of analysis because it was here that the struggle of the proletariat versus the capital owners would take the stage. Castells was explicit in this connection, arguing that “the essential problems regarding the urban are in fact bound up with processes of ‘collective consumption’ or what Marxists call the organization of the collective means of reproduction of labor power” (Castells, 1977: 440, quoted in Cochrane, 2007: 7). Neo-Marxists identify the urban with local policies destined to ensure these processes of collective consumption (Pickvance, 1995). However, by associating the “urban” with processes of collective consumption assured by local policy, Neo-Marxists are less successful in including changes promoted by non-local or supra-national events, by the re-scaling of welfare strategies, or by the re-definition of the role of local and state levels (Cochrane, 2007). But changes occurring at other scales beyond their understanding of the “urban” (for example, the progressive liberalization of welfare-related services) also influence the Neo-Marxist “urban.”

Also, since urban policy is focused on issues of social reproduction, the aspects of production, employment, and unemployment that shape life in urban areas are left under-analyzed. Neo-Marxists are reluctant to discuss the “urban” as having anything to do with economic production, displaced as a concern of the national and the global level (Cochrane, 2007).

Table 4 – Schematic characteristics of Neo-Marxism, Regime Theory, and Entrepreneurial City and their input understanding/framing urban policy

Theory/ Characteristics	Neo-Marxism	Entrepreneurial City	Regime Theory
Focus/ Statement	Who profits?	How to create an attractive city?	Who has the power to?
Founding fathers	Marx, Gramsci	Harvey	Dahl, Hunter
Contemporary Scholars	Harvey, Castells, Jessop, Swyngedouw	Hubbard, Hall, Brenner, Cochrane	Stone, Stoker, Leitner, Cars
Power seen as	Structural	A social product	A social product
Perspective of analysis	Structure	Network	Actor
Problem	Poverty in the cities	Urban competitiveness	Urban economic decline
Cities as...	Spaces for social reproduction and processes of collective consumption	Units of competition in a (global city) market	Spaces for processes of production and realization of profits from real estate development
Power to act	State – public	Local (state) – partnerships/ networks	Local – partnerships
Role of the state level	Main agent of interventions	Agent of the market	Regulator
Role of the local level	Agent of the state for the implementation of welfare strategies and policies to support social reproduction and collective consumption	Actor in the promotion and delivery of welfare and social (re-) production (independent of the state or instead of the state)	Supporter of (business) partnerships
Perspective on Welfare	Necessary for collective consumption. Implemented by the local level, financed and defined by the state. Necessary to ensure an equitable distribution of the benefits of an increasingly affluent society. Complementary to economic growth.	Important for the well-being of citizens and linked with the attractiveness of cities. Implemented, financed, and defined by local level – through partnerships, community-based initiatives, local networks Dependent on local economic growth and thus subordinate to it.	Ignored or taken for granted
Tool	Plan	Place-making	Negotiation

Adapted from Lund Hansen, 2000.

On the other hand, Regime Theory places emphasis on the partnerships and coalitions that are necessary for (economic) growth in the city, or the business and government elites pulling together resources to promote particular agendas – the actors. Regime Theory is thus less attentive to aspects of social reproduction and understands the urban as the level to generate profits from, for example, rising property values, or from the value added by locally dependent businesses and their economic success. Welfare-related issues and forms of social reproduction are redefined as instrumental infrastructure or dismissed as irrelevant (Cochrane, 2007). Thus, Regime Theory alone is not enough to understand an urban approach where welfare aspects are considered important for the well-being of citizens and linked with the attractiveness of cities and urban areas and their potential for growth – one of the advantages of looking to the Entrepreneurial City. However, Stoker adds that Regime Theory borrows a “central thrust of Marxist inspired work from the 1970s, namely that business control over investment decision and resources central to societal welfare give it a privileged position in relation to government decision making (Stoker, 1995: 56).

The power to act is differently understood by each theory. Neo-Marxists are interested in the role of the state as an agent required to act as a collective capitalist by supplying the means for the processes of collective consumption and social reproduction. It is the state that needs to ensure that the periodic crisis and the negative externalities of a capitalist system are avoided and corrected. As such, it is seen as the main agent of interventions. Neo-Marxists also make a distinction between the local level – more permeable to community or local influences and democratic-based pressures, and the state level – more permeable to corporatist and lobby influences. It is thus at the local level that one would expect to find greater demands for welfare spending, as opposed to the state level, where one would expect to find pressures to safeguard productivity and corporate gains. Welfare spending is regarded as essential as it ensures collective consumption, the preparation of able-bodied labor for the economy, and the equitable distribution of the benefits of an increasingly wealthy society.

I would argue that one of the contributions of Neo-Marxist theory to the Entrepreneurial City approach is this perspective on welfare and on the role that the local state level has or should have. A Neo-Marxist reading on what urban policy occupies itself with nowadays would call attention to the focus being shifted away from welfare policy, to the polarization and gentrification dangers present in current approaches to urban development, and to the disengagement of the public sector from guaranteeing equitable access to services, infrastructure, and value, subordinated instead to a need to guarantee local economic growth and to attract specific types of people and activities to the city (MacLeod, 2002; MacLeod and Johnstone, 2012; Peck, 2005; Smith, 2002; Swyngedouw, 2005).

Under Regime Theory, the power to act is understood to reside at the local level, through the establishment of local partnerships and coalitions that bring together the resources to develop a project. The state emerges as a regulator that sets the framework conditions within which the partnership can operate. The local level moves from being looked at as the agent of implementation of state-level strategies and policies, to being a supporter of (business) partnerships, and a partner in these partnerships.

I consider that the contribution of Regime Theory to understanding the Entrepreneurial City is the attention it places on the role of local networks and partnerships, and on the change in the role that the local level assumes at the urban policy level. By allocating an interventive role to the local level and scrutinizing the formation, goals, and governance settings associated with local partnerships, Regime Theorists shifted the perspective of analysis from the level of structure to the level of the actor (Leitner, 1990; Stone, 1993; 2005; Painter, 1997; 1998; Cox and Mair, 1988).

What is novel with the Entrepreneurial City approach is its view of the city as an object of study and discussion. From being regarded as the setting in which class struggles occur, and as the recipient of state-

mandated regulations and financing (Neo-Marxism), and later as a place marked by economic decline (Regime Theory), the city in the Entrepreneurial approach is viewed as a competitive agent and a promoter of its own economic fortunes. The city and urban policy are seen as part of a wider process of change which is marked by broader shifts in the competitive environments of companies and businesses, in state restructuring processes, and in changes in the lifestyles and choices of urban residents. Gordon and Buck argue that there is a renewed optimism about cities, understood nowadays as crucial to achieve “competitiveness, cohesion and responsive governance” (2005: 6). Cities are thus understood as units of competition in a (global city) market, and the competitiveness of cities in this market is the problem that both local and state levels must focus on. The state is understood as an agent of the market, intervening in the competition between cities through the definition of framework programs and regulations and through state-sponsored grants and competitions. The local level is framed as an actor in the promotion and delivery of welfare, independent of the state instead of it. One could potentially understand both the state and the local level as trying to do with cities what forty years ago was possible to achieve with large companies – since larger companies and employers are increasingly mobile and their relocations and closures have threatened the economic life of many Western cities, maybe the state and the local level are finding ways to play an economic role through promoting competitive cities that are necessarily territorially-bound, instead of supporting competitive companies through state grants and tax benefits (OECD, 2007; Musterd and Muriel, 2011).

There are, however, “competitive storylines” or approaches to the Entrepreneurial City that, to a greater or lesser extent, touch upon similar processes and characteristics. These include the re-scaling of the role of the state due to neoliberal influences (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; 2002b; Brenner, 2004), the proliferation of “Creative City” and “Competitive Cities” strategies (Musterd and Muriel, 2011), and collaborative planning ideals focusing on the need for new forms of urban governance to address an increasingly complex and heterogeneous society and urban life (Healey, 1997). These are also influencing urban policy and urban planning practices. However, in order to better delimit the context of analysis, the Entrepreneurial City approach was the perspective adopted in this dissertation.

The literature explored in this chapter is dominated by the Anglo-Saxon experience of the entrepreneurial turn in urban policy. This bias is justified by the intention to look for both emblematic cases but also influential scholars discussing this turn. I attempted to balance this Anglo-Saxon dominance by exploring research grounded in other contexts, with a particular emphasis on what has been discussed in the Swedish context. Even though the Entrepreneurial City approach is most often looked at from an urban governance perspective, I believe that one can find echoes of this approach in municipal place-making strategies for local economic development and for intercity competition, an aspect that is also central in David Harvey’s (1989) formulation of the term “entrepreneurialism.” Therefore, this literature review will also focus on the perception of the importance of place-making for local economic development, and the potential impacts it has on the practice of physical planning. Finally, the focus of Entrepreneurial City approaches on specific socioeconomic groups and activities will be addressed in order to understand and contextualize why physical planning might be induced to adopt a segregated and fragmented approach regarding for whom and for what the city is being planned. The concluding sub-chapter aims to clarify what the characteristics of a turn towards Entrepreneurial City approaches in the Swedish context might be in the field of physical planning.

2. Tools: place-making and urban design for local economic development

Place-making is a strategy often encountered in cities that adopt Entrepreneurial City approaches (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Kavaratzis, 2004; Short et al., 1993), with place providing the setting around which

the re-imagining of the city happens, and the element to manipulate through strategies of physical transformation of the city and its branding. Place-making here means the strategies and activities promoted to intentionally control what type of image is associated with a specific neighborhood or city. Place-making strategies are complex because they include several complementary initiatives that focus on advertising and promotion (Paddison, 1993; Bradley et al., 2002), large-scale physical redevelopment (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Ghilardi, 2006), and the promotion of public art, mega-events, and cultural regeneration (Bailey et al., 2004; Mommaas, 2004; Bayliss, 2007; Bianchini et al., 1992).

Place-making can be understood as just a new term to explain approaches that cities have long used to attract inward investment (Ward, 1998). However, Lovering highlights their rising importance as core activities in current local economic development policies and strategies, pointing out that although some measures to support local enterprises and influence the supply side of the labor market are still in place, these are often modest, especially due to the limitations of public funding. Provocatively, Lovering states that “local economic strategy as a whole now seems to generate more publicity than change” (1995: 117).

For physical planning practice, two questions can be raised with regard to the role of place-making strategies in Entrepreneurial City approaches: 1) why is place-making relevant for local economic development and for the promotion of a city in the context of intercity competition? And 2) why is physical planning a relevant ally in this context?

In the words of Davoudi and Strange, we are seeing “the ascendancy of place” within the urban policy field, with place and territory gaining increased attention in policymaking as a result of major changes in the political economy of advanced industrial societies (2010: 7). This ascendancy of place is especially visible in local development strategies focusing on the endogenous assets at the local level that can be used to promote economic growth. Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez argue that this is a redefinition of the goals for urban development, targeting places rather than people (2002: 563).

The importance of place-specific attributes for local economic development has been a theme widely discussed in scholarly literature. Porter and the proponents of Cluster Theory argue that there is a set of factors/institutions that promote the development of clusters of firms within complementing industries. There are no discussions directly linked to the importance of place/ geography, but the claim is that positive externalities for firms’ competitiveness arise from clustering and agglomeration (Porter, 1990). Thus, even if economic activities go global, a company’s location remains connected to place-specific characteristics – institutions, location, history and traditions, networks with other companies in the region (suppliers, competitors, etc.), and characteristics of its local labor force. For the city and its public authorities, this would mean emphasizing the promotion of local institutions and firm networks in order to create an environment leading to the development of strong clusters and the settling-in of companies. For physical planning, this leads to placing greater attention on the creation of science parks and tech-hubs, and on the development of neighborhoods where there is a concentration of firms, offices for complementary services such as marketing or advocacy, universities, and research institutes.

Other scholars have highlighted the influence of localization externalities, Jacobs externalities, and urbanization externalities on the emergence and growth of companies (Neffke, 2009; Jacobs, 1970; Glaeser et al., 1992; Glaeser, 2007; Glaeser and Resseger, 2010). Some research has pointed to the trend for new industries and economic activities, primarily within knowledge-intensive and creative fields, to locate in the core of cities, where these industries and activities can reap benefits from agglomeration economies, high concentrations of highly educated labor, the presence of a dense social milieu, and the distinctive character of the built environment and the spatiality of the inner city areas. Arguably these characteristics support innovation, learning and creativity, promote knowledge exchange and the

development of networks, and favor knowledge-intensive activities (Moodysson and Jonsson, 2007; Hansen and Winther, 2010; Hutton, 2004; 2006; Hermelin, 2007).

Others argue for attention to be placed on “soft aspects,” namely, the quality of life in the city, the existence of amenities and services, the wealth of the city’s cultural life, and the tolerance of the city to all kinds of differences – ideas, religions, political ideologies, sexual orientation, ethnicities, etc. (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). Other researchers link the importance of the quality of places to a growing awareness for place-identity and for the quality of everyday life (Davoudi and Strange, 2010; Dear, 1995). For physical planning, this means that attention is placed on the physical characteristics of the urban environment, the existence of attractive public spaces, squares, commercial and leisure areas, and meeting places that seem inviting, with emphasis on the environmental and sociocultural qualities of the place. The aesthetic aspects of the neighborhood are highlighted in view of a particular group of users and consumers of that place, neighborhood, and city.

Although these scholars come from different scholarly traditions and disciplines, their common underlying assumption is that the world has hyper-mobile capital, human and financial, and that the city authorities have to compete with other cities in the world to attract highly qualified labor, companies, and investment. Entrepreneurial City approaches are associated here with strategies city authorities use to explore local assets and promote local specificities in order to secure economic growth. There is a high value placed on the specific characteristics of a place or a city as something that can contribute to the competitive advantage of one location over another (Amin and Thrift, 1995; Florida, 2004). Harvey argues that urban entrepreneurialism implies “some level of inter-urban competition” (1989: 10), with the city emerging as the competitive unit and the competitive strategies being organized around the construction of place and of the speculative and commodifiable character the city can acquire.

Lovering (1995) criticizes the idea that Locality and Place are gaining importance by arguing that there is politic and academic rhetoric around this notion of importance of place for economic development. He argues that this rhetoric ignores that “place is not absolute” (Lovering, 1995: 114). Social place is especially neglected in these discourses, which do not recognize that there are gender, ethical, cultural, and age differences regarding the meaning of a place and that, due to the “globalisation of culture” (Harvey, 1989), the formation of identity and culture is defined to a lesser known degree by geographical context (Lovering, 1995).

This criticism can be directed against the strategies of place-making and commodification of the “Urban,” as found in Entrepreneurial City approaches, but it also justifies them. Following Lovering’s argumentation, place-making can be criticized because it blindly follows a political and academic assumption that interventions into the physical infrastructure of the city and into the attractiveness of the place lead to local economic development. This means that place-making strategies fall prey to a misconceived relation between interventions in the physical place and that place’s attractiveness to inward investment. However, at the same time, Lovering ignores or denies that the same “globalisation of culture” that renders locality less relevant also implies that there are trends, styles, and codes associated with a wider consumer culture and cultural references. This means that they can be appropriated by a place-making strategy to give a sense of belonging to people that do not come from the city or neighborhood being promoted. The use of these global artifacts and codes in a city allows outsiders to feel at home. I would argue that despite the personal opinion that one might have regarding international brands and concepts, globalization icons like McDonalds, Starbucks, Levis, and Hollywood add familiarity to an unknown location in the eyes of a newcomer. This newcomer might be a new employee or a new investor. If the intended users/consumers of the new image for the city or neighborhood are new inhabitants, middle-class residents conscious of urban qualities but unattached to a specific place, outside

investors, and money-spending tourists, then the use of these global artifacts will bring familiarity and recognition to that place, promote a specific and recognizable image (American pop culture, consumer culture, Western culture, etc.), and stimulate consumption.

Lovering ends up arguing that the construction of place is individualized (due to a greater mobility of people, mixing of cultures, and exchange of cultural codes), not that place is insignificant. Place still matters, but how the place is constructed and ultimately enacted involves such a dynamic and relentless exchange of objects and signifiers that to assume that one place has one stable meaning is naïve. Strategies of place-making often recognize the fragility of construction of place-meaning (Kavaratzis, 2004; Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007) by including, in the physical artifacts transformed and in the marketing rhetoric, elements that will appeal to a broader audience of (intended) users for that place. However, the meaning that is attached by an individual or a collective is ultimately a social construction, and as such, it is too complex to assemble and manage by any public–private partnership or place-making strategy. These partnerships and strategies can produce the physical artifact and a collective story/image, but the meaning will be created by appropriation by the users of the transformed place. There are several examples of urban development projects where the project developers had conceived of the area for a specific group of users and an image to go with it but where, in the end, the appropriation of that space was done by other users and uses. Hammarby Sjöstad, in Stockholm, and Bo01, in Malmö, were planned for high-income, middle-aged couples whose children had already left the parental home – the empty nesters. Unexpectedly for the stakeholders involved in the project formulation, the area became trendy for families with small children (Persson, 2005).

Often the place-making strategies associated with the Entrepreneurial City try to address collective images of decline associated with processes of de-industrialization or social unrest (Short et al., 1993; Barnes et al., 2006; Bradley et al., 2002; Rousseau, 2009), while in other cases the attempt is to promote an image of the city that will attract tourists, investments, and new residents, preferably among the highly educated and higher income groups. This discourse, built on hope for de-industrialized, stigmatized, and derelict cities, has also attracted medium-sized cities and global cities alike (e.g., Harvey, 1989, about Baltimore; Hubbard, 1995 and 1996, about Birmingham; Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004, about Athens). This same municipal discourse can also be recognized under such heading as “urban regeneration” (Lovering, 2007).

The role of local authorities as “place-makers” with responsibility for developing the local economy and the built environment has been recognized by scholarly and policy-oriented literature (Collinge and Gibney, 2010; OECD, 2007; Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010; Kitchen, 2001). This literature tends to emphasize how places can be actively and deliberately created and changed through the intervention of local agencies, politicians, and investors. Collinge and Gibney have critically discussed this ability to purposively create places, arguing that “one of the dangers associated with the notion of place-making is its openness to what might be called the intentional fallacy – the suggestion that local agencies and the leadership which they offer are at the causative centre of events, guiding the production and reproduction of places” (2010: 486).

The strategies pursued in urban regeneration and transformation of the city’s image often place the emphasis on transformation through changes in the urban form and in the perception of the city by inhabitants and visitors. Transformations in the physical environment are expected to lead to transformations in the perceived image of that place (Gutman, 1966), or as Lovering puts it, “a characteristic of today’s urban regeneration is that it involves not only a physical but also a discursive reconstruction” (2007: 361). This requires planners to focus on aesthetic and architectural aspects of the local urban environment and on local area development and neighborhood upgrading, and to explore the potentials that urban design can offer to promote social, cultural, and economic goals and generate a new

image for a neighborhood or city that will serve to better promote it for investment and tourism. Place-making adds a proactive character to the process of urban development – the built environment is not developed as a good in itself, but is rather shaped according to the idea of their city that public authorities want to promote (Ghilardi, 2006; Lovering, 2007).

Madanipour (2006) discusses how urban design's rising importance within urban policy and planning can be linked back to its potential contribution to making the city more competitive against other cities via re-imagining and place-making strategies and by shaping the built environment to resemble the intended image that developers and policymakers want to sell; how it is used to promote the integration between different developments occurring throughout the city, to add spatial coherence and a sense of meaning and identification to the whole; and how the municipality can use urban design interventions in the public realm to identify the next focus of potential development and help to visually guide investments towards a specific area in the city. It can also be seen as a last resort for local politicians to give the impression that they are actively working for the transformation of a city and promote a sense of local dynamism:

“in many cities of the global ‘North’ the authorities are able to do much less in economic terms than in the ‘Fordist’ past when they created places of employment, public housing estates, hospitals and so on. With fewer opportunities to make major changes, they are devoting much more publicity to the areas where they can have a visible impact (...). This offers a clue to explore in the search for an understanding of current urban regeneration – its prominent visibility” (Lovering, 2007: 360).

However, the trickle-down effect that supposedly derives from investment in the built environment and the subsequent growth of companies and investment in an area creates, more often than not, a discriminatory effect in local populations and economic activities. For example, Lees (2008) discussed the promotion of social mixing in urban policy and its link to gentrification, while Chaskin (2013) looked into neighborhood restructuring and public housing reform politically justified as leading to an increase in the “integration” of vulnerable socioeconomic groups, and highlighted its effects on instead promoting forms of exclusion and urban poverty. Additionally, Cheshire's editorial on resurgent cities (2006) provides an overview of the diffusion of policy prescriptions that have not been scrutinized or validated by empirical evidence – for example, “sustainable cities” or the reasons for “creating mixed communities” – but that nevertheless are common practice in urban development policies. Gentrification is a process that often follows in the footsteps of “upgrades” in the built environment of a neighborhood (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2002; Peck, 2005; Rousseau, 2009; Hedin et al., 2012; Weber, 2002), with local populations increasingly being pushed out by new residents due to the increase in housing prices and land value associated with the upgrading of the built environment and the promotion of new amenities. Even when the urban development project is openly intended to help local populations stay in the neighborhood, displacement is often a common trend during and after project implementation (Larsen and Hansen, 2008). Additionally, for many small-scale entrepreneurs the rent for commercial spaces can increase and push out the small-scale services and commerce that existed in the area (Catungal et al., 2009).

It is more difficult to find urban policy strategies that successfully explore the benefits of urban design and place-making strategies to promote local economic development and increase the attractiveness of the city to outside investors, tourists, and new residents while simultaneously ensuring that the local population and activities are not alienated or cast aside in the process. As Hubbard warns, “it has been suggested that while improved urban design can create a physical environment conducive to investment, this needs to be accompanied by other measures to ensure that the benefits of this investment trickle down to all. In the absence of such measures, there is the danger that the re-imagining of the urban environment may act as a

'carnival mask' that distracts from more serious social issues, and serves the needs of investors and local elites at the expense of local residents" (1995: 251). I will discuss this issue further in chapter III.4.

Additionally, in the wake of the promotion and construction of an Entrepreneurial City, there are parallel stories, identities, and places that might also be part of that city that are discarded or neglected in favor of the imagined or intended city. The Entrepreneurial City can also be seen as the desired image that policymakers and business developers want to promote for the city, a segmented and partial image of what the city is (Bradley et al., 2002; Jones and Evans, 2012; Massey, 1993). For Harvey (1993) the attempt to promote specific images for places, and place-making strategies associated with urban entrepreneurialism, can be understood as another tool for capital accumulation. Place, more specifically the image of the place (or city), is what is being commodified: "the effort to evoke a sense of place and of the past is now often deliberate and conscious. But herein lies a danger. The quest for authenticity, a modern value, stands to be subverted by the market provision of authenticity, invented traditions and a commercialized heritage culture" (Harvey, 1993: 12). Prentice (2001) provocatively concludes contemporary cities do not need to be authentic, but need only to invoke authenticity framed in spaces to consume what is identified as "authentic," materialized in the shopping areas, waterfront developments, theme parks, museums, and galleries that proliferate in the urban development approaches of our "entrepreneurial" cities. The importance of place-making strategies in urban policy does not reflect greater sensitivity to the different meanings of place for the inhabitants of a city, but is instead a reflection of a new avenue to attract investments to the city. I would then conclude that the result is that urban policy and physical planning are engaged in the creation of commodifiable cities, neighborhoods, "places," and new spaces of production and consumption, distinct from what was the (at least normative) intention of public sector urban planning during the 1960s and 1970s. Authenticity, distinctiveness, and uniqueness in a built environment become vague concepts when included in the serialized landscapes of the post-industrial city, designed and conceived within the logic of promoting the city in the context of a supposed intercity competition for investments, tourists, and "creative classes." Miles concludes that "the neoliberal city is grounded in a sense of place built around the image of prosperity, rather than what is likely to be the more uncomfortable reality that lies beneath" (2012: 218), with physical planning acting for and within this myopic landscaping of the future of the city.

I can then conclude that regarding physical planning practices, the importance of urban design and place-making strategies to promote the image of the city mean that physical planning is an important ally in the execution of these strategies within the Entrepreneurial City approach. Physical planning is faced with a task that is less comprehensive in its nature, less concerned with the development of a coherent plan for the entire city or of a broad-range perspective of how the city should develop in terms of built space. Instead, a more project-based approach is taken (further discussed in 2.c), whereby the concern is for the development of places for and of entrepreneurial (or creative or cultural) production and consumption, and supportive of a specific place-image and discourse. This implies that physical planning is a co-builder of the perception of the built environment and of the city or neighborhood that will be associated with landscapes of wealth, innovation, creativity, and middle-class values and consumption patterns. Physical planning is therefore no longer responsible for the large-scale provision of work and housing areas for the anonymous masses of workers of the industrial city or for the standardization of minimum access to services, infrastructures, and welfare as mandated by state regulations.

Urban design and place-making strategies are now used to refashion the city for the desired new inhabitants and economic activities (further discussed in chapter III.4) instead of being used to civilize the

labor masses and convey the dominant values of civility, decency, achievement, and middle-class propriety (MacLeod and Ward, 2002; Sandercock, 2000; Rousseau, 2009).

Several studies have focused on large-scale UDPs and highly publicized projects in order to discuss the use of urban design and place-making strategies by urban elites, as well as to what extent the new image was appropriated/accepted by the local communities (Hubbard, 1995; 1996; Gospodini, 2002; Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004; Bianchini et al., 1992; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Ben-Joseph, 2009). So far there have been fewer studies focusing on how less publicized projects endorse the values and goals of entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy, for example, through the mainstreaming of urban design solutions for the built environment and in the promotion of a coherent and streamlined new image for the city. However, for the consolidation of the new image of a city, it is important that the main values and image be picked up and reproduced, with some coherence, in less publicized and smaller-scale projects. This issue and the challenges this might create for physical planning practice is discussed in paper 2, *Physical Planning in Place-making through Image Building and Design*.

Additionally, as was discussed earlier, place-making and image-creation strategies associated with entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy and city promotion assume that places can be intentionally steered, changed, and shaped, following the purposes and objectives of leading politicians or urban elites. The promotion of a city or neighborhood often follows the marketing logic of shaping a product to be sold. However, these strategies ignore that Place is the result of both *purposive* and *spontaneous* events (Harvey, 1993; Massey, 1993; Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Collinge and Gibney, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2004). Planning practitioners actively involved in place-making by urban design and urban renewal are connected with the success and failure of these strategies. Paper 4, *Place-making and encountering the past*, questions the role of physical planning in the promotion of these place-making projects and investigates what problems and dilemmas this involvement might bring for the city's inhabitants and for planning practitioners.

3. Governance setting

Hubbard and Hall argued that “urban entrepreneurialism can be defined through two basic characteristics; firstly a political prioritization of pro-growth local economic development and, secondly, an associated organizational and institutional shift from urban government to urban governance.” (1998: 4) It is these two aspects that I will look into next.

a. From Managerialism towards Entrepreneurialism

As stated earlier, Harvey (1989) discussed an entrepreneurial turn in urban governance, arguing that local authorities are adopting an entrepreneurial type of approach towards urban policy, forming public-private partnerships and adopting local development strategies marked by risk-taking and speculation and focused on economic growth. This attitude of public authorities is considered by Harvey to be a new phenomenon in urban policy and governance.

The new urban entrepreneurialism typically rests, then, on a public-private partnership focusing on investment and economic development with the speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions within a particular territory as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal. (Harvey, 1989: 8)

Harvey called this a turn from managerialism towards an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy. Implied is a shift in urban policy focus from managing welfare-related issues in the city toward pursuing the promotion of economic growth. However, subsequent studies have minimized this shift and claimed that instead of a *de facto* reorientation in urban policy, what we see is a change in the political rhetoric, emphasizing local economic promotion initiatives over the delivery of basic services and welfare to local inhabitants. That does not necessarily mean that welfare provision is less important for urban dwellers or local politicians. For example, Dannestam (2008) discussed the municipal discourses on welfare and growth in Malmö by looking into a municipal report entitled “Welfare for all” (Välfärd för alla) and to the event “America’s Cup.” From a Swedish perspective, municipalities have long been associated with welfare provision to all its inhabitants, and the expansion of the municipality’s role in the twentieth century was partly built on its responsibility for welfare delivery (Blucher, 2006). But a new role is emerging for Swedish municipalities, linked with strategies to promote the city and its economic growth, namely through projects of urban renewal to strengthen or even build an attractive urban environment, which is aligned with trends observed in other countries and cities (chapter III.2). An example of this is the local support of flagship events, such as the America’s Cup, that although not directly linked to the income of the inhabitants, are expected to generate a trickle-down effect that will bring revenues to the local economy.

There is, from the municipality’s side, no apparent conflict between the traditional role of welfare provider and the perceived new role of engaging in a pro-growth strategy (Dannestam, 2008). According to the municipal report “Welfare for all,” a pro-growth strategy is justified in order to secure the delivery of welfare services such as schools, day care centers, public transportation, etc. (Malmö Stad, 2003). This illustrates the rationale behind the municipal discourse that justifies the initiative taken within an Entrepreneurial approach to urban policy – municipal welfare provision and local economic growth are both competences of the municipality, and they complete (not replace) each other (Hubbard and Hall, 1998).

A change can be seen as planners become more attentive and responsive to what the state and local authorities believe *inhabitants (might) want* versus what *inhabitants need*. In most Western countries it is taken for granted that a new neighborhood will require access to basic infrastructure and services. What the new neighborhood needs is well known. But instead of the standardization of infrastructure and service provision to the wider public, physical planning is now being asked to anticipate specific requirements from potential new users, and specific uses, for the new development areas. It is not a matter of what is needed, but what is demanded and wanted. The public has more power of choice and more opportunities for choosing where to live. For municipalities this means that they need to offer within their municipal boundaries chances for different life choices and demands over place characteristics to be encountered. Cars and Hedström argue that successful urban development today requires a well-thought-out strategy for how the city will be able to provide these qualities and thus compete with other cities. Today the individual’s choice of residence is determined by several factors: employment, housing, leisure, educational opportunities, etc (2006).

This also adds an element of uncertainty to the Entrepreneurial City approach. The municipality and its physical planning engage in risk-taking and in uncertain and speculative projects. Will a new project be successful with buyers and investors? Harvey concludes that urban entrepreneurialism is “speculative in execution and design and therefore dogged by all the difficulties and dangers which attach to speculative as opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development” (1989: 7). But one could also interpret these entrepreneurial and speculative projects as being rational. Their rationale resides in associating these types of projects with the prospect of economic growth in the future. The same uncertainty about the

future is encountered in urban projects under both urban managerialism and urban entrepreneurialism. However, how the choice is rationalized has changed.

b. From government to governance

Some authors claim that there has been a change “from government to governance” (Harvey, 1989; Hubbard and Hall, 1998). The argument is that during the inter-war years and especially after WW2, the role of government authorities was clearly defined and stronger than is the case nowadays for Western countries. During that period, policymaking and implementation were in the hands of publicly elected bodies. Governance here means inter-organizational networks (Rhodes, 1997), in which a wide range of actors from the private, non-profit, and public sectors come together to participate in the development and implementation of a project. This network of actors creates the capacity to act by pulling together resources towards a commonly defined goal (Hill and Hupe, 2002). These resources can also include the definition of framework conditions and ordered rules for collective action, and can focus on governing mechanisms such as grants, contracts, and agreements that do not rest solely on the authority and sanctions of the government (Milward and Provan, 1999: 3).

According to Harvey, “the real power to reorganize urban life so often lies elsewhere [not with the government] or at least within a broader coalition of forces within which urban government and administration have only a facilitative and coordinating role to play. The power to organize space derives from a whole complex of forces mobilized by diverse social agents” (1989: 6). The critical question to ask about the ability of local governments to conduct policymaking and implementation is not “Who governs?” but “Who has the capacity to act and why?” (Leitner, 1990), meaning one needs to understand urban policy in terms of social production and control of the governance arenas. As Hubbard and Hall put it, “The formation of coalitions or partnerships is thus seen as one of the principal means by which governors achieve this capacity to act” (1998: 9).

Healey theorizes governance as forms of collective action that create the capacity to act within the public realm (2006). The territory is what brings the different actors together into a collective. Governance structures are materialized by these constellations of actors through rules, norms, material resources, and framing ideas that are mobilized and created for the temporary setting of a governance structure within a particular project. For physical planning, this interpretation of governance allows for a distinction between structures that enable or hinder the action of the governance actors (public officials and politicians, investors, NGOs, city inhabitants, and other members of the collective). The governance structure developed is not stable or enduring. On the contrary, it is always changing according to the actors involved and as actors develop the structure in order to work together towards a defined goal. In this sense, the governance structure is a “social process” of capacity building (Healey, 2006).

As such, one characteristic of governance that is clearly distinct from government is the durability of the institutions and organizations created. Government implies a more stable relationship between institutions and organizations that endures across projects. Governance implies temporality. This fleeting character derives from the multi-actor context of the temporary public-private partnerships established in urban development projects and contributes to the fragmentation, uncertainty, and complexity of the arenas for physical planning action.

Towards a multi-actor context of urban policy

In urban development projects, public–private partnerships bring together private and public resources around urban partnerships that are constrained in time and space. The private, non-local, governmental and/or non-governmental agencies and actors taking part in these partnerships represent an influence of non-democratically elected bodies and actors over public policy. The outcome of these partnerships is more heterogeneous in character than would likely be the case with only one actor, or a reduced number of actors, investing and defining the goals for the strategies to be implemented. Interventions in the urban area represent the negotiation process conducted by local public authorities together with the interested group of stakeholders in a *fragmented* and *temporary* partnership.

This derives in greater complexity – of levels of intervention, of players, of funding sources, of goals, of accountability. This complexity can be understood as resulting from a wider understanding of the complexity of societal problems that called for the inclusion of different societal groups that could contribute to a more pluralistic understanding of the problem at hand and its ramifications (Healey, 1997). It can also be related with more prosaic reasons, such as the decline of public funding that pushed public authorities to seek other investors to complement the financing of urban development projects (Cars, 1992; Harvey, 1989). These investors, ranging from private to collective interests organized in companies and non-profit organizations, are given greater room for decision-making and for influencing policy formulation and implementation as a direct consequence of their financial investment in the project.

Place and geography, and the values attached to these – where the workplace, the home, the cultural and/or historical references, and the voters are found – become the lowest common denominator to reach consensus in groups of stakeholders that come from very different sectors – companies, public sector, community, etc³. However, “[d]espite the seeming prominence of local business representatives in the new urban politics, it is clear that the ‘voice’ of the business community is still carefully circumscribed by both central and local government, with the power often attributed to the private sector in urban coalitions frequently more apparent than real” (Hubbard and Hall, 1998: 11).

Although this entrepreneurial and private initiative emphasis over local economic growth might raise fears of loss of field of action for public actors, in practice, private and public actors need each other to put in motion an urban development project. The public needs the financial support, the cooperation of willing investors for the project to take shape. On the other hand, the private actor cannot go around interacting and cooperating without the public sector, as legislation still ensures that without building permissions and a detailed plan, the project cannot be done (Cars and Hedström, 2006). The municipality needs to be on board with the project, at least for legal matters. Clearly, being required to participate only in legal *formalia* means that physical planning potentially loses its influence as a creative agent in the process; it becomes harder to steer the project in view of a wider constellation of interests, especially of safeguarding the public’s best interest. When invited to a project as a passive observer of someone else’s creative work, the physical planners have less time to react and think through the potential implications of the project for the municipality and its inhabitants. Thus, it is essential that planners join in the negotiation and project design at an early stage (Cars and Hedström, 2006).

³ Cox and Mair (1988) elaborated on the concept of local dependence to illustrate how it establishes a base on which solidarity among stakeholders can be created. These locally dependent firms, politicians, and citizens find in their locality a common base on which to formulate joint strategies in order to compete with other localities. Cox and Mair define local dependence as “the dependence of various actors – capitalist firms, politicians, people on the reproduction of certain social relations within a particular territory” (1988: 307). The authors are also critical of the language used in these locality promotion strategies, where project stakeholders use the discourse of intercity or interregional competition to justify those strategies to the community.

One could thus argue for a turn from professional planners to physical planning and planners as just another stakeholder in the planning process. In the 1950s through the 1970s, “planners” were a professional group of public officials and experts that were tasked by local politicians with developing a plan to be implemented by local policy and were heavily dependent on local financing. As the plan has given room to a project-level approach (Swyngedouw et al., 2002), so has the group of “planners” been enlarged to include not only public officials and politicians, but also property developers, private investors, NGOs, and citizens. This group has different interests and claims and often an agreement is difficult to reach, so the project starts from a very wide vision and tries to work out the details through an area-based and group-based perspective. Montin classifies the inclusion of this wide range of stakeholders in public policymaking and implementation as demonstrating an ongoing tendency for “de-democratization,” where policymaking is “moved from representative democratic institutions towards other, less representative ones, such as different types of partnerships” (2000: 2).

Towards decentralization and fragmentation

Another turn often associated with an entrepreneurial urban governance setting is from centralization towards increased *decentralization* in service provision, decision-making, and policy formulation and implementation, and claims for increased *fragmentation* in the settings in which urban policy and planning are formulated and implemented. Montin analyzed how local taxes in Sweden provided the financial autonomy for municipalities to be responsible for the provision of local welfare. The expansion of welfare went hand in hand with the responsibilities and scope of influence of the municipality, which increased at a constant rhythm from the post-WW2 period until the crisis in the Swedish economy in the 1990s. The ensuing falling finances resulted in the need for both the national and the local levels to become more efficient in service provision. The result was increased decentralization of influence and responsibilities, with the national level granting more autonomy for the local level to run welfare services, but simultaneously decreasing financial support for the provisions of these services. Municipalities, faced with declining funds and an increase in the demand for welfare services in both quality and quantity, are opening up the provision of public services to private providers and further decentralizing some of the welfare provision tasks to other public organizations (Montin, 2000). The rapid increase in public services in Sweden, a change in citizens’ demands for the quality and quantity of these services, and the ideological and political demands for greater resource efficiency in the public sector resulted in a reorganization of the provision of public welfare services, greater participation of private firms in the delivery of these services, and a rationalization of resource allocation from the public sector (Burkitt and Whyman, 1994). The housing policy at the state level was one of the first areas to fall (Blücher, 2006), with the municipalities slowly reducing their stocks in municipal housing companies (Hedman, 2008; Turner, 1997).

This decentralization of tasks and responsibilities, until now controlled by the state level, to the lower tiers of government and to private actors has resulted in what could be labeled as a growing institutional fragmentation (Elander and Strömberg, 2001). This is seen in the complex webs of relationships that are formed around, for example, planning projects, in the disparity of power and the diversity of roles that the wider range of actors have in each urban project and urban coalition, and in the increasing role of market forces in the distribution of economic activities across space.

Fragmentation and decentralization have been highlighted in research focused especially on large-scale UDPs. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) discussed large-scale UDPs in twelve European cities and highlighted the territorial fragmentation derived from the governance setting created around projects such as the Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, the South Bank in London, and the Expo 98 in Lisbon. These and similar projects were promoted by the partnerships involved in their design and implementation as symbolic projects,

following an urban renewal logic, and meant to promote the restructuring of old industrial areas (e.g., Adlershof in Berlin, and Abandoibarra in Bilbao), and foster economic growth and the creation of an international image for the city (e.g., Donau City in Vienna, and Leopold Quarter in Brussels) (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). The bold ambitions for the role that these projects were to have in the “revitalization” and promotion of the city translated in some cases into exceptional measures within the planning phase, with, for example, agencies created for the design and implementation of a particular large-scale UDP that were not subordinate to the existing planning structures and institutions or were given competencies and responsibilities to act as managers of the whole process. This often resulted in little or no concern for how the individual project was connected with the other planning projects and other areas of the city – territorial fragmentation.

For Campbell and Fainstein (2003), it is the blurring of the fields of influence between the responsibilities of the public and private sectors that contributes the most to the fragmentation of the urban planning arena. The authors warn against the loss of the notion of the public good, or of a public sector that is responsible for making sure that there is some sort of equitable distribution of services among the population. Physical planning is faced with the dilemma of working with the tools and representatives of the private sector, in public–private teams that do not necessarily have in mind the needs of the city inhabitants, and are instead focused on the specific project’s goals (see also Burkitt and Whyman, 1994).

One could also argue that the strength of the current landscape of urban projects lies exactly in the fragmented character of the coalitions of actors that are behind these projects. A more fragmented and temporary set of actors cooperating within a project opens up possibilities for learning and the exchange of knowledge and experiences to occur across interest groups that might not, in other situations, meet and cooperate (Grabher, 2004), as well as the changes that learning from these large-scale UDPs can create in the municipal planning department’s institutional practices and norms (see paper 1 of this dissertation). This fragmented style of governance is also supportive of a growing attention to the characteristics of place, as the territory is the common denominator behind these urban coalitions and project partnerships (Cox and Mair, 1988).

The challenge is how to integrate this fragmented group of projects, actors, goals, and sources of funding. Is it possible for such a heterogeneous project team to develop a unified image for the neighborhood that is to be renovated, or for the city? Papers 1 and 4 address this gap.

From comprehensive towards piecemeal projects

Entrepreneurial City projects are bound by the specific objectives that the group of stakeholders has for the area under development. A comprehensive overview of what the city and its inhabitants need is not the prime concern of this temporary assembly of project stakeholders, and neither is this constellation of actors likely to be reassembled in subsequent projects.

In this context, there is the danger of a piecemeal approach to urban development, and the intensification of a project-based intervention that neglects the overall vision for the urban development of a city or region. Swyngedouw et al. (2002), discussing large-scale UDPs in twelve European cities, concluded that these projects illustrated a shift from a comprehensive approach to planning (which they called the plan) to a more time-, space-, and resource-constrained approach (which they called the project).

Planning through urban “projects” has indeed emerged as the main strategy to stimulate economic growth and to “organize innovation”, both organizationally and economically. Large-scale projects and events are perceived as strategic

instruments aiming at re-shaping the city. Against the crisis of the comprehensive Plan – the classic policy instrument of the Fordist age – the large, emblematic Project has emerged as a viable alternative, allegedly combining the advantages of flexibility and targeted actions with a tremendous symbolic capacity. (Swyngedouw et al., 2002: 562)

These large-scale UDPs captured a segment of the city and worked with that segment in view of the socioeconomic and political objectives of the multi-actor governance structure that was created around the project. Often poorly integrated into the wider urban processes of the city and its planning systems and with other urban development projects occurring throughout the city, these types of projects are characterized as one-off ventures decoupled from their context and from the planning projects of the wider municipality. This detachment from the overall planning of the city was clearly visible in the case of the Expo 98 in Lisbon, where the project had no relation to the overall planning of the city and with other urban development projects (Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

Khakee and Barbanente (2003) also argue that there was a turn to a project-based approach to urban planning as a consequence of the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the greater freedom of private developers and market actors to intervene in urban development. The plan was the instrument par excellence of the top-down and comprehensive manner of local policymaking of the post-war years, illustrated by the land-use recommendations drawn on master plans of the time. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the focus, they argue, was primarily on projects which were considered to be more flexible than the large-scale master plans.

One could also understand this project-based approach to urban development as deriving from the greater binding role of detailed plans, as opposed to comprehensive plans. In Sweden the comprehensive plan can be seen as essentially a political document, destined to define the large-scale orientations for urban development. It is a “strategic document” (Fredriksson, 2011). Although detailed plans should follow the orientation of the comprehensive plan of the municipality, and the municipality is legally required to keep the comprehensive plan up to date, in practice the guidelines provided by the comprehensive plan are broad enough to permit the inclusion of several projects under the umbrella of the vision set forward by the comprehensive plan. Additionally, since the comprehensive plan is expected to be kept up to date, that also implies that it is flexible enough to adjust to the more specific development needs and opportunities for urban development as they come along. The detailed plan, however, sets very concrete standards and guidelines for the urban development and has a binding character. This means that, for example, development rate, height of buildings, façade orientation, street width, accessibility, etc. are all defined by the detailed plan. It is thus at this level that the developers are more interested in intervening since it is at this level that the potential of an urban development area can be better utilized.

A turn towards a project-based approach could be seen as an unavoidable consequence of the growing importance of public–private partnerships and negotiative planning (Cars, 1992). A project-based approach is more easily fine-tuned to comply with the interests of the stakeholders involved and to deal with the necessary time and financial constraints. Additionally, it allows for urban planning to develop through several individual projects with inter-project coordination developing through a series of adjustments and agreements between various actors (Khakee and Barbanente, 2003). Fredriksson noted the emphasis on project-based approaches to planning in Swedish municipalities, especially in the context of projects meant to stimulate local economic growth (2011). She points to the lack of a comprehensive and strategic element in this piecemeal approach, asserting that “there is a danger that a patchwork of rapidly produced [detailed development plans] may be counterproductive in achieving social, environmental and economic sustainable development, and instead lead to the building away of qualities

that attract companies and citizens and a situation whereby problems are built in” (Fredriksson, 2011: 168). Khakee and Barbanente as well associate the project-based approach with negotiative planning, large-scale infrastructural projects, and the discourse of intercity competition and globalization. A project-based approach is often used when planning for investments in projects that bring forth an image of entrepreneurialism, consumer confidence, spectacle, and creativity, such as shopping centers, large sporting venues, or waterfront developments. Negotiative planning is “a strategic collaboration between the public authorities and market actors in order to negotiate an agreement on a specific development project” (Khakee and Barbanente, 2003: 182). The authors criticize the short-term and corporatist concerns of negotiative planning, arguing that it “mainly responds to the emergence of global capitalism with its fickle nature and the transposition of the concept of competition from the world of corporations to that of regions, and the subsequent tendency of interpreting public actions in terms of monetary returns and decisional speed” (Khakee and Barbanente, 2003: 196).

In more recent years, at least for Sweden, the claim of an emphasis on project-level approaches to planning can be contested, judging by the attention given to the process of updating the comprehensive plans and to the reform of the PBA. The comprehensive plan’s role within the planning system has been rehabilitated, at least formally, taken as an arena for the elaboration of a strategy for the urban development of the city: “The comprehensive plan shall state the direction for the long-term development of the physical environment. The plan shall provide guidance for decisions on how land and water areas shall be used and for how the built environment shall be used, developed and preserved” (SFS, 2010: 900, 3 ch. 2). On the other hand, it could also be just a temporary and superficial turn towards a comprehensive approach to planning in Swedish municipalities, due to the recent emphasis on the requirement to update existing comprehensive plans, and to the attention awakened by the revision of the PBA and ensuing debates.

The comprehensive plan as a tool to ensure coherence between individual projects might also be gaining momentum due to the challenges associated with sustainable urban development. Sustainability and environmental policies argue for comprehensive responses that do not always mesh with project-level or piecemeal approaches and short-term perspectives. Fredriksson (2011) concludes that the urban reality of today is perceived by planning legislators and practitioners as increasingly complex, dynamic, and competitive, especially when compared to the reality of a couple of decades ago. As such, the multiple dimensions of sustainability (social, environmental, economic, and political/democratic) also provide a complex and uncertain field for the municipality and physical planning to plan for. Khakee and Barbanente (2003) are also clear about the contextual links between adopting a negotiative planning approach and other types of approaches to planning, namely in the field of sustainable development or planning against an environmental background, where more communicative forms of planning still take preference.

One could also argue that the comprehensive plan is the level of urban policy that is best suited for dialogue with regional development plans, and that this does not support the idea of a project-based approach. Berling (2006) suggests that there is a need to bring together the comprehensive planning tasks of the municipality and the strategy-defining visions of regional development plans, which are often more focused on economic promotion. She points to the existence of increasingly wider functional regions, where the labor market region in fact cuts beyond municipal borders and thus justifies looking into comprehensive plans that extend beyond the municipal line and promote inter-municipal cooperation. Additionally, recent trends in New Economic Geography, and the influence of the EU’s strategies to promote cross-border cooperation and economic growth at the EU level, promote the idea of large city-regions, with a wide diversity of employment opportunities and a large pool of human capital. This implies that for a municipality, it is important to establish links with adjoining municipalities in order to define a

joint strategy of how to promote the wider region in terms of investment and employment opportunities. Since the municipality still holds the planning monopoly, and because the comprehensive plan is the only document that combines the urban development vision with socioeconomic ambitions, then this is the more likely document to establish the link between the intentions of the municipality and the ambitions of a wider cooperation of municipalities in the field of urban development and economic promotion. However, this can also indicate that when it needs to serve as a connection to a wider geographical level, the role of the comprehensive plan becomes less clear and focused as a municipally-relevant strategic document. It might then be more interesting for developers and market actors to intervene in the development decisions at the level of “detailed comprehensive plans” (*Fördjupade översiktsplan*) and detailed plans, where the discussion is less at the level of political decisions and visions, and more focused on concrete initiatives and development opportunities.

In conclusion, much has been written about the implications of a turn towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance for urban policymaking (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Cochrane, 2007; Healey, 2006) and the public sector (Montin, 2000; Elander and Strömberg, 2001; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Hohn and Neuer, 2006; MacLeod, 2011). However, fewer studies have focused on the implications of this alleged turn to physical planning (although see McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Gualini and Major, 2007; Tasan-Kok, 2010; Therikildsen, Hansen, and Lorentzen, 2009). Existing studies tend to approach this turn by emphasizing that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence of the public sector, and by extension of physical planning (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Elander and Strömberg, 2001).

Additionally, in scholarly literature, what characterizes this “turn” has been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon context in which it was firstly discussed (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990; Hubbard and Hall, 1998), which is often associated with broader discussions on the neoliberal influences over urban policy (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a; MacLeod, 2011; McGuirk, 2012) and the transformations of urban policy and governance in the context of the rescaling of the state (Brenner, 2004). But as previous studies have argued, the extent to which this turn has been replicated in other contexts is debatable (Andersen and Pløger, 2007; McGuirk, 2012). Therefore, in this dissertation, paper 1, *Physical Planning in Entrepreneurial Urban Governance – Experiences from the Bo01 and Brunnsög Projects, Sweden*, will contribute to these two discussions.

4. Focus: Defining for whom and for what the Entrepreneurial City exists

The final aspect worth discussing when looking into an Entrepreneurial City approach and the implications it has for the practice of physical planning relates to for whom and for what these entrepreneurial cities are conceived. Recent trends in urban “regeneration” projects at both city and neighborhood levels have been influenced by broad societal trends such as the rise of the service and knowledge-intensive economy, the feminization of the workforce, gentrification, and the emergence of new work-centered households and new household types that have changed how the cities are used and occupied (Haase et al., 2010). Following up on these trends, and simultaneously stimulating them, public authorities try to formulate frameworks or baseline conditions whereby creative and cultural industries can settle in, and specific types of people can move to, the city (Bayliss, 2007; Peck, 2005; Lovering, 2007; Rousseau, 2009).

The claim I want to make here is that the entrepreneurial approach places the emphasis on attracting what could be classified as creative and cultural industries or knowledge-intensive industries. These are understood as the opportunity industries on which policymakers and city authorities can refocus the production sector of the city after the displacement or closure of manufacturing activity. These creative,

cultural, and knowledge-intensive industries are also arguably responsible for a revival of the economic role of the inner city (Hutton, 2004). A corollary is that equal attention be placed on attracting specific types of people (creative, middle-class consumers, highly educated) that will work, shop, and use these new industries and activities.

Several studies have looked into the impact of these knowledge-intensive industries on the city, especially the potential of the creative, cultural, and knowledge-intensive industries to promote and sustain economic growth (Scott, 2000; Bailey et al., 2004; Bayliss, 2007; Borg and Russo, 2008; Gospodini, 2006), the revitalization of the inner city resulting from the growth of these industries (Hutton, 2004; 2009), effects of geographical and socioeconomic fragmentation and division within the city (Hansen and Winther, 2010), and the interaction between built forms of the city and the types of production that are associated with these built forms (Gospodini, 2006; 2002; Hutton, 2006).

Especially relevant from a city authority point of view is the apparent potential of knowledge-intensive and creative or cultural industries to contribute to the renewal of the inner city. After a period of suburbanization of work and residential function, the inner city is experiencing what Hutton classifies as a new renaissance (2004), explained by the specific assembly of labor, institutions, and place-characteristics that are found in cities, namely the advantages that creative and knowledge-intensive industries derive from agglomeration economies, high concentrations of qualified labor, a dense social milieu, and the existence of amenities that facilitate interaction, creativity, and a notion of distinctiveness or authenticity (Hutton, 2004; 2009; Florida, 2002). The urban landscape itself promotes and supports the image with which these new urban industries are associated, leading Hutton to conclude that “if emergent production sectors and industries (such as computer graphics and imaging, new media, software design, and film and video production) constitute the new industrial base of the inner city’s new economy, these activities and spectacles, situated within new or recycled heritage buildings, can be seen as essential features of the relational geography of post-Fordist industrial production” (2006: 1837).

It is more difficult to accurately define what characterizes these creative and knowledge-intensive industries. The common feature seems to be human capital or talent. The argument goes that highly qualified workers are more flexible than less educated workers and more likely to adapt to changes and to develop new skills and competences in an information-rich environment (Drucker, 1999; Castells, 2001). The importance of talent or highly qualified human capital for economic growth and entrepreneurship is not new. Lucas (1988) argued that the clustering of talented people in cities was a driving force for growth and development, and Glaeser has empirically tried to prove the connection between human capital and economic growth (Glaeser and Saiz, 2003; Glaeser, 2007; Glaeser and Resseger, 2010; Glaeser et al., 2011).

Building on these ideas, Florida (2002) argues that talent, or human capital, is a decisive factor for regional economic growth and for a firm’s decision to locate in a region. This implies that together with traditional factors influencing the location of firms – land costs, labor costs, tax rates, infrastructure – the existence of high levels of qualified people also has an effect on where a company decides to locate. For public authorities, the message is that they need to attract highly qualified people to their city in order to better compete with other cities to attract companies, especially within the knowledge-industries.

Another enticing element of Florida’s message for policymakers is that public authorities can succeed in attracting these highly qualified people – these creative classes – if they invest in “people’s climate,” meaning if they generate “authentic, tolerant and experience rich” environments where these creative classes would like to live. For public authorities this is a clear indication that they need to invest in built environments, amenities, and services, not for just any new inhabitant but for a specific group of inhabitants. Haase et al. conclude that “sometimes the influx of new residents and the diversification of residential structures within inner-city districts are preceded or accompanied by a refurbishment of the

building stock as well as an improvement in the quality of the residential environment” (2010: 444), supporting the arguments above that a city with higher levels of consumer amenities and a pleasant built environment attracts certain groups to reside in the city. Paradoxically, these groups are arguably not place-bound (Florida, 2002), not attached to places per se, but mobile enough to move from one place to the next as long as the specific assemblage of place characteristics is better. The implication is that public authorities need to be ever on the leading edge, always improving on the characteristics that their city has to offer these footloose creative classes. The intercity competition is extended from competing for investment and firm location, to competing for creative people, amenities, iconic buildings, and trend-setting environments. This helps to justify why, parallel to a new productive sector that city authorities want to attract, there is also an emphasis on captivating a specific group of inhabitants to reside in these cities, to work in these cultural and creative industries, and to consume the amenities, environments, and experiences that are made available by the renovated urban environments of the Entrepreneurial City (Bayliss, 2007; Bontje and Musterd, 2009).

There have also been open recommendations for urban policies to focus on these groups. For example, Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz (2000) showed that in the U.S., the population has risen more in high-amenity cities, and that although in the city center there has not been a net increase in numbers, there has been a shift in the socioeconomic profile of city center inhabitants, with wealthier populations residing close to the CBD and gentrifying the more central areas of the city. The authors openly advise local politicians to pursue strategies to improve the urban amenities in their cities:

[O]ur advice for local leaders is to pay attention to creating consumer cities. This means that the quality of life is paramount. Safe and clean streets are critical. Good public amenities are a primary function of local governments. In particular, policies that generate and attract high human capital workers are particularly important. (Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz, 2000: 22)

An entrepreneurial approach to urban development is thus marked by the active intention and strategies of policymakers to shape the built environment toward creating spaces that will attract and cater to the needs that specific types of activities (creative industries, high-value-added industries, advanced services) and people (creative, highly educated) have of their built environment. These emerging middle-classes and economic activities are thus important *performers* of the re-imaging of the city by Entrepreneurial City approaches.

An issue of equity is inevitably raised when one considers city inhabitants and activities that do not fit within the desired image and profile conceived for the Entrepreneurial City. What happens to the inhabitants occupied in low-paying or temporary jobs, those who are not directly occupied in creative or cultural industries? What happens to social, age, or ethnic groups that do not fit the image of the citizen consumer that is openly or indirectly targeted in Entrepreneurial City approaches and strategies? And is it at all possible to promote urban regeneration and upgrade the built environment without creating gentrification and displacement processes (Larsen and Hansen, 2008)?

Is this an inevitable trend resulting from the greater capacity and opportunity to choose of some groups over others? Larsen and Hansen (2008) addressed this when investigating the case of Vesterbro in Copenhagen, a district where those with very little or no choice would end up living. The very low rents were a result of the lack of basic infrastructure of the dwellings, the small size of the rooms, and the association of the district with criminality, drug use, and prostitution. The urban regeneration project focused on addressing some of these infrastructural and social problems, arguably with the intent of keeping the local population in situ. However, the inevitable increase in land rents that followed the renovation project, and the increased attractiveness of the district for new residents that wanted and could

afford to live there, meant that displacement of the original residents ensued. Thus, there are groups that, due to their higher economic status or due to life choices, can choose to reside in one area rather than other, while groups that do not have the possibility to choose are necessarily relegated to residing wherever they can afford to. These groups perpetually have less power to choose. But I would argue that it is up to the public sector and physical planning to be creative and think about alternatives and solutions that will especially take into account the consequences for groups that are, a priori, less able to deal with the potential (negative) consequences that originate in any urban development project.

When an urban renewal project is proposed, both economic and social rationales are used to give ground to why the project is justifiable. The project is expected to increase the land value of a certain neighborhood or building. Also, the profitability of owning or leasing to a business in the area is supposed to increase, with companies looking to locate in the renovated area and in the immediate vicinities. From a social perspective, these projects are often grounded in their ability to rejuvenate an area by attracting younger people to reside there, but also to address problems such as criminality or lack of safety which are often associated with run-down industrial areas (Catungal et al., 2009). The positive effects on the social and economic setting of the renovated areas are expected to “trickle down” or, in other words, to “spill” beyond the project area and in to adjacent areas, preferably even the city, as in the case of strategies focusing on improving the image of a city through large-scale and highly visible urban development projects. However, the claimed trickle-down effect is seldom observed (Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Bailly et al., 1996).

What is observed is that for planning practices, the adoption of entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy and the prioritization of specific uses and users for the city often entail including particular forms and discourses that support exclusion and polarization within the planning projects. For example, Barnes et al. illustrate how the adoption of entrepreneurial approaches to urban development, especially based on the “creative classes” rhetoric, has impacted planning and neighborhood upgrading in Australia. The authors showed how urban planning strategies for the Wollongong district have successfully restored the image of this neighborhood as a place of community and urban life, capitalizing on its history, its built heritage, and the lifestyle consumption that was promoted by the development plans. In its wake, however, these planning strategies also favored a certain profile for local inhabitants of the renovated district: middle-class professional groups that had until the time of the urban renewal been absent from the district. The original inhabitants were virtually excluded or marginalized because they behaved outside the codes of conduct defined as “desirable”, e.g., sex workers, or because they simply could not afford to rent or shop in the new gentrified urban village, e.g., the working-class residents and the elderly (Barnes et al., 2006).

MacLeod (2002) has explored this discriminating urban renaissance in the case of Glasgow, illustrating that the price of the urban renewal strategies in many American and Western European cities has been a sharpening of the social discrimination and exclusion of specific groups. This exclusion is often “choreographed through the control over and purification of urban space” (MacLeod, 2002: 603), which raises questions about citizenship, democracy, and ultimately who is allowed and invited to *enact* the spaces created by these entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy.

In conclusion, physical planning can be seen as being in a stand-off when it comes to planning for and in the Entrepreneurial City. On the one hand, physical planning is expected to contribute to the regeneration of the city and its economic activities and help promote local economic growth through interventions in the built environment. Operating in broader partnership that is both attentive to market demands and inclusive of a broad range of public and private investors and stakeholders means that there is potentially less room to maneuver in terms of equity of access to the newly built areas. Additionally, the discourses

attached to these urban development projects use loosely defined terms such as innovation, creativity, sustainability, and safety that imply the use of technologies, building techniques, urban design approaches, and materials that are expensive. Thus, the resulting built environment will also be costly.

On the other hand, it has been very difficult for researchers to pinpoint the exact residential preferences of the “creative classes,” not only because the group itself is highly heterogeneous, but because there are so many other variables to account for when one chooses where to reside, in addition to the characteristics of the built environment. Studies have shown that having opportunities to work and grow in one’s career are very important when deciding where to locate, as well as connections to friends and relatives, life stage, the loosely defined assembly of amenities, leisure, and entertainment opportunities, and quality of life criteria (Hansen and Niedomysl, 2009; Asheim and Hansen, 2009; Niedomysl and Hansen, 2010; Martin-Brelot et al., 2010). So it is difficult to say exactly what this highly heterogeneous group wants from their living and work areas, but physical planning is still trying to get it right...

That physical planning is involved in the production of built environments associated with vague values and concepts endorsed by elites is not in itself a new phenomenon. One has only to look into the creation of public parks (Iveson, 1998; Banerjee, 2001) or to the drivers of suburbanization and urban sprawl from the late nineteenth century onwards to recognize similar discourses. Suburbanization was driven by a rise in the standards of living and increase in the number of middle-class families that wanted to own their own house. Owning a house was then associated with having reached a certain standard in life, with being a respectable family man, and with accomplishment. Owning a house in the suburbs was equated with having succeeded in life. Those who could afford it moved from the city centers to the sprawling suburbs. Those that stayed in the city center did so because they had no choice (Squires, 2002; Couch et al., 2008). The reverse trend is true now. Due to a combination of changing values and lifestyles and urban development strategies focusing on inner cities and older suburbs, it is now into these areas that those who can afford to choose, move.

The catchwords attached to these “regenerated” districts appeal to the consumer who can choose and can afford to pay for the extra amenities and quality of life attached to these developments: “safe,” “green,” “sustainable,” “creative,” and “lively.” The challenge for planning practice is that working with these poorly defined but certainly very inviting terms helps to cushion, dismiss, or hide potential injustices and displacements. Can physical planning be more creative in the solutions proposed and in the arenas created to promote high-quality built environments appealing to a greater diversity of people, from different socioeconomic strata and with different life choices? And would the Entrepreneurial City approach provide an opportunity for this?

5. Conclusions

The goal of this chapter was to define the external factors framing the context for physical planning practice within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. To address this aim I discussed literature that focuses on understanding what the Entrepreneurial City approach is and why it is emerging in the urban policy field. This is an incredibly wide field of literature, which I tried to manage by focusing on the implications that this approach would have for the practice of physical planning in particular. I emphasized the literature and discussions that would allow me to draw conclusions with regard to three aspects concerning the practice of physical planning: tools (urban design and place-making), governance, and focus (uses and users).

I have attempted to integrate scholarly literature that focuses on the Swedish context and on how the Entrepreneurial City approach might be unfolding in Sweden. In this conclusion I will attempt to bring together what this Entrepreneurial City approach might mean for Swedish physical planning practices. For reasons of comparison and clarity, I will frame this Entrepreneurial City approach in contrast to the context for physical planning from the 1950s until the late 1970s (which I will call Welfare Managerialism) (table 5). The supposed “turn” from Welfare Managerialism towards the Entrepreneurial City is happening now and is not as yet a complete process. This turn builds on practices, settings, and values borrowed from and inspired by the Welfare Managerialism approach coinciding with practices that align with influences of Entrepreneurial City approaches over the practices of physical planning, and it can be theoretically seen as building on the Neo-Marxist and Regime Theory Schools (table 4).

Table 5 – From planning for Welfare towards planning for the Entrepreneurial City

	Welfare Managerialism	Entrepreneurial City
Time	1950s to 1970s	From 1980s onwards
Planning’s perspective	The city as an territory – a habitat for living and working	The city as a company, a product to consume, sell, and invest in
Urban policy aim	All inhabitants must have a minimum standard of services and infrastructure. These standards are defined at the state level for the municipalities to implement.	(All inhabitants must have the minimum standards of services and infrastructure, but in addition...) Attract specific inhabitants and companies to the city. What defines attractiveness is a combination of internationally shared design and quality of life criteria, combined with trying to create a unique profile of the city through repackaging of local assets, stories, and physical environments.
“Planners”	Professional planners as experts at the service of the municipality	Professional planners as experts at the service of the municipality, working among other stakeholders
Instrument of planning	Plan	Project
Method for planning	Rational planning	Negotiation planning
Object of urban policy	Physical structure – planning for housing and work places	Image (plus physical structure) – planning for attractive milieus
Perspective of planning process	Top-down and comprehensive	Fragmented and decentralized (Bottom-up and comprehensive or project-based and comprehensive?)

This turn illustrates a change in the perspective of the city by local authorities and urban stakeholders. The Welfare Managerialism perspective of the city sees it as a territory, a habitat where one encounters and creates spaces for living and working. The Entrepreneurial City approach sees the city as a company, a product to sell, develop, and invest in. This change in perspective alone would illustrate a shift in who is

intended to profit from the urban development project, with focus moving from a generalized version of an inhabitant towards what investors might want from the new urban development. The focus groups of the urban policies are those who will (and can afford to) invest in the city, create companies, attract companies, reside in the upgraded neighborhoods, and generate local wealth.

The group of “planners” is also different in the two perspectives, as are the methods, the instruments, and the perspectives that the planners adopt. The “planners” of Welfare Managerialism are professional planners working for the municipality and, in Sweden, traditionally coming from an architectural background (Nilsson, 2003). These municipal planners worked on plans developed ideally through a rational method, top-down and comprehensive. The aim of the planning exercise was to guarantee that all inhabitants had access to a minimum standard of services and infrastructure, and to implement at the local level the goals behind the establishment of the welfare society, agreed upon by a social-democratic-dominated political consensus.

The Entrepreneurial City includes a much more heterogeneous, professionally broader, and potentially more fragmented group of “planners” made up of the group of stakeholders directly involved in the planning project. The municipal physical planner acts as one of several stakeholders, although still directly responsible for the municipal intentions behind the project. The instrument is the planning project, arguably less comprehensive than the plan, created through a process of negotiation planning, and in a process that is much more fragmented and decentralized than it was in the 1950s. The aim has also changed, with the project emphasizing the goal of attracting specific inhabitants and companies to the city.

The object of planning also illustrates a turn from an urban planning focused on planning for housing and work places with a clear separation of functions, influenced by Modernist planning, towards planning for attractive milieus, integrated and mixed-use areas in the Entrepreneurial City. The emphasis is not on the physical structure per se, but on the image that the physical structure will carry with it, and implicitly on the desired occupants of that space.

IV. Paper alignment

This chapter includes the four individual papers. Each paper focuses on one of the discussions in this literature review: tools, governance setting, and focus. For each paper, the analysis sought to address the three research questions:

- 1) How have the practices of physical planning been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy?
- 2) How has physical planning responded to this urban policy context?
- 3) Which potential dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

The first paper looks into the governance setting of the projects of Bo01 and Brunnsög. The second paper focuses on the reproduction of urban design cues and approaches in both highly publicized and less publicized large scale UDPs, specifically Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri. The third paper focuses on the tendency of these large scale UDPs within an Entrepreneurial City to prioritize specific groups over others. The last paper is a reflection concerning purposive image creation in Malmö as part of the efforts to promote a new image for the city that will address its recent history of industrial decline and social problems.

1. Physical Planning in Entrepreneurial Urban Governance – Experiences from the Bo01 and Brunnsög Projects, Sweden ⁴

ANA MAFALDA MADUREIRA

ABSTRACT

Recent research has argued that urban policy has turned towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance, resulting in a more fragmented and decentralized setting within which public policy is formulated and implemented. This implies that the context for public sector urban planning is also influenced by this “turn”. This paper questions this “turn” by arguing that, in Sweden and in practice, forms of fragmentation and decentralization coexist with remnants of coherence and centralization. It focuses on two planning projects, one in Malmö and one in Lund. A case study approach is followed, using official documentation and interviews with key actors. The paper indicates that public authorities and planners remain crucial in urban development projects as initiators of projects, when they bring in financial incentives or lease out the plots for development, or when they add to the project’s political legitimacy and bring to the table different actors that would otherwise be less likely to join forces. It concludes by discussing how public sector urban planning is adjusting to the changes brought forward by entrepreneurial urban governance. The paper contributes to the literature on how urban planning is adapting to changes in the context for urban governance.

Key Words: Entrepreneurial Urban Governance, Physical Planning, Bo01, Brunnsög

1. Introduction

The term “Entrepreneurial Urban Governance” was first coined to describe urban policies pursued within a context of neoliberalization of urban policy in the US and the UK, following the critique and dismissal of the Keynesian Welfare State (Cochrane, 2007). It is not related to a decline in the role of public authorities in urban policy, nor to a simple replacement of the role of the public by the private sector. Instead, what is pointed out is a change in how the public and private sectors interact within urban development projects and policies, particularly within a context of inter-urban competition (Shimomura & Matsumoto, 2010; Jessop, 1998).

The city is “entrepreneurial” because the actors involved in urban policy adopt business-like approaches, such as branding, marketing, speculation and risk-taking, to urban policy-making. This approach is considered to represent a “shift” or a “turn” (Harvey, 1989; Swyngedouw, 2005; Cochrane, 2007), whereby local governments are steering away from traditional activities linked with the local provision on welfare and services, and adopting a more proactive and outward-oriented approach to promote local economic development, a “strategic growth policy” (Andersen & Pløger, 2007). This turn is characterized by risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion-seeking, and profit motivation as guiding local policy-making (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Dannestam, 2009). The city is developed as a brand and a product that can serve as a setting for creative and innovative companies to invest in; for new inhabitants, especially those who

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are highly skilled and educated, to reside in; and for private investors to invest in real estate or to create new businesses. Policy makers are managers looking for new business opportunities, ways of promoting their own product, and new business partners willing to invest in and develop the product. Entrepreneurial urban governance also results from the adoption of discursive practices that promote an entrepreneurial-oriented position by a wide range of social actors, from policy makers and private investors, to workers and ordinary citizens (Painter, 1998; Jessop, 1998; Hubbard, 1996; Brenner & Theodore 2002a and b; Smith 2002).

Much has been written about the implications of this turn towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance for urban policy making (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Cochrane, 2007; Healey, 2006) and the public sector (Montin, 2000; Elander & Strömberg, 2001; Swyngedouw et. al. 2002, Hohn & Neuer, 2006; MacCleod, 2011). However, the strong emphasis of these strategies on interventions over the physical landscape of a city or neighborhood implies greater attention to what is being done by public sector urban planning, as the field that formally takes charge over urban planning in the city. There are fewer studies focusing on this issue (although see McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001; Gualini & Major, 2007; Tasan-Kok, 2010; Therkildsen, Hansen & Lorentzen, 2009). Existing studies tend to approach this turn by emphasizing that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for public sector, and by extension for urban planning (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001, Elander & Strömberg, 2001).

Additionally, in scholarly literature, what characterizes this “turn” has been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon context in which it was firstly discussed (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990; Hubbard & Hall, 1998), often associated with broader discussions on the neoliberal influences over urban policy (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Macleod, 2011, McGuirk, 2012) and the transformations of urban policy and governance in the context of the rescaling of the State (Brenner, 2004). But as previous studies have argued, the extent to which this turn has been replicated in other contexts is debatable (Andersen & Ploeger, 2007; McGuirk, 2012).

This paper questions this “turn” towards entrepreneurial urban governance by looking into two large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) in Sweden. The paper asks how this turn might influence the context in which physical planning occurs. A second question is how physical planning is adapting to it.

1.1. Research design

Sweden presents a suitable example to question the thesis of a “turn” in urban policy turn towards entrepreneurial urban governance, because it presents a context that can be understood as opposite to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, essentially built up since the Thatcher years. The Anglo-Saxon tradition involved municipalities that had little influencing powers in the formulation of visions and in the implementation of urban development strategies, in relation to the importance of the private sector and of urban development corporations. It is also characterized by municipalities with little economic resources to actually drive urban development or legal rights to do so (Lind, 2000).

In Sweden urban planning has been conducted within a strong municipal planning monopoly, build up during the 20th century (Blucher, 2006). The bulk of the planning tasks are found at the local level. The emphasis is on the formulation of plans that contribute to the management of physical resources – land, water, buildings – with the intention of protecting or caring for the social, cultural and economic spheres. In this paper the concept of physical planning will be used to indicate municipal urban planning and the local planning department in Sweden.

Back in the 1970s, municipalities were responsible for formulating visions for how the city should develop; they had a strong legal position in terms of expropriation of land and of its use, and it was not possible to appeal municipal decision other than those resulting from formal errors in processing. Additionally, the municipality was the dominant landowner, granting it a strong negotiative and decision-making position in the housing market, and it owned building companies and housing associations. Finally, on the national level, the government regulated credit and gave generous terms for the financing of municipal housing companies, shielding them from market fluctuations (Lind, 2000; Blucher, 2006).

However, since the 1990s the national level's housing policy has essentially disappeared (Blucher, 2006), impacting the municipal housing associations, which were suddenly forced to operate without the shield of the financial subsidies and regulated credits, which opened them up to market fluctuations (Hedman, 2008). Additionally, the national level has granted more discretionary powers to the municipalities, empowering them to make their own decisions regarding what to do with their housing market and their urban development strategies. But it has simultaneously withdrawn many of the state subsidies to municipal housing companies. This pushed municipalities to engage in more frequent partnerships with the private sector in urban development projects (Blucher, 2006; Hedman, 2008; Elander & Strömberg, 2001). It must be noted that even during the 1970s, municipalities were working in coalition with the private sector in the pursuit of urban development projects, often in rather stable partnerships with a small handful of private actors that were ideologically aligned with the local politicians (Elander & Strömberg, 2001). Nevertheless, recent research has revealed a change in how urban policy is conducted, with municipal discourses and urban development projects aligning with the entrepreneurial urban governance literature (Dannestam, 2009; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012).

The cases were chosen because of their potential to illustrate a potential “turn” in urban policy towards entrepreneurial urban governance and how this “turn” might influence the practices of physical planning. The cases offer a context that might favor the emergence of entrepreneurial forms of urban governance, a context where conflicts and contradictions in the practice of physical planning might be brought to light.

The Bo01 is the site of an international housing exhibition held in Malmö in 2001. The old harbor area was converted into an exhibition stage in a case of urban renewal being used to create a new image for the city – from industrial city in decline to “knowledge city.” Nowadays, the area includes residential and office spaces, public parks and recreational areas, and hosts a new media and IT-focused university and several knowledge-intensive companies.

Brunnshög is an urban expansion project currently under way in Lund. The location of the National Electron Accelerator Laboratory for Synchrotron Radiation Research (MaxIV) and of a European Spallation Source (ESS) facility in the area gave the impetus for the municipality and developers to turn their attention to Brunnshög. The aim is to create a new district for the city that attracts new companies and investments and contributes to the sharing of ideas between the professionals who will work and reside in the area.

In both cases, events external to the municipality – a housing exhibition and the establishment of research facilities – are the engine behind the area transformation. Urban development is being used to create a district of the city where knowledge-intensive companies, entrepreneurial activity, and the “creative classes” (Florida, 2002) are key goals.

The paper is informed by a series of expert interviews and analysis of documentary evidence, plans and reports, which were used to build a review of the urban governance structure built around the projects and what tasks, responsibilities and challenges physical planning faced within these projects.

The following section introduces the main characteristics of an entrepreneurial “turn” in urban governance and what this might imply for the practice of physical planning. The subsequent section outlines and analyzes the cases in light of the turn discussed in the literature. The conclusion emphasizes that in Sweden, although the influence of physical planning might appear to be watered down with the involvement of so many stakeholders in the project, in practice public authorities remain influential actors in urban development projects as initiators of the projects, either when they bring in financial incentives or lease out plots for development, or when they add political legitimacy and bring to the table different actors that would otherwise be less likely to join forces in the project. The paper illustrates a process of adaptation of physical planning practices to changes and challenges in a context marked by elements of a turn to entrepreneurial urban governance.

2. Entrepreneurial Urban Governance in physical planning

Entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy are frequently portrayed as representing a turn “from government to governance” (Harvey, 1989; Hall & Hubbard, 1998), meaning that in Western countries, especially after WW2, policy-making and implementation were done by strong publicly elected bodies, while nowadays governance structures bring both public and private actors to the field of urban policy.

Governance is understood here as inter-organizational networks (Rhodes, 1997), where a wide range of actors from the private, non-profit and public sectors come together to participate in the development and implementation of a project. This network of actors creates the capacity to act by pulling together resources towards a commonly defined goal (Hill & Hupe, 2002). These resources can also include the definition of framework conditions and ordered rules for collective action, and they focus on governing mechanisms such as grants, contracts and agreements that do not rest solely on government authority and sanctions (Milward & Provan, 1999).

In a context of urban governance, Harvey understands that nowadays decisions about interventions over different spheres of the city are made in a multi-actor context. For Harvey, “urban government” is not the appropriate expression to classify the processes surrounding the management of the urban area and the relations between the actors involved in this management. Instead, “urban governance” is a more suitable expression, since “the real power to reorganize urban life so often lies elsewhere [not within the ‘urban government’], or at least within a broader coalition of forces within which urban government and administration have only a facilitative and coordinating role to play” (Harvey, 1989: 6).

Healey theorizes governance as forms of collective action that create the capacity to act within the public realm (2006). The territory is what brings the different actors together into a collective. Governance structures are materialized by these constellations of actors through rules, norms, material resources and framing ideas that are mobilized and created for the temporary setting of a governance structure within a particular project. For physical planning, this interpretation of governance allows a distinction between structures that enable or hinder the action of the governance actors (public officials and politicians, investors, NGOs, city inhabitants, and other members of the collective). The governance structure which develops is not stable or enduring. On the contrary, it is always changing according to the actors involved and as those actors develop the structure in order to work together towards a defined goal. The governance structure is a “social process” of capacity building (Healey, 2006). As such, governance implies temporality. This contributes to the fragmentation, uncertainty and complexity of the arenas for physical planning action, and is derived from the multi-actor context and fleeting character of the public-private partnerships established in urban development projects.

Figure 1 emphasizes the main characteristics of the “turn” in urban policy with potential influence over physical planning. In this paper the “turn” is understood as characterized by fragmentation (piece-meal approaches to urban development, geographical dispersion of projects, influence of private sector approaches, and temporary partnerships) and decentralization (partnerships with stakeholders from private and public sectors, decentralized forms of urban governance, and replacement of established hierarchies by looser networks).

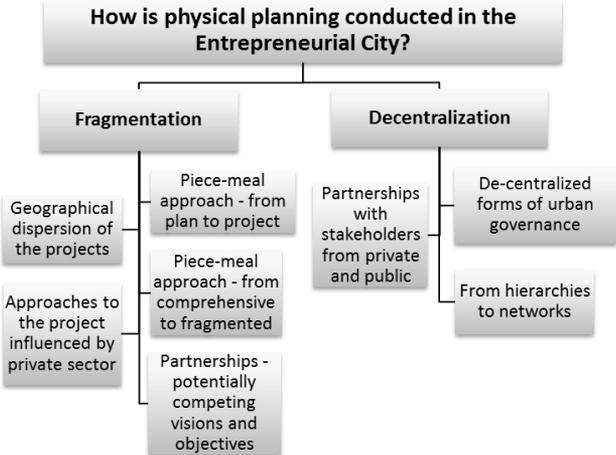


Figure 1 – Characteristics of physical planning in an entrepreneurial city context

2.1. *From Centralization towards Decentralization*

The turn from government to governance is discussed by scholars as developing in the decentralization in public administration and government (Montin, 2000) and resulting from an ideological (Jessop, 2002; McGuirk, 2012) or opportunistic (Swyngedouw et al. 2002) turn in policy-making towards neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005). For Khakee and Barbanente this governance approach is characterized as a turn “from unidirectional, hierarchical control to control through networks [where local politics,] to a larger extent than previously, tries to create premises for development by attempting to coordinate various resources” (Khakee & Barbanente, 2003: 185)

A turn towards more decentralized forms of urban governance can be seen in the delegation of tasks and decision-making power from the state to the local level, and in the decentralization of some municipal tasks, namely welfare services provision, to public actors at lower political levels (Montin, 2000). In Sweden, decentralization trends have influenced the enactment of discretionary laws, namely the Planning and Building Act of 1987, by which the state defines broad guidelines for how municipalities are to act within a specific policy field, which is deemed to be best addressed at the local level (Montin & Elander, 1995). Decentralization might come from trends that view dialogue, cooperation and networks as more effective ways of implementing local-based policies, and as a response to critiques that top-down regulatory approaches make it more difficult for urban development to respond to rapid social, technological and economic changes (Tasan-Kok, 2010). It might also just be an illustration of previous trends whereby it was the local level that effectively had control over a specific policy field, and decentralization by the state is merely recognition of a loss of power that it never held (Montin & Elander, 1995).

Partnerships that include both public and private stakeholders emerge as the organizational element behind the decision-making and implementation of urban development projects (Therkildsen, Hansen & Lorentzen, 2009; Tasan-Kok, 2010; Shimomura & Matsumoto, 2010). The actors involved in these partnerships add to the project their particular inputs in terms of objectives, demands, preconditions, ways of working and funding. This results in a greater complexity of levels of intervention, players, funding sources, goals and accountability that contributes to the increased fragmentation in urban governance within an urban development project.

In Sweden the implementation of the post-war Welfare State was largely at the hands of local coalitions between the Social Democratic state and local politicians and businesses with strong affiliation to the party and linked to the housing sector (Elander & Strömberg, 2001; Blucher, 2006; Hedman, 2008). Thus partnerships are not a new element per se in the Swedish context. However, two substantial changes have occurred from the 1970s context: the state level has decentralized some of the decision-making power to the local level, and it has simultaneously cut back on the state resources to implement many of the tasks traditionally allocated to municipalities. The abandonment of the housing policy translated at the local level into a push towards opening up the local housing sector to the influences of market forces and private interests (Khakee, 2005; Blucher, 2006; Hedman, 2008). One can point to this as evidence of a turn from a governance setting marked by rigid hierarchies (in which the state level providing a comprehensive regulatory framework where the implementation rested in the hands of local politicians and small number of business interests) towards a governance setting marked by looser networks (with less clear and stable partnerships forming according to the project at hand). The “real power to reorganize urban life” (Harvey, 1989: 6) shifts according to the networks formed.

2.2. *From Coherence towards Fragmentation*

Policy-making and implementation under an entrepreneurial approach arguably took a turn towards focusing primarily on single projects. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) discussed the turn from a comprehensive approach to planning (which they called “the plan”) to an approach more constrained by time, space and resources (which they called “the project”). These projects developed a segment of the city in view of the socioeconomic and political objectives of the multi-actors governance structure that was created around the project. Often poorly integrated within the wider urban processes of the city and its planning system, these types of projects are characterized as one-off ventures decoupled from their context and from the planning projects of the wider municipality – a piecemeal approach to urban development. Additionally, the urban development projects tend to be more scattered across space – greater geographical dispersion of the location of the projects.

One could also see this turn to projects and a piecemeal approach as an unavoidable consequence of the growing importance of public-private partnerships and negotiative planning (Cars, 1992; Khakee & Barbanente, 2003), illustrating the close cooperation between public and private actors in order to reach an agreement that will best suit the interests of those involved in the partnership. A project-based approach could be more easily tuned to comply with the interests of the stakeholders involved and to deal with the necessary time and financial constraints imposed. Additionally, it allowed physical planning to develop through several individual projects with inter-project coordination developing through a series of adjustments and agreements between various actors (Khakee & Barbanente, 2003).

The challenge is how to create integration within this fragmented landscape of projects, actors, goals and sources of funding. One could also argue that the strength of the current landscape of urban projects lies exactly in the fragmented character of the coalitions of actors behind these projects. A fragmented and temporary set of actors cooperating within a project opens up possibilities for learning and exchange of

knowledge and experiences to occur across interest groups that might not, in other situations, meet and cooperate (Grabher, 1993). Fragmentation can be interpreted as an opportunity to create and integrate diversity into the governance setting of a project. This fragmented style of governance is also supportive of a growing attention to the characteristics of place, as territory is the common denominator underlying these partnerships (Healey, 2006).

2.3. *Challenges for physical planning*

In recent years, scholars have focused on challenges for physical planning practice derived from this entrepreneurial approach. Tasan-Kok (2010) highlights that in a multi-actor context, there are conflicting interests and competing aims coinciding in the project, not necessarily limited to differences between public and private actors' objectives, but also between different private actors. There are also limitations posed by the persistence of hierarchical relations that hinder the emergence of plural forms of leadership, coordinated action and quick responses. Simultaneously, area-based agencies are set up to oversee the projects, replacing or shadowing traditional tasks of the planning department (Tasan-Kok, 2010; McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001).

There is a general lack of overview of how the project fits or is complemented by other projects happening throughout the city (Swyngedow et al 2002). As McGuirk and MacLaran state, "because the greater part of the development activity is led by the private sector and remains dependent on its profitability criteria, such a reliance inevitably emphasizes the imperative of maintaining a corporate ethos and adopting modes of planning practice which continue to be appropriately supportive of property capital" (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001: 439) This also explains why aims and goals change according to market conditions.

Physical planning is faced with the dilemma of working with the tools and representatives of the private sector in public-private teams that do not necessarily have in mind the needs of the city's inhabitants and are instead focused on specific project goals (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003; Burkitt & Whyman, 1994; Andersen & Pløger, 2007). Montin (2000) points out that traditional local planning used to be responsible for regulating land use, while nowadays its role is focused on providing the means for development opportunities. Physical planning has been transformed from a regulator into an enabler of pro-growth strategies. The planner not only plans for the location of housing and workplaces, but also for an image that attracts specific types of inhabitants and companies.

The corporate imperative and the fragmented and decentralized governance structure frame some of the challenges for planning under this entrepreneurial approach. The next section explores the two empirical cases against the framework of this turn towards decentralization and fragmentation.

3. **Case studies**

3.1. *Introduction*

The Bo01 was an international housing exhibition with the motto of "City of Tomorrow". The exhibition was held in Western Harbor (Figure 2), a former industrial area, scarred by the presence of shipyards which went bankrupt in 1987 and a SAAB industrial complex which was shut down in 1991. To host an international exhibition in a location where the industrial tradition of the city was the most visible served the dual purpose of renovating an abandoned area and building a new image of the city, one associated

with innovation, creativity and sustainability, to replace the traditional image of a blue-collar city hit by unemployment and industrial decline.

Parallel to this project, the city center was being renovated and a new university college had been established, also in Western Harbor. The Öresund Bridge opened in 2000, representing the physical connection between southwest Sweden and mainland Europe, and there were plans to build a city tunnel that would further strengthen the role of Malmö as a regional center and extend its commuting area. Three of Bo01's overarching goals – sustainable living, strengthening the image of Malmö as a place to live and invest in, and the redevelopment of a new district of the city – were supported by parallel projects throughout the city.



Figure 2 Location of Bo01 and city center, Malmö. 2011

Source: malmo.se/karta. ©Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor

Brunnshög is located in the northeast of Lund in an area that has been targeted for expansion since the Comprehensive Plan of 1991. It is bordered by the neighborhood that hosts Ericsson, highway E22 and the area where the labs MaxIV and ESS will be built in the near future. To the east there is a large park, and to the south, the residential neighborhood of Östra Torn. Location is a fundamental problem with urban development in Brunnshög as it is physically cut off from the city by the E22, the IDEON Science Park and Lund's Faculty of Engineering (LTH) (Figure 3).

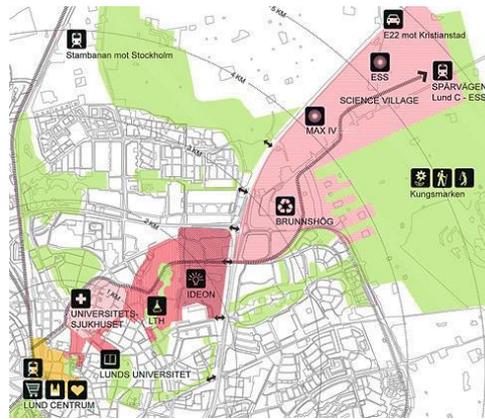


Figure 3 Location of Brunnskög in relation to the city center, the university, IDEON, MAX IV and ESS

Source: lund.se. ©Lund NE/ Brunnskög

The idea to expand the city towards the northeast has existed since the mid-1990s, and plots had already been allocated to larger developers (Interview Dalman). However, the disadvantage of being “first movers” into an area that is not particularly attractive for investment had detracted from the interest of developers (Interview Flycht). There was also the lack of clear political vision of what this area would become. It took the decision to locate ESS and MaxIV in the area to restart the process. Suddenly the project regained political importance: “The whole world will have some expectations about Lund and nothing is happening in Brunnskög. So we have to make sure that we have something there” (Interview Dalman).

Other planned projects directly support the goal of creating a lively and attractive district in Brunnskög. A tram connection (Lundalänken) is under discussion and is considered an important element for the image of urbanity to be created in the district (Interviews Dalman, Flycht). An energy proposal is being developed by Lunds Energy in partnership with the municipality, ESS, MaxIV and VaSyd to capture the heat produced by research facilities and use it as district heating for the city, thus contributing to the sustainability emphasis of the project. Brunnskög is included within the “Road of Science”, an initiative to brand a corridor that comprises the university area, IDEON, the university-hospital, Brunnskög, ESS and MaxIV as a knowledge-intensive area. The university and IDEON are also discussing the possibility of adding more diversity of uses to the area now occupied by LTH and IDEON. The rehabilitation of the central station area, including the connection with Lundalänken, is also planned (Interviews Dalman, Flycht).

3.2. *Governance as collective action*

Table 1 illustrates the governance structure of each project, highlighting the position of the planning department.

In both cases the municipality and the developers are the main stakeholders, even though there are important inputs to the projects from other stakeholders, such as LTH and different energy agencies – Sydkraft, Lunds Energy, Vad Syd. In the case of Bo01, the housing exhibition organization (SVEBO) was an important stakeholder in decisions regarding the organization of the exhibition itself, but this ended up

resulting in a lasting influence over the design of the area for the future. An important difference between the two projects is that in the case of Bo01, the Municipal Departments of City Planning, Real Estates and Parks and Streets were jointly responsible for the project. In the case of Brunnskö, a separate project group was put together with one single project leader. Regarding the responsibility of the planning department, of notable import is its bridging role between the different stakeholders, parallel to its customary task of developing the area plans.

Table 1 - Governance structure of projects

	Bo01	Brunnskö
Main Stakeholders	Municipality (Departments of City Planning, Real Estates, and Parks and Streets) SVEBO (Boverket + 10 Swedish municipalities) Developers' group	Municipality (Project group Lund North-East) Developers
Responsibility of planning department	Quality Program Detailed and comprehensive plans Communicating with developers Preparation of master plan, together with head architect of Bo01AB Solutions for soil decontamination, eco-cycle, green structure and traffic	Plan Program Detailed and comprehensive plans Project overview and management Contact with developers and politicians
Responsibility of developers	Concept design Individual sustainability solutions Maintain standards from Quality Program	Concept Design (Unclear as the detailed plan has not yet been adopted)
Input from other stakeholders/consultants	LTH – environmental standards and techniques Sydkraft – local renewable energy	ESS and MAX IV – demands over traffic, physical structure, equipments Lunds Energi and Vad Syd – energy proposal
Main investment sources	State (Local Investment Program) Malmö Municipality SVEBO Developers European Union	Lund Municipality (attempts for state financing of tram) Developers

3.3. *Between Coherence and Fragmentation*

Fragmentation, as discussed earlier, was a result of the public-private partnerships that brought a wider variety of funding sources, of actors putting claims on the project, and of ways of working (Khakee & Barbanente, 2003; Swyngedouw et. al. 2002), with the municipality striving to coordinate various resources (Khakee & Barbanente, 2003; Tasan-Kok, 2010).

In the case of Brunnskög and Bo01, public-private partnerships are also the norm, and inevitably there were conflicting and even antagonist perspectives on how the two districts should develop. The most frequently mentioned example of planners opposing developers was traffic and limits to parking. In both projects, physical planning held a key position at the negotiation table by inviting other stakeholders to join in the processes early on in order to have time to build a common approach and aim for the neighborhood. It also tried to ensure that the aims of the individual project remained coherent with the visions for the city and other planning projects happening in parallel (Interviews Reepalu, Dalman).

One such example of how physical planning tried to build a common platform of understanding between the different stakeholders was the elaboration of the Quality Program for the Bo01, which set the environmental standards for the area. The task was the responsibility of the municipal planning department, but they invited the developers and the exhibition's main architect to participate in the process (Persson, 2005).

From the physical planning perspective, one cannot claim that there is a turn from comprehensive plans towards fragmented projects (Swyngedouw et. al. 2002; Khakee & Barbanente, 2003). In the case of Bo01, the project did diverge from the standard process of physical planning (interviews Johansson and Blucher), but this was related to the specific time constraints and to the demands of a housing exhibition. Additionally, many of the environmental standards pioneered with Bo01 and the procedures developed for it were later extended to other planning projects in Malmö (Interviews Johansson, Andersson). The Bo01 project was fully in line with the vision of the municipality to build a new image for Malmö (Interviews Johansson, Blucher).

In the case of Brunnskög, the project is getting renewed attention at a time when other projects are developing across the city with similar goals. "So many things coincide. (...) now plans are being made to develop the city central station and increase its capacity and link it to the tram. [There are other plans] for a new congress center [and the university hospital] wants to open up their area to the adjoining city" (Interview Dalman).

Regarding the project location, both projects worked to shape a connection with the rest of the city. Bo01 grew in a high scenic value area with branding potential. "[This area] is connected with the green and beach areas and the housing area to [the south] which was also seen as a higher status area. The Bo01 was to become part of this corridor" (Interview Johansson); "The use of small plots and many developers introduced diversity and small scale to the neighborhood, in order to give an image of a more central urban neighborhood" (Interview Reepalu). In the case of Brunnskög, the connection to the city center is being shaped by the urban design of the area, which introduces an urban structure that resembles the medieval pattern of the city center. Also emphasized is Lundalänken in an attempt to overcome the idea that Brunnskög is far from the center.

Regarding the approaches to projects, the influence of the private sector is poorly seen during the planning processes due to the slow housing market situation, which led the developers to assume a reserved position. For Bo01, the municipality had to convince developers to participate by extending favorable lease contracts for the municipally owned land (Interview Reepalu). In the case of Brunnskög, developers are still hesitant to engage in the process because it is not yet clear whether Lundalänken will be built and which plots will be assigned to which developer. Also, the area does not have the same initial potential as Bo01 (Interview Flycht).

Additionally, the use of small plots and a wide variety of architects and developers was an idea originating, in the case of Bo01, from the Bo01AB architect and the municipality, and in the case of Brunnskög, from the municipality. Developers usually work with larger plots and with one developer per plot (Interviews Johansson, Blucher). This approach was thus in both cases municipally-driven, made possible by the

specific demands of the Bo01 housing exhibition – experimenting with new ways of creating a sustainable urban area – and with the demands of Brunnsög – bridging the character of isolation and distance from the center and creating an environment where people meet and interact. These approaches have been difficult to replicate in other projects (Interview Johansson). The singularity of some of the approaches pioneered in these projects enforces the idea of a piecemeal approach to the planning projects, but not of a private actor influence over how planning is conducted.

The vocabulary used by physical planning to discuss the approaches followed during the project often derives from the business and private sectors: “Bo01 also helped to create quite an innovative “toolkit” for development and planning. This toolkit was based on the quality programme, which endeavored to employ a holistic approach but also gave criteria, detailed objectives and directions for more sustainable solutions, e.g. concerning energy efficiency, source separation of waste, greenery and biodiversity, but also for the more elusive quality of human sustainability” (Persson, 2005:20, emphasis added).

3.4. *Between Centralization and Decentralization*

One of the characteristics of decentralization pointed out in the literature is the delegation of tasks and decision-making powers from the state towards the local level (Montin, 2000; Montin & Elander, 1995). In the case of the two LSUDPs this phenomenon is not observable since the municipalities have had a planning monopoly since 1907 (Blucher, 2006). However, in the process of delegating responsibilities to the local level and of extending public-private partnerships, some authors note the emergence of area-based agencies replacing or overshadowing physical planning (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001). This is observable in the case of Bo01 with the creation of the Bo01AB, which allowed informal procedures and networks to be developed parallel to the action of the planning department. It was an organization focused on the exhibition area, where different actors came together to define what was best for the exhibition, but where the city officials also had a voice. The agency was not formally responsible for the planning of the neighborhood, as formal licenses were the responsibility of the planning department (Interview Reepalu). However, Bo01AB acted as an influential consultant – its main architect designed the layout of the neighborhood, discussed the public spaces with municipal officials, was consulted for the Quality Program, chose the architects and building projects. Thus, although legally the planning tasks were performed by the municipality, informally the frequent meetings with the agency and the coincidence of the demands of the exhibition with the needs of urban development made the agency an influential actor in the planning process (Interviews Blucher, Reepalu).

In both cases the municipality was also the one taking the initiative for projects and for inviting other stakeholders to participate. Therefore, one cannot talk about a turn from a top-down process towards a bottom-up, as the municipal planning monopoly is still maintained. However, the municipality required the active involvement of other public and private stakeholders in order to push forward the project (Table 1). Especially in the case of Brunnsög, the reticence of developers to engage in the project has contributed to the delays in its execution, highlighting the significance of establishing working networks/partnerships that will create the capacity to act.

Nevertheless, the decentralization of responsibilities to area-based agencies such as Bo01AB and to developers to ensure compliance in implementing environmental standards, the financing limitations imposed by the State, and the coexistence of multiple sources of funding within the same project (Table 1) result in an increasingly complex setting within which physical planning operates. Physical planning remains in the leading role as the tasks of mediating, facilitating and coordinating between the multi-faceted actors of the partnership become increasingly important.

3.5. *Reactions to the projects' challenges*

The context in which these LSUDPs happen provides physical planning with a degree of freedom of experimentation. In the case of Bo01, planners could experiment with a different process of involvement with stakeholders that joined in the negotiations at a much earlier state. It was also possible to push forward environmental standards and regulations, as well as urban design proposals, that would not otherwise be accepted by developers. The context of a housing exhibition, time constraints and the existence of a specific exhibition theme made way for experimenting with ideas and practices. In the case of Brunnsbög, the international attention and willingness to show something daring and new are allowing the group of planners involved to also be more daring and creative in their proposals for urban design and for how to involve citizens and other stakeholders. This unusual setting also means there are no fixed practices, and instead the group of stakeholders is exploring new ways of acting together as they go along (Interviews Blucher, Johansson, Larsson, Dalman).

The interviewees were asked about how the stakeholders had reacted to the challenges posed by the project itself. In the case of Bo01, one of the new aspects was the establishment of Bo01AB, which was set up to ensure that the exhibition was ready in time and that its standards and aims were met. This agency included only public actors; it led the process of organizing the exhibition and was a key consultant in the urban development project itself (Interviews Reepalu, Blucher). Bo01AB consisted of people who shared a planning background or interest. This is probably one of the reasons why the layout proposed for the area was different from what was the standard at the time for city planning in Malmö and in Sweden. This was only possible due to the particular momentum created by the housing exhibition, as well as the interest of developers in working in such a high visibility project and in trying to recover from a string of bad years for the housing market, and because those involved shared a common language – that of planning and urban development (Interviews Larsson, Rosberg, Blucher).

The existence of a core project group in Bo01 ensured that the goals of the housing exhibition were met and that there were no divided loyalties. However, from the side of the municipality, the organizational setup was more complicated, with the heads of the main departments involved having to decide together on issues related to Bo01 and the municipality. This meant that sometimes the politicians were called in to make a decision, or that the issue had to be extensively debated until a consensus was reached. This absence of a clear leader making decisions from the municipal side was highlighted as a problem (Interview Dalman).

For Brunnsbög, the organizational setting was different. Learning from the experience of Bo01, but also from other projects, there was a core project group set up within the municipality, led by Dalman, who is the ultimate decision maker within the group and is also part of the steering committee where politicians are involved. The project group sits in a common office in a different building from the rest of the municipality. There are no divided loyalties, and it makes informal meetings and conversations easier (Interviews Dalman, Abrahamsson). However, it does have the disadvantage that Brunnsbög appears disconnected from other planning projects happening in Lund as there is a single project team, as opposed to different people involved in various projects simultaneously. Additionally, interaction between projects and sharing experiences becomes harder (Interview Abrahamsson).

For the Bo01 project, the developers were grouped in a developer's group, led by the head of planning department. This meant the group of private interests and investors had a voice in project organization, as represented by a public officer and planner. The idea came from the mayor. Until recently, the head of the planning department had worked in the private sector and had good connections with the developers. This was considered an advantage in a time when the housing market was insecure and developers were

hesitant about being involved in high risk projects (Interview Reepalu). These were also the reasons why developers were invited to join in the early stages of the project (Interview Dalman).

In Brunnsög, developers are not yet cooperating as a group of similar interests, although the project group has already approached them to form a single group and discuss among themselves (Interview Flycht). However, the planning process is still in its beginning stages, with no detailed plan approved. Additionally, there are reservations regarding the economic viability of investing in Brunnsög, which makes developers hesitant to commit when it comes to dates and standards for development. What is clear is that the involvement of developers so far has been standard – they have been kept informed of the status and development of the project but have not been involved in the design of the project (Interview Flycht).

At Bo01 the Quality Program was developed as a tool to secure the environmental standards for the housing and the public areas and the compliance of developers. Quality programs are not new to the municipality. Although the Quality Program was a responsibility of the Planning Department, the developers and Bo01AB were also involved, together with other external consultants. The Quality Program was included as a compromise in the land-allocation contracts and functioned as a concrete guideline for the sustainability vision for Bo01. It was concluded that those developers that had been actively involved in the definition of the quality program were also more aware of its importance as a safeguard of environmental standards and regulations, an assurance that their competitors, other developers, were also subject to the same standards (Persson, 2005).

The perspective that Brunnsög is being developed for researchers and highly educated people is not shared by the project group, although they recognize that there is a special attention placed on how this group might use the neighborhood (Interviews Dalman, Abrahamsson). For the developers, however, it is the presence of the research facilities, and consequently the type of users that might use the neighborhood – researchers, students, university people – that brings the special character to the area. This is the unknown card that for developers, if well exploited, will contribute to the attractiveness of Brunnsög as a district to invest in. The emphasis on sustainability is important, but what is truly innovative with Brunnsög is not the sustainability emphasis, as was the case in Bo01, but the closeness to the ESS and MaxIV (Interview Flycht).

4. Conclusions

This paper started from a premise that has been widespread in literature that there is a “turn” in urban policy towards entrepreneurial urban governance, framing the conditions in which physical planning occurs. The paper first asked how this “turn” influenced how physical planning occurs nowadays.

The “turn” was discussed as potentially meaning greater fragmentation and decentralization in the urban governance context. This meant fragmentation in the approaches taken and the geographical location of planning projects throughout the city, as a result of the temporary constellation of private and public stakeholders coming together. It also meant a potential turn towards projects with fragmented visions and objectives for urban development and the city, set up in partnerships that were temporary and potentially plagued by competing objectives. Decentralization would be visible in the delegation of tasks traditionally held by the municipality to other levels of government, as well as in the involvement of private stakeholders and area-based agencies in the design and implementation of projects.

Regarding the cases discussed here, one could argue that there is not a turn towards decentralized contexts for urban governance influencing physical planning practice. Instead we can observe the coexistence of

instances of centralization and decentralization. Centralization is visible in the role played by the planning department and the municipality: being the backbone of the LSUDPs, getting them off the ground, collecting the necessary partners for the LSUDPs to come through, and driving the process of defining the goals and standards for the LSUDPs. Decentralization is visible when other stakeholders are invited to participate at the early stages of designing the project, and in the existence of an area-based agency for Bo01. What has changed is the importance given to profitability criteria, i.e. what the market expects from the development. In that sense, one could say that it is not the developers who are taking over the projects, but the expected market needs and demands which are taking them over, a situation distinct from the market-sheltered context provided by the housing policy until the early 1990s.

In Sweden, the public sector has traditionally held a monopoly over physical planning, so it would be expected that this role remains strong nowadays, despite being changed by financial constraints at the municipal level that push physical planning to think about return-on-investment issues and on how best to ensure that there are indeed investors for housing developments. Physical planning is essential as a middleman between developers. Developers are competitors amongst themselves. Physical planning is expected to lay concrete rules and standards that developers have to follow and visions for the district, and to ensure that everyone involved keeps up with their end of the bargain – i.e., to create a level playing field.

Thus, the context for physical planning practice has changed since the 1970s, but the change does not reflect a dramatic turn in urban policy; it reflects instead a sequence of changes within the broader context for planning practice (Orskog & Bradley, 2006).

The paper then asked how physical planning is adapting to this changing context. Fragmentation marked the challenges and influenced the adaptation measures that physical planning adopted in each of the LSUDPs. Experimentation and inter-project learning stood out as two of the adaptation strategies. The difficulties of collaborating in a public-private partnership with competing ambitions, goals and standards was addressed by opening up the planning process to the involved stakeholders from a very early stage. One could also understand this as a move from the planning department to try to maintain control of the process. By inviting interested stakeholders at an early stage, the planning department can take control of the agenda for discussion, step in early with proposals and visions and take the role of a mediator in the newly-formed partnership.

Experimenting with the sustainability discourse could also be seen as a way for physical planning to push forward ideals regarding “good urban form”, for example, by arguing for a denser city scape in the new neighborhoods with mixed usage and smaller plots that gave priority to pedestrian and slow traffic. The sustainability discourse is particularly interesting as it encloses a paradox. On the one hand, studies have shown that in the implementation of sustainability strategies, broad community involvement is essential to guarantee the success of the strategy. On the other hand, the LSUDPs in discussion here exclude the wider community, using the justification that there was no one actually living in the neighborhood prior to the urban development (Bo01) or by arguing that the inclusion of inhabitants would add too much confusion to the organization of the project (Brunnshög). Nevertheless, sustainability opens up an opportunity for developers to see a business opportunity (especially in Bo01), it offers a backbone against which to try informal or unregulated approaches to citizens’ involvement (Brunnshög), and it can be what grants a holistic perspective to development and maintains the perspective of what is the “public good”, a cornerstone in the practice of Swedish physical planning.

The paper thus illustrates that, at least in Sweden, the claims of an entrepreneurial turn in urban policy can be understood as the reflection of a wider context that is changing: the dismantling of the housing policy; the opening up of the housing sector to market forces; the increasing heterogeneous and multicultural

character of Swedish society, where it is now increasingly difficult to plan for “one size fits all” as was common until the 1970s (Orrskog & Bradley, 2006); and the changes in the responsibilities of the municipalities regarding welfare delivery and local economic promotion. Physical planning captures how this turn is yet unfolding, by adopting adaptation practices that function as a bridge between the challenges placed by the changing context and the established practices of before.

5. List of interviewees

Tobias Abrahamsson – Project coordinator for citizens’ involvement at Brunnsög, Lund City. 12.03.2012

Pernilla Andersson – Project Manager at Real Estates Department, Malmö City. 18.05.2011

Gösta Blucher – former head of Bo01AB. 22.02.2011 and 20.09.2011

Eva Dalman - Project Manager for Brunnsög, Lund City. 20.01.2012

Staffan Flycht – Business Development at Skanska. 14.03.2012.

Bertil Johansson- Senior planner at Planning Department, Malmö City. 07.03 2011

Christer Larsson – Head of Planning Department at Malmö City. 27.02.2012

Ilmar Reepalu - Mayor of Malmö and member of board of Bo01AB. 20.03.2012

Göran Rosberg- Information Officer at Malmö City. 03.03.2011

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2. Physical Planning in Place-Making through Design and Image Building⁵

ANA MAFALDA MADUREIRA

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses how physical planning works with place-making through urban design to support image creation in a municipality that aims to create a new image for its city. Two large-scale urban development projects in Sweden are analysed. The analysis focuses on official plans and documentation, and expert interviews. It distinguishes how place-making by physical planning happens through aestheticisation, the design of physical environments for specific groups of inhabitants, and by granting visual and symbolic coherence to an area aligned with the new image for the city. The construction of this image is kick-started by a flagship development, but requires that subsequent projects support complementing urban visions, so as to grant coherence to the perceptions of the new image. In the process, heterogeneity, variation and conflict are tamed and urbanity is framed for “creative classes”. The paper thus highlights potential dilemmas that place-making might create for the practice of physical planning in urban development, and contributes to the discussions on the transformation of public sector urban planning in contexts of urban entrepreneurialism.

Key Words: Physical planning; Place-making; Urban entrepreneurialism

1. Introduction

Malmö is a Swedish municipality that has been consciously constructing a new image for the city, “From Industrial City towards Knowledge City” (Planering i Malmö, 2010:2, p. 30), and supporting this new image through discourses and urban development (Dannestam, 2009; Möllerström, 2011; Holgersen, 2012). There are two competing images of Malmö: one associated with industrialisation, and another that is emerging now and is connected with the socio-economic restructuring of the city. The urban fabric reflected the symbols of the industrial era and is now being transformed: the shipyard Kockums dominating the city during industrialisation, and the Turning Torso, the new university-college and the Öresund Bridge reflecting a new Malmö for the 21st century (Stigendal, 2004). The new image is being targeted towards the Knowledge Economy, with sustainability and urbanity as associated discourses. The need to strengthen a specific profile for the city is linked with growing intercity competition to attract inward investment and companies.

The development of Malmö illustrates a trend that has been well documented in other cities, especially those hit by industrial decline (Hubbard, 1996; Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007; Russo, 2008). The strategies pursued in the transformation of the city’s image often place an emphasis on changes in the urban form and in the perception of the city by inhabitants and visitors. Additionally these strategies focus on the physical environment as the main factor in revitalising the economic and social spheres (Hubbard, 1996).

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Gospodini (2006) refers to a change of paradigm. Large-scale urban development projects (LSUDPs) and the investment in major architectural landmarks are seen as a way to promote economic development, not as a reflection of a city that is enjoying a good economic momentum and engaging in urban development. Urban design is used to refashion and better sell the image of the city to investors, and it can be seen in the branding of a city (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Gold and Ward, 1994), in the promotion of distinct cultural assets and leisure areas, or by developing businesses and R&D districts within the city (Gospodini, 2006).

Strategies of place-making tend to focus on the creation of physical environments that will be associated with what are seen as the characteristics of new economic activities to be attracted: innovation, creativity and knowledge (Hubbard, 1996; Bradley et al., 2002; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2004; Barnes et al., 2006; Gospodini, 2006; Hutton, 2006). The city's authorities, for example in traditional manufacturing towns, are confronted with the existence of built environments that do not reflect the ambitious socioeconomic goals simply because the factory is no longer a central element in the socioeconomic life. Additionally, there is growing literature and research that argues for the promotion of cultural and leisure activities and the provision of consumption amenities in both quantity and quality (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2004; Hospers and Pen, 2008; Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010). Their message for policymakers is to focus policies on these fields so that the city can be more competitive to attract the people and activities supporting the Knowledge Economy.

This is an urban policy approach that often begins with highly-publicised and speculative flagship developments – meaning a large-scale urban renewal project intended to be a catalyst for local economic development, a break against inner-city decline trends – that create a symbol or a new image for the city and attract investments (Bianchini et al., 1992). However, for the new image of the city to be consolidated, urban development needs to convey a similar vision also in its less-publicised projects. This implies a mainstreaming of the values and goals conveyed by flagship developments.

The aim of this paper is to discuss how physical planning works with place-making through urban design to support image creation in a municipality that aims to create a new image for this city.

In Sweden, the bulk of the planning tasks are found at the local level. Urban planning (Fysisk Planering) is a formal responsibility of the local authorities and, in principle, the local authority has a planning monopoly. In this paper the concept of physical planning will be used to indicate municipal urban planning and the local planning department.

The analysis is set against the background of urban entrepreneurialism, in which city governments focus on developing strategies to promote local economic development (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Wood, 1998). Urban renewal projects are geared towards the creation of places that will attract and cater to the needs that knowledge-based activities and the people working in them have regarding the built environment. There is a high value on the characteristics of a place that can contribute to the competitive advantage of one location over the other (Amin and Thrift, 1995). This implies that physical planning holds a key position in the transformation of a city's built environment within local economic promotion strategies. Physical planning is expected to anticipate the needs for soft aspects such as quality of life and the ensemble of specific services and supporting industries for specific groups of users and uses.

This paper contributes to the literature on the transformation of public sector urban planning in contexts of urban entrepreneurialism in urban policy (Harvey, 1989; McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Tasan-Kok and Baeten, 2012). It also highlights a dilemma for planning practitioners in Sweden: how to preserve diversity and plan for a city's current inhabitants, following the traditions of planning to deliver State welfare to all (Appelbaum, 1985; Blucher 2006; Strömngren, 2007), and simultaneously embrace physical planning to promote knowledge-based activities, attract the “creative classes” and promote economic growth.

1.1. Research Design

The paper uses a case-study approach (Yin, 2003). It focuses on the urban design elements, functions and users intended for a neighbourhood, and on the image that physical planners create for the neighbourhood in connection to the new image for the city. These aspects were first analysed through comprehensive and detailed plans, on-site visits and official documentation and later complemented by expert interviews. The interviewees were mainly planners directly involved with the two projects, as well as other planners at the municipality, who discussed the mainstreaming of values and practices from the flagship project to subsequent projects; the mayor and an information officer complemented the discussion about the new image for the city.

The cases were selected because they illustrate two distinct moments in the municipal efforts to create a new image for Malmö. However, there are clear parallels in how physical planning uses urban design to convey the new image and for whom these neighbourhoods are intended (figure 1).

Bo01 was the site of a housing exhibition meant to promote Malmö as a sustainable City of Tomorrow for new investments, particularly in knowledge-intensive industries, and to attract back to the city the wealthy taxpayers who left Malmö during its manufacturing heyday. Bo means “to inhabit” in Swedish, and 2001 was the year of the exhibition. It is an example of a flagship project, deliberately designed to show the inhabitants of Malmö and outsiders that there was a new city being born and to unveil a new era for Malmö.

The Norra Sorgenfri LSUDP focuses on the promotion of social and spatial integration within Malmö, aiming to extend the investment, land-value and attractiveness of the city centre towards the less affluent eastern parts. The formalised intentions for the intervention are social and economic and less concerned with a rehabilitation of the urban form per se. But this rehabilitation is understood as enabling the development of a new image for the neighbourhood to contribute to the new image of Malmö and to promote improved economic activity and quality of life (Malmö Stad, 2005). Together, these two projects contribute to the development of the image of Malmö as a Knowledge City, one as an initiator of a change of image, the other consolidating that new image.

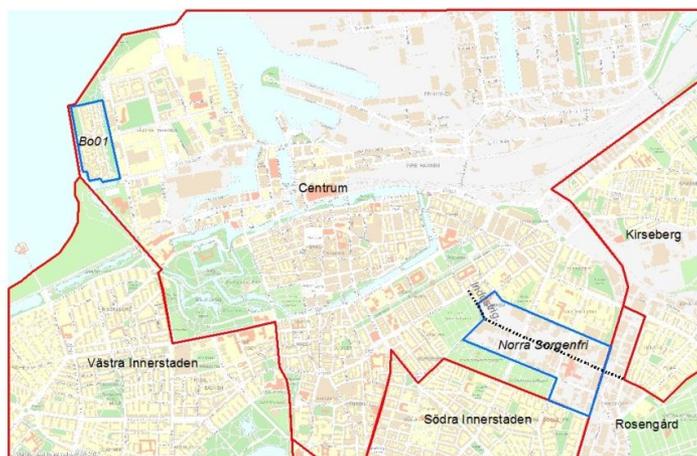


Figure 1- Location of Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri in relation to city centre and surrounding city districts. 2011

Source: malmo.se/karta. © Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor. Cartographer: Maria Rodriguez-Rabadan.

2. Physical planning for place-making

Physical planning is participating in urban development projects where two spheres are manipulated in favour of the creation of a new image. The first is the tangible sphere – the built environment, focusing especially on public spaces (streets, sidewalks, parks, squares) and quasi-public/ commercial spaces (facades of buildings, street-level commerce, shopping streets). Urban design contributes to the image of value associated with a potential investment site (Carmona et al., 2002; Harvey, 2006). Madanipour (2006) discusses how urban design's rising importance within urban policy and planning can be linked back to its potential contribution to making the city more competitive against other cities by being involved in place-branding strategies and by shaping the urban landscape to resemble the intended image to be created. The sense of distinction that urban design can grant to a city is visible in the heritage of Gaudi in Barcelona or Haussmann in Paris. However, recent literature has criticised the homogenisation of architectural and urban design styles and the creation of serialised landscapes of consumption (Lovering and Sartorio, 2007; Ben-Joseph, 2009). In the quest to develop an image of innovation, creativity and knowledge economy for the city, the builders of physical environments (policymakers, planners, designers, architects, developers) have fallen into the reproduction of what Gospodini (2006) calls the “landscapes of the post-industrial city”.

Physical planning also works with an intangible sphere that comprises the intended function that neighbourhood will have for the city, how it contributes to the new image, and who the intended “public” of the neighbourhood is. This is supported through marketing and place-branding, which are central to the development of these neighbourhoods within a specific cultural and commercial symbology (Zukin, 1995). Critics have pointed out that urban policy strategies to attract the “creative classes” work parallel to the development of gentrification processes and a progressive neoliberalisation of development agendas, pushed forward by loose concepts such as intercity competition (Smith, 2002; Peck, 2005; MacLeod and Johnstone, 2012). Marcuse (2005) argued against conflating the needs and demands of a heterogeneous group of urban dwellers into a single need and demand, highlighting the perverse effects that arise when the needs of “creative classes”, capital or intercity competition are taken to represent the needs of all of a city's inhabitants and companies. Nevertheless, the reorientation of urban policy towards proactive strategies to promote a city for knowledge-based activities and the people working in these activities, justified within a discourse of intercity competition, is carried out by local governments (Hubbard, 1995; Jensen-Butler et al., 1997; Paddison, 1993; Rousseau, 2009) and organisations such as the OECD (OECD, 2007).

The manipulation of these spheres by physical planning is visible in the cases I turn to next.

3. A new image for Malmö

“In the process of going from an industrial city to a new city, with a new brand, three strategic projects were recognized [by Malmö Stad]. One was the housing project Bo01, the other was Malmö University-College, and the third, concerned the environmental questions and the public spaces” (Interview Larsson)

The Bo01 exhibition was held in Western Harbour, a peninsula that had previously hosted one of the industries that were a symbol for the industrial Malmö, the shipyard Kockums. In 1989, when the production of military ships moved out of the city, 27000 people lost their jobs.

The area's potential for the organisers of Bo01 lay in its prime location: proximity to the sea and to the centre (Interviews Blucher; Reepalu). Additionally, in the 1990s the area had abandoned and empty plots and evoked the idea of a past industrial age. Bo01 signalled the beginning of a series of urban renewal

projects intended to promote Malmö as a Knowledge City. This was a project meant to promote the city to outsiders (Interviews Blucher; Reepalu; Johansson), and continues to be used by the municipality as an example of its efforts to develop a new image for Malmö.

The goal was that Bo01 would combine living, education and work functions, world-class architecture, and leading-edge technologies in sustainable building and design, and provide a marketing area for ecological and sustainable solutions for cities. Simultaneously it would show visitors and the world the image of a new Malmö that was leaving behind its past of industrial decline and embracing the opportunities offered by new technologies, trends and ideologies. Because the exhibition focused on housing, Bo01 is essentially a residential and leisure area, but the wider district has since developed into a mixed-use area.

The industrial district of Norra Sorgenfri is also being transformed into residential, commercial and office areas. The municipality considers the project to be strategic as it aligns with the goal of the upcoming comprehensive plan of promoting a sustainable city by building on already urbanised land and promoting mixed-use areas and higher densities (Malmö Stad, 2013).

When the industrial area of Norra Sorgenfri started to develop in the late 1800's, it was located on the outskirts of Malmö. Nowadays, with the expansion of the city, it is centrally located. Originally the area was occupied by different manufacturing companies and used for tram depots. Today there are still some industries, but manufacturing is no longer an important activity. There are many abandoned and underused buildings and plots, a situation unusual to find in such close proximity to a city centre. Additionally, the area was never an important residential or service/ commercial area. As such, the existing buildings and infrastructure area are characteristic of the industrial city that Malmö once was.

The official discourse is built around the potential of this area to develop attractive urban-like characteristics such as higher densities, variation and lively streets, reaping its potential from the close proximity to the more affluent city centre. It could also be understood as an effort to expand the city centre towards the east, with the corresponding increase in land-value also moving eastwards.

Malmö is considered to be segregated (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2005; 2008), with a more affluent western part and an inflow of wealthy citizens to the well-off areas of Western Harbour (Malmö Stad, 2012). The eastern parts of Malmö have less affluent populations and a higher concentration of immigrants, the unemployed and lower-income families (Malmö Stad, 2008a; figures 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d). This does not sit well with a municipality that is still dominated by Social Democrats and with a recent history of a working-class city, home to trade union movements (Vall, 2007). Norra Sorgenfri is aimed at addressing this spatial segregation by serving as a transit corridor, meaning that the area is being promoted as a bridge that would bring the two areas together and promote circulation from one area to the other. The inhabitants of the eastern districts would have a more direct connection to the city centre via Industrigatan, one of the main streets through Norra Sorgenfri. The location of housing and services in Norra Sorgenfri would potentially bring people from the rest of Malmö to this area and create jobs. One can also understand Norra Sorgenfri as a municipal effort to expand the gentrification process already taking place in central Malmö (Hedin et al., 2012) that would push the lower-income households further into the eastern peripheries and away from the city centre.

Table 1 provides an overview of the two projects according to their urban design elements and how they contribute to the image of the city.

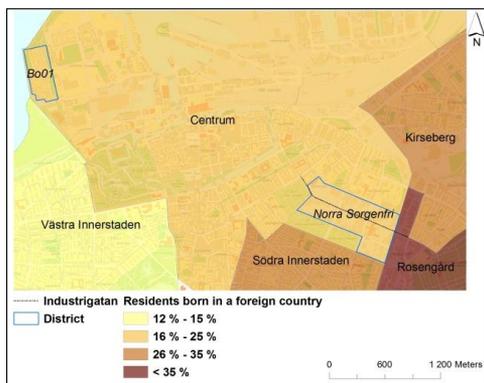


Figure 2a- Percentage of residents born in a foreign country, in relation to total resident population, by city district, 2008

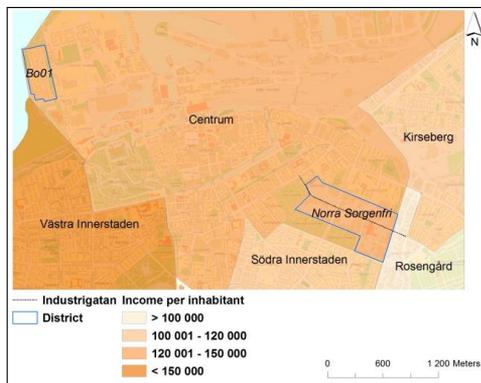


Figure 2b- Income per inhabitant, by city district, 2008

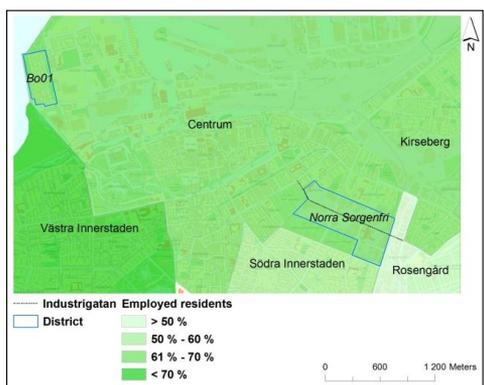


Figure 2c- Percentage of employed residents, in relation to total resident population, by city district, 2008

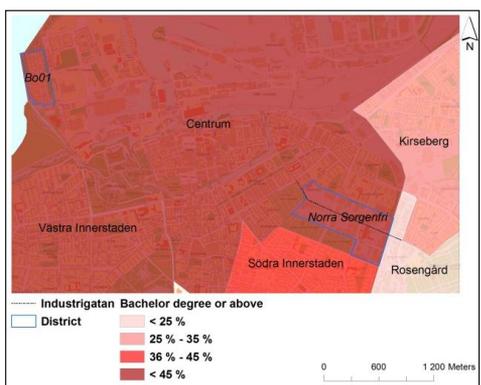


Figure 2d- Percentage of residents with a bachelor degree or above, in relation to total resident population, by city district, 2008

Source: malmo.se/karta. © Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor. Cartographer: Maria Rodriguez-Rabadan.

Table 1- Overview of projects

		Bo01	Norra Sorgenfri
Urban Form	Integration with existing natural and historical features	Uses natural landscape as attraction factor No pre-existing built heritage to re-use No traces of industrial tradition in new buildings	Preservation of industrial built heritage as attraction factor Industrial architecture style and materials to be present in new constructions
	Street network	Basic grid network Two main promenades with distinct characteristics Inner streets, green areas and small squares with semi-private function	Maintain existing grid network Creation of secondary network of streets and green areas for pedestrians and cyclists
	Characteristics of plots	Small blocks distributed by many developers/ architects for greater visual diversity and to increase accessibility	Small blocks distributed by many developers/ architects for greater visual diversity and to increase accessibility

	Individualising elements	Turning Torso; Sustainability theme	Industrial architecture; Reconversion of bus depot for cultural activities
Intended users of private spaces		Upper-middle classes	Socio-economic and cultural diversity
Intended users of public spaces		Inhabitants of the city, visitors	Inhabitants of the city, visitors
Function for the city		Mixed-used neighbourhood that provides high-quality housing areas Re-use industrial land	Corridor that connects central and eastern Malmö Mixed-use development in under-valued area
How project contributes to city image		Build image of Malmö as sustainable, innovative and attractive to live in	Address image of segregation Create ethnic, tolerant and diverse environment, aligned with “creative city” rhetoric

3.1. The flagship project – Bo01

3.1.1. The tangible sphere

The plans for the transformation of the area were created around the natural and geographical features of the site instead of existing structures. The sea was used as a central element of the public areas, complemented by the sight of the recently inaugurated Öresund Bridge representing the link to the continent, the connection to Copenhagen and the integration to the wider Öresund region. Along the sea, a promenade area was designed, lined by new buildings in a new contemporary and innovative architectural style (Figure 3).



Figure 3- Sundspromenaden



Figure 4- View of Ankarparken

Sundspromenaden and Ankarparken form the basic street network. Sundspromenaden, running parallel to the sea, offers a beach area to the city’s dwellers. At the street level, cafés and shops are meant to ensure the liveability of the promenade. Ankarparken is more sheltered and greenery is its distinguishing feature. (Figure 4) The inner facades create a network of little squares for private gardens with abundant vegetation (Figure 5).



Figure 5- Green areas in the interior of the plots

The urban form taking shape in Bo01 paid compliment to contemporary ideals regarding what a city of (and for) tomorrow should look like, and represented a different approach to urban design from what had been the case in Swedish planning in the last 30 to 40 years (Interview Blucher), when the trend was to build in larger plots, which were allotted to a small number of developers and architects, with the resulting urban form more homogenous and large-scale. The new area did not reflect the history of the district in particular, but rather a mixture of contemporary styles, sizes, and influences. Who might the intended target be except for the new inhabitants that municipal expectations hoped would choose Bo01 and Malmö to settle in?

3.1.2. The intangible sphere

This brings us to the intangible sphere. Bo01 was clearly designed for upper-income families. This was the goal of city officials (Interviews Larsson; Reepalu) that wanted to attract back to the city those families that had left Malmö for the suburbs during the industrial times. “[Malmö] at that point, needed to have better housing areas. [Malmö is] in the periphery [of the region], quite dominated by large scale [housing] areas. If we wanted to be attractive for other life styles and other families, we had to create some new, attractive, housing areas” (Interview Larsson). The housing exhibition team wanted a more mixed-income area (Interview Blucher). The municipality ambitions won.

Even though the neighbourhood was intended for high-quality housing for higher-income families, the public spaces were meant to serve the whole city and contribute to Malmö’s new image. The apartments and houses were expensive due to the pioneering solutions for environmentally friendly buildings and the high-quality design and aesthetic of the area. However, lessons learned from the Bo01 experience were used in subsequent urban development projects across the city, including trying to add greater diversity of incomes to new housing developments in Western Harbour by negotiating with developers to reserve a percentage of dwellings for rental and agreeing on a maximum price for rents (Interview Andersson).

The emphasis on attracting the upper-middle classes and on creating a city for new inhabitants was criticised by scholars concerned with the segregation effects it produced within the city itself (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2005), with the resulting gentrification of Western Harbour and neighbouring areas of Malmö (Hedin et al., 2012), and with the use of Bo01 and Western Harbour in official discourses that promote an image of (positive) change and downplay or omit the socioeconomic polarisation in Malmö (Holgersen, 2012).

The tangible and the intangible were thus working together in the transformation of Bo01 and in creating the catalyst for the change of Malmö's image. It was the start of a new city, and visitors and inhabitants could see it.

3.2. An extended city centre in Norra Sorgenfri

3.2.1. The tangible sphere

In the reconversion of Norra Sorgenfri, the intention is for existing buildings to be maintained and for new construction to respect the area's original industrial character (Malmö Stad, 2008b), following the recommendations of an evaluation of the value of the buildings and urban morphology commissioned by the municipality. It was argued that the area has an architectural and historical value linked with its industrial history and that this feature should be explored in its reconversion. The buildings vary in style, materials used, era and size, granting diversity to the neighbourhood and flexibility of potential uses (Schlyter, 2006). It might also be seen as an indication that the municipality has made its peace with its past of industrial decline and is now using this past to promote a story of successful recovery.

The municipality defined other broad guidelines for how urban design is to convey the desired inner-city character, namely the orientation of facades towards main streets and the height of buildings. The ground level facing the main streets is to be reserved for shops, cafés and other services (Figure 6). A wide range of developers and builders is expected to ensure a great diversity of housing and commercial solutions to invite different forms of living, people from different ages and backgrounds, and different economic and leisure activities (Interview Kronwall and Lundqvist).

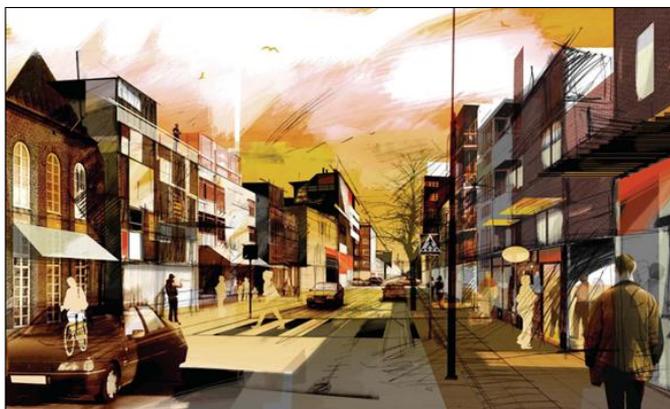


Figure 6- Proposal for a street in Norra Sorgenfri.

Source: Plan program Norra Sorgenfri ©Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor

The urban design intervention centres around three auxiliary concepts: Stadsrum (city space), Stadsliv (city life) and Nätverk (network). The endorsement of the Stadsrum concept focuses on developing an area that will attract visitors from within and outside Malmö through the promotion of the main streets as lively areas, with the ambition of strengthening the culture and arts scene that is blossoming already, and through the development of a network of green spaces, cycle paths and pedestrian areas that builds on the wider discourse of Malmö as a sustainable city. The Stadsliv concept is related to the small-scale projects and variation, which are understood as contributing to a lively urban atmosphere. Each small plot can be developed as the stakeholders directly invested in its development reach an agreement. There is no single grand scheme for the final product, other than the abstract idea of what an attractive city centre looks like.

Finally the concept of Nätverk is evident in the proposals for the creation of a new network of green spaces and pedestrian and cycle paths, in the promotion of the existing streets as attractive areas to live, shop and invest in, and in the idea of the neighbourhood serving as a connecting area between the centre and eastern parts of Malmö.

3.2.2. The intangible sphere

The Stadsrum, Stadsliv and Nätverk concepts are ultimately used to strengthen the image of Malmö as a Knowledge City, with Norra Sorgenfri as an area for artists, local entrepreneurs and cultural industries, and to elaborate on the idea of the redevelopment of a district with creativity and urbanity in its character. Building on the discourses of the tolerant and creative city and how these two aspects can contribute to local economic development (Florida, 2002; 2004; Landry, 2000), the project is meant to bring forth the image of an exciting and tolerant Malmö.

The redevelopment of the district is guided by intentions to build an extension of the city centre and is marked by the goal of marketing Malmö as an attractive place to live and invest in, especially for current inhabitants, and addressing the problem of segregation in Malmö. The function of the district is defined as a place for integration, understood as physical – it serves as the connection between the eastern and central parts of Malmö and the extension of the city centre towards the east – and social, as a new meeting place for the city's inhabitants (Malmö Stad, 2007).

Recently Norra Sorgenfri hosted the first exhibition for and by young people discussing solutions to address the lack of affordable housing in Sweden (UngBo12). Additionally a “Map of Culture” (Kulturkartan) was launched by Malmö Stad highlighting which buildings will house temporary cultural activities in the neighbourhood. The planning team involved in the project is also looking to secure the continued interest and involvement of local politicians and developers in the project, trying to keep them on board with the current vision and aims for the neighbourhood. Developers especially are fearful about the economic profitability of investing in housing and offices in this part of the city (Interview Lundqvist).

4. Place-making by physical planning

The aim with this paper was to discuss how physical planning works with place-making through urban design to support a municipality that aims to create a new image for the city.

The two projects discussed here represent two different moments in the development of the new image for Malmö. A flagship project – Bo01 – kick-started the process. This project was made possible by the opening of the Öresund Bridge, the locational advantages, the exhibition's theme and the media attention at the time of the exhibition. Flagship developments are used to give one particular and segmented vision of a city, omitting many other conflicting, contrasting and antagonistic images in favour of the single clean, streamlined, consumer-friendly type of heterogeneity advanced by branding strategies. However, for the new image to be secured and strengthened, other less publicised projects have to pick up and reinforce that same image, in what could be seen as the mainstreaming of the city vision through urban development projects. This is the case of Norra Sorgenfri.

When it comes to the intended users for these renovated areas, these projects appear quite distinct, but share striking similarities. Bo01 is a place-marketing tool, with a municipally acknowledged intention of attracting external investments and specific socio economic groups as new inhabitants – middle-uppers classes. Bo01 is promoted for hosting companies in advanced services, consultancy, marketing and media activities, and now hosts a university-college.

Norra Sorgenfri is aimed at civic promotion and the continued rehabilitation of the image of the city for current inhabitants. It can also be seen as a case of reflexive learning, a reaction to the criticisms of Bo01, which was accused of being an enclave for the better-off minority, of not responding to the pressing needs of the city for new housing, and of trying to attract new inhabitants without concern for existing inhabitants and the socio-spatial segregation in the city. It is marketed as an urban and multi-cultural neighbourhood, where students, artists, young people and immigrants can meet each other on the refurbished, clean, safe and attractive streets. It is meant for small-scale retail, ethnic entrepreneurship, and artists' studios, ateliers and designer shops (Malmö Stad, 2007).

In this sense, both images work with a type of inhabitants that Florida (2002) described as the life blood of a city that wants to use "creativity" to promote local economic development, and for the activities credited for the regeneration of local economic growth in the city (Glaeser et al., 2000; Bayliss, 2007; Hutton, 2004).

One could also question which dilemmas are posed to physical planning practice in the context of LSUDPs that promote a built environment for knowledge-based activities and "creative classes". The city image formatted according to an ideal of user and uses loses its heterogeneity, its edge, and the elements of risk, surprise, danger and excitement that derive from non-conformity to suburban middle-class values and norms and from aestheticised environments. Lovering and Sartorio framed this as a new trend in which "those most directly engaged in building the new world (architects, property developers and the planning authorities regulating their effects) have tended to focus increasingly on the generic, extinguishing difference except at a relatively trivial cosmetic level. The notion of a local or individual culture, or of the specific interests and requirements of particular groups, have been thinned out, often meaning little more than a small bit of local repackaging" for off-the-shelf branded orthodoxies" (2007, p.306)

Norra Sorgenfri is not overtly targeted at specific users, but can gentrification be avoided in this prettified old industrial area? There is the expectation for a type of "trickle-down" effect, with the affluence of the city centre spilling over to Norra Sorgenfri and the east. But this trickle-down effect can have two faces: 1) affluent people move to and around Norra Sorgenfri, attracted by the inviting built environment and the amenities promoted in the area, and squeeze out the low-income households in the surrounding areas and eastwards; or 2) the urban development does create new jobs in the area, some of which employ people from the eastern districts, and attracts people from all over Malmö to come to the district for shopping, work and/or leisure. Given that the urban development project thus far has had concrete ideas about how to promote the built environment but has been less forthcoming in how promote local entrepreneurship and the creation of new jobs in the area, this author suspects that the first consequence is more plausible (Interviews Thesselius, and Rosell and Norgren).

Some physical planning approaches have changed from the 1970s, namely the promotion of mixed-use areas, pedestrian friendly environments, and the abstractly defined "diversity" that is expected to emerge in built forms, usages and users of these districts. But one cannot help but noticing the large-scale dimension of these projects and the equally daunting ambitions for the socio-economic revitalisation of the city that are associated with it. As the Million Homes Programme developed large districts for the working classes of industrialising Sweden, so do these LSUDPs of the Entrepreneurial City (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Swyngedouw et al., 2002) develop "the urban" for a new class of potential workers and mobilisers of the economic activities of the 21st century – a large-scale transformation and re-fitting of the city to face intercity competition.

This paper thus highlights how the place-making by physical planning thus reflects the entrepreneurial style adopted by the municipality in its quest to draw the media's attention to the city and attract investors.

Several dilemmas derive from this role for physical planning practice, namely the mainstreaming of values and urban forms that are oriented towards segmented parts of the population and to specific economic activities, or in the reproduction of urban forms that embody just what can be commodified to promote a specific vision or image of the city, associated with the generic “landscapes of the post-industrial city”. The question remains what might be lost for the city itself, and for physical planning in particular, in this drive to achieve the Knowledge City in images and urban forms.

List of interviewees

P. Andersson – project manager, Real Estates Department, Malmö. 18.05.2011

G. Blucher – former head of Bo01AB. 22.02.2011 and 20.09.2011

B. Johansson- Planner, Planning Department, Malmö. 07.03 2011

G. Kronwall and U. Lundqvist – former and current project managers for Norra Sorgenfri project, Malmö. 30.03.2011

C. Larsson – Head of Planning Department, Malmö. 27.02.2012

U. Lundqvist – current project manager for Norra Sorgenfri, Malmö. 12.10.2012

I. Reepalu - Mayor of Malmö and member of board of Bo01AB. 20.03.2012

G. Rosberg- Information Officer, Malmö. 03.03.2011

A. Rosell and H. Norgren- MKB. 15.01.2013

P. Theselius – architect, Streets and Parks department, Malmö. 10.12.2012

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3. By invitation only: Uses and Users of the “Entrepreneurial City”

ABSTRACT

Recent research has shown that large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) embody the diffusion of an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy and consequently to planning, with the built environment being transformed into spaces oriented towards specific users and uses. For planning practice this involves urban forms and discourses that support exclusion and polarisation in planning projects. This paper asks how physical planning promotes and/or hinders spatial and socioeconomic integration in these projects. The analysis focuses on two UDPs in Malmö, Sweden. Official planning documents, interviews with public officials and media publications are used to illustrate the discourses and practices built around these projects to address aspects of equity and integration in a city that is plagued by socioeconomic and spatial segregation. The paper contributes to the discussion of implications and dilemmas for physical planning derived from the adoption of entrepreneurial approaches in urban policy.

1. Introduction

In 1994 the Social Democrats won the municipal elections in the Swedish city of Malmö and embarked upon a so-called visioning process to find ways out of a persisting social-economic crisis following a lengthy period of deindustrialisation. Urban policy in Malmö changed in the aftermath of the industrial crisis and of this visioning process, adopting an approach that has been classified as more entrepreneurial (Dannestam, 2009; Möllerström, 2011), meaning that the attention of local policymakers turned from the management and delivery of public services and local welfare promotion towards the need for local economic promotion and place marketing to attract companies, investments and (creative, wealthy) inhabitants. The “metamorphosis” of the city has crystallised in the creation of several large-scale UDPs in the city that have consistently taken up the vision of transforming Malmö in a sustainable knowledge-economy city (Stigendal, 2004).

However, the coherent image of Malmö portrayed and reproduced by these large scale UDPs does not match the spatial and socioeconomic heterogeneity of the city. Thirty percent of the city’s population is foreign-born, with the largest groups coming from Iraq, Denmark and former Yugoslavia (Stad, 2012a). The city’s population has been increasing steadily and Malmö is confronted with a shortage of affordable housing (Häggström, *Sydsvenskan* 2010.02.01; Stad, 2012b). The city can also be divided spatially and socioeconomically into a more affluent western part with higher employment and higher income per family, and an eastern side with a higher percentage of refugees and unemployment and lower levels of formal education and income per family (Stad, 2008b).

This paper questions how the practice of physical planning, associated with an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, promotes and/or hinders the spatial and socioeconomic integration of Malmö, by looking into the discourses, practices and design approaches followed in two large scale UDPs. In Sweden, the bulk of the planning tasks are found at the local level and urban planning (*Fysisk Planering*) is a formal responsibility of the local authorities. In this paper the concept of physical planning will refer to municipal urban planning and the local planning department.

Previous research demonstrates that large scale UDPs embody the diffusion of an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy and consequently to planning (Hubbard, 1996; Harvey, 1989; McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Tasan-Kok, 201, Swyngedouw et al., 200, Baeten, 2012), and that this has potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice. However, this research has not focused on the orientation towards specific types of users and uses (Miles, 2012; Rousseau, 2009; Glaeser and Gottlieb, 2006). For the practice of planning, this involves specific forms and discourses that support exclusion and polarisation within planning projects, in order to comply with the broader turn of urban policy towards creative inhabitants and visitors and knowledge-intensive and creative industries (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Peck, 2005). Ultimately, the paper engages with a question that is central to planning practice – for whom and for what do planners plan? (Kitchen, 1990; 2001) – and highlights physical planning practices associated with a polarising view of for whom and for what the city exists.

1.1. *Methodology*

The paper focuses on two large scale UDPs: Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie. The analysis first looks into planning documents – comprehensive plans (*Översiktsplan*), detailed plans (*detaljplan*), and plan programmes (*planprogram*) – to understand how the focus on users and uses of the new areas were justified, the design and discourses used to give room to these users and uses, and the links between each project and the rest of the city. This stage focuses on the official rhetoric about the projects. This analysis is followed by interviews with public officials to clarify how the official discourse translated to the practice of planning and which dilemmas it raised.

Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie can be regarded as successors to Malmö's first UDP, Bo01, an international housing exhibition built on former shipyard grounds that introduced and legitimised new practices within the planning department and experiments with the sustainability discourse (Persson, 2005). Bo01 was openly built for higher-income families in a city that, until then, had been strongly steered by social-democratic principles. Municipal officials and planners justified this with the technical requirements and high-quality standards of the dwellings, which pushed prices up, and with the constraints the municipality faced at the time (interviews A, D and F). "At that point, we needed to have better housing areas than we had in the city. We are quite dominated by large-scale areas. If we were to be attractive for other lifestyles and other families, we had to create some new, attractive housing areas" (interview C).

The Bo01 area and the whole of the Western Harbour district, of which Bo01 is a part, are currently used by the municipality as "best practice" examples of sustainable architecture and of how to change an industrial area and city into a post-industrial reality, as well as how to attract companies in knowledge-intensive sectors, and as physical proof that Malmö has indeed left its industrial past behind. In order to consolidate the new image for the city, subsequent projects have mainstreamed the theme, discourses, practices and urban forms initiated with Bo01. Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie capture this mainstreaming in different ways.

Hyllie was initially designed to attract a certain type of highly educated and highly skilled inhabitant that would move to Malmö and work within knowledge-intensive industries. It follows the discourse initiated with Bo01 of attracting wealthy taxpayers back to the city in order to increase municipal tax revenues. Norra Sorgenfri is officially aimed at addressing issues of social and spatial segregation within the city, and is meant to become a transit corridor that connects eastern Malmö with the city centre and the western neighbourhoods. However, the tendency to focus on creative and cultural industries and creative classes, sustainability and trendy environments also impacts whom Norra Sorgenfri is intended for. Thus, the cases offer complementary inputs on physical planning practices within an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy because they are officially oriented towards divergent goals, while in practice they engage with similar discourses and practices.

Following this introduction, we discuss what justifies the entrepreneurial approach to urban development, for whom and for what the projects in this approach are intended, and criticisms of this approach. The third part focuses on the Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie projects. The potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice will be discussed in the fourth part of this paper.

2. Towards the Entrepreneurial City

2.1. *A new approach to local economic development*

The Entrepreneurial City approach is considered by some authors to represent a *shift* (Harvey, 1989; Cochrane, 2007) whereby local governments are steering away from traditional activities linked with the local provision of welfare and services, adopting a more proactive and outward-oriented approach to local economic development. This new approach is characterised by risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion-seeking and profit motivation as guiding local policy-making (Mollenkopf, 1983; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard and Hall, 1998). The concept of "Entrepreneurial City" is also a metaphor for cities where local authorities

and urban elites engage in urban policies destined to promote spaces of production and consumption oriented towards what could be generally referred to as the “knowledge-society” (Miles, 2012; Rousseau, 2009; Glaeser and Gottlieb, 2006). The impact on planning practice is that these policies translate into projects to build places that will attract and cater for the needs of, first, specific types of activities (especially creative or high-value-added industries and advanced services) and, second, creative, highly educated and entrepreneurial people and the built environment. Physical planning tries to prioritise needs over soft aspects such as quality of life or the specific ensemble of services and supporting industries for a new company or a new resident. The experiences allowed or promoted within the city and the built environments that are purposively created or renewed are defined with the goal of sustaining the economic activities, residents and visitors that are deemed fit for the city. In this way, the “real” city is ignored or neglected in favour of the “imagined” socio-professional groups that are desired as future inhabitants, or as Miles puts it, “the neoliberal city is grounded in a sense of place built around the image of prosperity, rather than what is likely to be the more uncomfortable reality that lies beneath” (2012: 218).

This new approach is justified by the observation that manufacturing is obviously no longer the main source of jobs or revenues in the urban economy. The new industries of the city are now supposedly to be found in the clusters of creative and knowledge-intensive industries, in what Hutton (2009) describes as the reassertion of industrial production in the metropolitan core, which requires a new set of built environments to promote and sustain it (Hutton, 2004; 2006).

This renaissance of the inner cities is then explained by the specific assembly of labour, institutions and place characteristics that are found in cities, namely the advantages that creative and knowledge-intensive firms derive from agglomeration economies, high concentrations of qualified labour, a dense social milieu and the existence of amenities that facilitate interaction and creativity and attract companies, investments and residents (Florida, 2002; Hutton, 2004; Moodysson and Jonsson, 2007; Glaeser et al., 2000).

Additionally, there has been a trend, supported by some scholarly literature and by organisations such as the OECD, to promote the revitalisation of the built environment to create competitive advantages for the city in the face of a purported intercity competition (OECD, 2007; Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010). The link is, in these cases, contrary to that explored by Hutton. Instead of companies relocating to the city centre because they are looking for the amenities, image and opportunities that it has to offer them, it is instead up to public actors to create, in the city’s built environment and its amenities, the conditions to attract these companies, thus promoting local economic growth (Shimomura and Matsumoto, 2010; Glaeser and Gottlieb, 2006; Florida, 2002).

2.2. *For whom and for what do these cities exist?*

If earlier waves of industrialisation shaped the city for heavy industries and large supplies of workers, these more recent industries call for an urban design catering for specialised, highly educated workers, and for visitors and investors. This implies that planning for these groups takes priority. City authorities are also trying to promote specific types of consumption patterns and activities for their city (Bayliss, 2007) as a way of attracting these residents and visitors.

The term “consumption” is here used in its widest sense. What is consumed is simultaneously the *built environment* (squares, parks and the streets flanked by public and privately-owned buildings alike), and also the *types of commerce and services* that are provided (trendy cafés and restaurants, designer shops, cultural and recreational venues, marketing and design services), together with the *image* that is promoted for the area through the marketing and branding strategies of public and/or private actors (Kavaratzis, 2004; Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007) and through the experiences and uses that are promoted and allowed. This would hint that the public space *is* a place of consumption. The symbolic importance of place (Zukin, 1995) becomes part of the package of local development policies. The strategies followed in Entrepreneurial Cities associate urban regeneration projects with city branding, and use urban design and physical planning as tools to create the built environment that is to be associated with the symbolic importance of the renovated neighbourhood (Gospodini, 2002). This has led to the interpretation of the

“Entrepreneurial City” as an imaginary city, made up of metaphors, images and representations (Hubbard and Hall, 1998).

Many scholars have been concerned with this emphasis on specific types of uses and users and the perverse effects that it has on the socioeconomic and spatial fabric of the city. The revamped urban built environment draws on the glamour and sensorial experience that consumption can offer to the individual that “deserves” it (Harvey, 1989). Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue that neoliberalism promotes new forms of urban inequality by distinguishing individuals and social groups according to whether or not they fit the standards of the desired type of consumer conceived of and supported by a neoliberalised urban authoritarianism. From these perspectives, the city is transformed into an arena for growth centred on consumption and elite types of consumers.

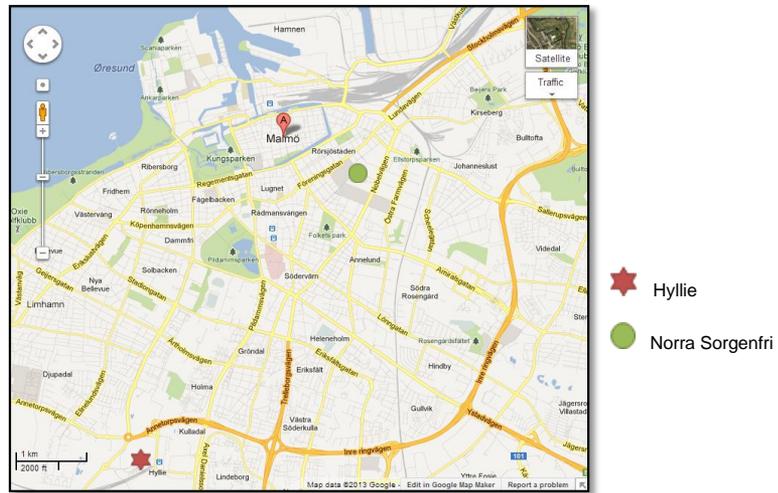
MacLeod explored this discriminating urban renaissance in the Glasgow case, illustrating that the price of the urban renewal strategies in many American and Western European cities has been a sharpening of the social discrimination and exclusion of specific groups. This exclusion is often “choreographed through the control over and purification of urban space” (MacLeod, 2002), which raises questions about who is allowed and invited to enact these spaces of creative people and activities. In Sweden, recent research linked neoliberal policies in the housing sector to socioeconomic and spatial polarisation, translated into super-gentrification and filtering processes in the three largest cities – Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (Hedin et al., 2012).

At the same time, pockets of degradation within cities, where the poorer segments of the population reside, still exist, opposing and confronting the intended new image for the city. Large scale UDPs can create fragments of wealth and high-quality built environments, but the claimed “trickle-down” effect that is supposed to happen throughout the city is not really observed (Loftman and Nevin, 1995; Bailly et al., 1996).

The danger deriving from the socioeconomic and spatial fragmentation of the city (MacLeod and Ward, 2002; Kohn, 2004; Mitchell, 2003) might come in the form of the diminishment of neutral spaces where individuals interact with others, the decline in areas where the poor, the homeless and the “undesirables” of aestheticised spaces of consumption can reside, or simply the loss of spaces where teenagers can hang out (Low and Smith, 2006). The problem arises in the homogenous socioeconomic character of many of these new neighbourhoods, in their isolation from the wider urban community, and in the segregation from socioeconomic or ethnic groups that cannot afford to live in or use these compounds. Kirby (2008) confronts these fears by arguing that they are based on confusion about the supposed “freedom” existing in public spaces, and lacking in private ones, by pointing that public spaces are also arenas of control by dominant groups of society. He concludes that “most contemporary private spaces are heterogeneous spaces that are managed rather than controlled, and that employ technologies of control that are soft rather than hard. Because owners and managers expect profit from these spaces, they are often reluctant to use force to produce uniformity (although conformity is expected)” (Kirby, 2008: 91). However, one could also argue that confronting “others” unlike oneself in relatively impartial public spaces helps to promote diversity and tolerance of different life choices and cultures among heterogeneous populations, and that this contributes to the promotion of “tolerant cities” advocated by Florida (2004) as essential for attracting the creative classes of the knowledge-economy.

Next we turn to case studies to illustrate the attention dedicated in large scale UDPs to the users and uses of the knowledge-economy, translated into several hindrances for socioeconomic and spatial integration. The entrepreneurial approach to urban policy followed in Malmö is physically illustrated by these projects (fig. 1). The implications for planning practice are discussed in the conclusions.

Fig. 2 Location of the projects



3. Hyllie and Norra Sorgenfri

Hyllie is a large scale UDP initiated in the mid-2000s following plans to build a new railway station at the new railway tunnel connection between the Öresund Bridge to Denmark and the city centre. Centred on the main station square, the core of the project consists of an event hall, the largest shopping centre in Sweden (to date) and office blocks. This agricultural land was already earmarked for development in the 1964 Master Plan as part of the so-called national Million Program, which tried to meet rapid population growth with the construction of a million new dwellings nationwide. Hyllie remained undeveloped as the Million Program came to an end in 1975. The recent railway plans revitalised the aspirations from the 1960s, and the initial ambitions for the current Hyllie project reflected the mid-2000s pre-financial crisis optimism: the belief was that mainly Copenhagen citizens would take the opportunity to sell their apartments on the (then strongly overheated) Copenhagen housing market and move to Hyllie, conveniently connected to Copenhagen city centre by train. Up to 7000 dwellings should have been built, plus a 200-meter-high office tower. But housing construction came to a complete halt after the 2008 crisis, the Copenhagen housing market cooled down and construction activity in Hyllie only recently recovered. The current toned-down plans are to construct 2500 dwellings over the next few years and a 95-meter-high office tower, in addition to the existing buildings.

The **Norra Sorgenfri** project is located in an old industrial area, in close proximity to the city centre. The area is nowadays considered to be problematic due to the presence of prostitution, black clubs and abandoned or underused plots (interviews A and H). The project fits well with the goal of the comprehensive plan for Malmö: to promote a denser city through the redevelopment of industrial and under-used areas (Stad, 2012c). Norra Sorgenfri is also relevant to the strategy of focusing urban development projects in areas adjacent to already popular areas, hoping to gain from the effect of proximity to already successful neighbourhoods. The municipality aims to use the old industrial buildings to give character to the development, keeping the more architecturally interesting buildings and re-qualifying them for new uses (Stad, 2008a). In the empty plots between the pre-existing buildings, new buildings are to be built, densifying the area but keeping with the industrial theme.

Table 1 provides an overview of the official discourse surrounding the projects, focusing on the built environment, the users and the activities intended for the project area, and the official objectives for the area.

Table 5 Overview of official discourse

	Hyllie	Norra Sorgenfri
Official objectives for the project	Create new urban development corridor, centred around the commuting trains to Copenhagen Attract wealthy Danish people, employed	Create corridors that connect that eastern and western parts of Malmö Develop an under-used industrial area
Functions and activities	Shopping centre, offices, large recreational facilities (Malmö Mässan and Malmö Arena); train station; plans for housing and office areas	Currently some remaining industrial activity; black clubs, prostitution, artists' studios; Plans for housing, small commerce and services
Users	Shoppers, event-goers, commuters, office workers	Planned for “diversity” of users, residents, visitors, passers-by.
Characteristics of built environment	“High-end” development Centred around Station Square, Malmö Arena and Shopping Centre	Industrial buildings to be re-used to give character to the area Small-scale, city-centre types of density and variation

3.1. Towards socioeconomic integration

The initial plans for **Hyllie** certainly prioritised commercial activities (events, shopping, prime office spaces), and were not aimed at “social sustainability”, for example through the provision of affordable housing. On the contrary, it was hoped that Hyllie would act as a magnet for high-income taxpayers and in that way help to transform the social fabric of the city. Malmö’s housing shortage, particularly of affordable rental housing for youngsters, newly arrived immigrants, single parents, low-income groups etc., is acute. Due to the inactivity of developers (who are weary of the uncertain economic and housing market situation just now), the systematic conversion of rental dwellings (*hyresrätt*) to tenant-owned dwellings (*bostadsrätt*), and the absence of a national housing policy through subsidies or regulations (Blucher, 2006; Hedman, 2008), large cities in Sweden are facing an ever growing housing shortage for specific groups. Meanwhile, Malmö’s tax base is shrinking (it fell from 97% of the national average in 1994 to 85% in 2010 – SCB) and the municipality is therefore not enthusiastic about the idea of increasing affordable housing. Hyllie, then, is the physical expression of Malmö’s housing paradox: it acutely needs more affordable housing but that would attract the ‘wrong people’, while it promotes housing for an (imagined) influx of the wealthy middle classes. These groups, however, do not necessarily migrate simply because places like Hyllie are designed for them.

Once finished, Hyllie will have a mix of users because of its variety of central functions (shoppers, commuters, residents, workers, event-goers) that will attract both local users and users from the wider region. The central square is, however, probably not destined to become a “meeting place” or “a place in the world”, as it is imagined by planning documents and promotion brochures (Stad, 2013). The square is surrounded by a set of monolithic and monofunctional buildings that will attract large numbers of users at certain times, but no users at other times. The shopping mall and events hall are blind walls facing the square when not in use. The station is heavily used, but mostly to visit the shopping mall or events hall. Hyllie’s mainly social functions are paradoxically located indoors and carefully commercialised (Gehl Architects, 2004). This poor development of social life on the square reflects how the design for the Hyllie project actually came about: it was a colourful local entrepreneur, Percy Nilsson, who drew the original plan for a new railway station in the middle of empty field precisely to allow for commercial development around it. The idea to have these functions around a central square (together with the large amount of car

traffic and parking it generated) was later uncritically adopted and further developed by the city's planning office.

Today, these main commercial activities are in operation and all of them, with the exception of Malmö Arena (owned by Percy Nilsson), have been sold to foreign investors. Perhaps the most important use of Hyllie at this stage is for the transfer of profits from large-scale consumption and office rents to multinational investors and developers based in the main financial centres of Europe.

While the commercial functions are firmly established, it remains unclear at this stage what the average profile of the future residents will be. Social integration will be hampered by significant differences in housing prices. Judging from price levels of dwellings for sale in April 2013, average price levels of newly built apartments in Hyllie will be two to three times higher than in the surrounding neighbourhoods, and significantly higher than the Malmö average.⁶ It is clear that the housing market in Hyllie will be catering for a different public with significantly higher incomes than the average income in nearby districts, as planned from the onset.

Norra Sorgenfri draws on the idea of cultural activities and creative environments as a backbone against which to profile the area and ensure the socioeconomic, age and ethnic diversity of the inhabitants. It makes use of concepts such as “variety”, “diversity” and “small-scale” to reinforce the idea of a mixed-use area, officially for all (Stad, 2008a). At least in the municipal vision for the area, the activities considered are small industries, commerce and service areas, preferably around creative and cultural industries drawing on the already existing pool in the neighbourhood. The project team is discussing how to create cultural and leisure activities that can attract people residing in the area but also visitors from neighbouring areas and from outside Malmö, by exploring the old bus depot which is located on one of the few plots that are municipally owned (interviews G and H).

There is no concrete vision about the profile of future residents. The municipality is waiting for the developers, and the developers are waiting for ideas from the municipality (interviews G and H). As a principle, the planners involved would like to see a mix of socioeconomic and age groups residing and using the area. However, they also recognise that there are no strategies to promote this, except for attempts to have a wide diversity of housing options available (rentals, owner-occupied) and different housing types. Other strategies include preserving the ground floor for services and commercial activities, and including a network of small squares and green areas that will address the shortage of green spaces in and around the neighbourhood and attract a generic version of a resident (interviews B, G and H).

Non-municipal discursive constructions of the neighbourhood provide more clues about who will eventually reside and occupy the area: “From the perspective drawings of the future *Industrigatan*, once a street with prostitution, it looks like a creative campus with young, healthy and spontaneously creative people constantly on the way to the next idea. It looks full of character, diverse and with a moderately industrial outlook. It could be even a romantic image, a vain attempt to construct a gentrification process, where there should be ‘given room for uniqueness and self initiative’, where ‘interesting places’ can be created”⁷ (Arkitekten, June 2008). The developers are expecting to take advantage of a gentrification process to better sell their apartments in a neighbourhood that, at least now, is not attractive to invest or live in (interviews E and G).

When asked about the probability of a gentrification process occurring in and around the neighbourhood, and the displacement of the industries and studios that currently exist in the area, the answers are elusive. There are no municipal strategies to try to prevent gentrification from happening, although this potential consequence was mentioned in meetings of the project group (interviews G and H). The artists already working in the district are regularly mentioned in response to any question regarding socioeconomic diversification or gentrification, often backed up by the argument that the area is meant to be diversified and that this diversity will be promoted by urban design solutions. There is the hope that the artists will

⁶ The average housing price in Malmö (April 2012–2013) was around 17600 SEK per m² (Mäklarstatistik, 2013). The average price for an apartment in Hyllie on the major internet housing site Hemnet.se was around 27000 SEK per m². In surrounding neighbourhoods the average price was around 10200 SEK per m².

⁷ All translations from Swedish by the authors

stay after the project is concluded, even though the meetings of the project group with the artists reveal that they are looking for cheap studios, and if the prices go up they will move elsewhere. The project group has discussed ways of integrating the artists' work and input into the redevelopment of the public spaces in Norra Sorgenfri, but so far there are no concrete ideas of how to operationalise these ambitions. Neither is there financial support from the municipality nor clear interest from the developers and landowners (interview H).

3.2. *Towards spatial integration*

Today, Hyllie is a relatively closed development due to a set of physical and symbolic barriers. Physically, Hyllie is closed off in the north and the south by dual carriageways, which provide major road access to the shopping centre. To the west the project is closed off by large-scale parking facilities. Paradoxically, this project, centred on a new railway station, provides no less than 7700 parking units to cater for visitors. Hyllie has no through road, leading to more isolation, and is de facto cut in two by the railway tracks. Although promoted as a new urban district, the project mainly functions as an out-of-town commercial development with poor connections with the rest of the city.

Hyllie is surrounded by three poor neighbourhoods with high numbers of inhabitants of foreign origin and relatively high unemployment levels (Stad, 2008b). The original plans for Hyllie never had the intention to "integrate" the area into the surrounding neighbourhoods, as it was primarily designed for commercial activities at the regional scale, and as a commuter hub for inhabitants working in Copenhagen or Malmö. But there have been suggestions for how to make connections through physical planning (Stad, 2004): build a green platform over the dual carriageway that now separates Hyllie from the existing neighbourhoods, in order to promote walking and cycling; and build (similar) apartment blocks on both sides of the motorway with a walking and cycling bridge in an attempt to physically and visually connect the surrounding neighbourhoods with the new development. Apart from the bridge, none of these suggestions have been realised. The platform was never built and the housing plans have made way for an exhibition hall, a future hotel tower, and 940 surface parking units, bearing no connection with the deprived neighbourhoods.

Symbolically, architectural sketches of the buildings planned, those under construction, and those already built bestow a very peculiar ambient power (Allen, 2006) to the area. While not excluding anyone in particular per se, the architects' visions clearly favour a young, healthy, able, working, educated public that is quite different from the average ambience and public in neighbouring districts. These are soft barriers, of course, but the seductive nature of office buildings that are clearly aimed at a prime office market, a uniquely designed shopping mall entrance, and plans for some luxury apartments together put an unmistakable stamp of "high-end development" on Hyllie.

Norra Sorgenfri emphasises the promotion of spatial integration between the eastern and western parts of Malmö as one of the original ambitions for the project. *Industrigatan* was defined as a major transit corridor that the project should focus on and which, together with the renovated bus depot, would be used to attract activities and people to the area, promoting spatial integration (Stad, 2008a). However, while during the visioning process the expectations for the area to act as an integration tool were high, currently this vision has been toned down (interview H), and some of the developers are less optimistic about the impact the project might have (interview E). There are "missing links" in the connection to the eastern parts of Malmö, even though some of the eastern bordering areas will potentially benefit from a new transit corridor to the inner city (interviews B, G and H).

Additionally, one could also argue that the vision includes a connection between east and west, but solely for movement from the west and centre towards the east. It is not only the inner-city qualities of density, small-scale and functional mix but also the types of consumption and production activities and the people that occupy these areas that are expected to move eastwards. Also, the movement from east to west is presented as inhabitants living in the east being able to use amenities existing in the centre (interviews G and H, Stad, 2008a), which implies a hidden undervaluation of what currently exists in the eastern parts of Malmö.

In sum, and in spite of sustainability rhetoric that is promoted at the city level, both projects emerge as being poorly integrated with their surroundings and insensitive to the socioeconomic and spatial polarisation of the city, which they disregard or do not address.

4. Discussion and conclusions

This paper set out to discuss how physical planning associated with an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy promotes and/or hinders the spatial and socioeconomic integration of Malmö by looking into the discourses, practices and design approaches associated with two large scale UDPs. The cases illustrate that despite being aware of the difficult socioeconomic situation and spatial barriers existing in Malmö, physical planning in these large scale UDPs pursues approaches that contribute to enhancing these barriers in the city.

4.1. *Working within an Entrepreneurial City context*

Practices, roles and values evolve parallel with the adoption of discourses (intentionally or unintentionally) promoting an attitude that is more focused on local economic promotion than previous practices oriented towards welfare delivery (Nilsson, 1996; Painter, 1998). Planning practitioners are bound to be influenced by the discourses and practices that are behind this approach to urban policy (McGuirk and MacLaran, 2001; Tasan-Kok, 2010; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Baeten, 2012)

The Hyllie and Norra Sorgenfri projects have very little in common at first sight. However, a closer examination of the practices and discourses that surround these projects highlights their complementary role in pursuing the municipal vision of promoting the image of Malmö as a post-industrial city, profiled towards sustainability and the knowledge-economy. These practices and discourses were experimented with during the Bo01 project and at the time were justified with the specific context posed by the housing exhibition and the difficult situation of industrial decline that Malmö was experiencing. But the one-off practices and discourses have since consolidated into other planning projects. What Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie have in common is that physical planning is, in practice, profiling these projects towards middle to upper classes and for cultural, creative, leisure and knowledge-intensive industries that will be attracted by the “inner-city-like” characteristics of the built environments developed accordingly.

Physical planning contributes to the exclusion of other socioeconomic groups and activities, not openly but by omission or by inaction. It excludes by omission when it does not refer back, in these projects, to the need that Malmö has for affordable housing or to the city’s high percentage of immigrants and refugees. It excludes by omission when the projects include physical barriers to spatial integration that are not addressed or questioned as posing a problem.

Physical planning excludes by inaction when there are only intentions (not actions) to promote the integration of these projects with the surrounding areas, and when there are only intentions to ensure that different socioeconomic groups can afford to live in these newly-built or renovated neighbourhoods. It also excludes by inaction when it anticipates gentrification but has no measures in place to try to counteract it.

4.2. *Between restrictions versus ambitions and rhetoric versus practice*

But maybe this inaction or omission reflects solely the inability of the physical planning department to formulate and pursue strategies that are not prioritised by the wider municipality. Working within an Entrepreneurial City approach exacerbates a recurrent dilemma in planning projects: that of achieving the balance between having 1) a high-quality built environment that resonates with the expectations and needs of the inhabitants, 2) an equitable distribution of positive and negative externalities of the development, ensuring that all, independently of their specific background, can afford and enjoy the opportunities

created, and 3) the development contribute to creating jobs and local economic growth and not draining the municipal budgets. This difficult balance can be illustrated by the need to balance between the ambitions for the project (often high-quality built environments and/or issues of equity and welfare distribution), and the restrictions posed (often economic restrictions).

Hyllie and Norra Sorgenfri illustrate this dilemma. Considering that Malmö has a long social-democratic tradition, one would expect these projects to demonstrate attention and concern to issues of equity and welfare. The rhetoric built around the projects does reflect this social-democratic tradition. However, in practice the projects emphasise the city's need to attract higher-income groups and position itself within the intercity competition, through high-quality built environments that will give shape to the new image of the city. The result is higher costs for developing the land and higher rents and final costs for the apartments and offices built. Only a selected few will then be able to afford an apartment in the new "inner-city-like" district.

4.3. *Whom do we plan for?*

In the wake of the efforts to lead the city into a knowledge-economy era, there are other, parallel urban realities that are denied, ignored or neglected in favour of the imagined or intended one (Barnes et al., 2006). The result is that urban policy and planning are engaged in the creation of commodifiable neighbourhoods distinct from what was the (at least normative) intention of Swedish physical planning during the 1960s and 1970s, which was to plan for the provision of broad access to welfare infrastructure for all. This recognition keeps alive the debate about whom planners plan for. Kitchen (2001) discussed the need for planning and planners to engage with their customer base and remember that planning is a public service industry. His claim is that this engagement is not only necessary because of some public relations move, as a way to try to improve the image that the "customers of planning" have of planning as an activity and a public service. Beyond this pragmatic view, there is the need for planning to remember that "places belong to their people" (2001: 304) and that the task is for planning to ensure that it creates places that suit these people's needs and demands.

The cases in this paper illustrate the urban development of a municipality – Malmö – and of a physical planning practice that is unable to come to terms and deal with its history of immigration, inflow of refugees, affordable housing shortage and socioeconomic problems, and is instead trying to whitewash these problems with glossy urban landscapes of wealth, consumption and an imported sense of belonging to a desired new age of knowledge-economy. An open question is how this polarising view of the city will impact the chances of Malmö's new image to consolidate and reflect the heterogeneity of the city, instead of the coherent image of what it is supposed to be.

Interviews

Interview A- Planner at Planning Department at Malmö City

Interview B – former and current project managers for Norra Sorgenfri project

Interview C – Head of Planning Department at Malmö City

Interview D- Mayor of Malmö and member of board of Bo01AB

Interview E- project managers at MKB

Interview F- Information Officer at Malmö City

Interview G– Fastighetskontoret at Malmö City

Interview H – architect at Streets and Parks department at Malmö City.

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4. Place-making and encountering the past

Abstract

Place-making strategies, associated with an entrepreneurial turn in urban policy, assume that the image of a city or neighborhood can be created and steered through purposive interventions. Instead, this paper argues that these strategies ignore that the image of a place is the result of both *purposive* and *spontaneous* events and is complex, relational, and fragmented. The paper looks into purposive image-creation and place-making by telling the story of Malmö, a municipality that has been actively working to create a new image for the city. The analysis is informed by material collected in interviews with public officials, the media, and official documents. The paper discusses the challenges that this partial understanding of *place-formation* might have for urban planning. It suggests that an understanding of “place” formation as complex, relational, and fragmented might serve as a springboard for planners to think about multiple place identities and place-making strategies.

1. Introduction

The entrepreneurial turn in urban policy (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 1989) has led to the introduction of private sector tools into the realm of public sector urban planning, namely in place-making strategies where image-creation and city marketing are pursued (Kavaratzis, 2004). These strategies amount to more than just the standard strategy meant to sell a product. For Kavaratzis, the aim is to promote a brand, meaning a product or service distinguishable by its positioning relative to its competition and by its unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values (Kavaratzis, 2004). However, this inclusion is not reflective of how the image of a place is formed in practice.

Place-making and *image-creation* strategies assume that places can be intentionally steered, changed, and shaped, following the aims and objectives of leading politicians or urban elites. The concepts themselves allow for a sense of intentionality and purposive action that can be attached to image and place formation. Instead, I will argue here that these strategies ignore the long tradition in geography and sociology that discusses Place as the result of both *purposive* and *spontaneous* events, and as complex, relational, fragmented, and never stable in meaning. In the creation of this new brand or image, urban planning is faced with aspects that influence the image of the city or of a neighborhood, namely 1) buildings, activities, or services that visually connect and identify a city or a specific lifestyle associated with it, 2) history or events that have marked its past and are present in the collective memory of the city or neighborhood (including social, economic, and cultural events), and 3) the expectations for the future, which can be formulated as short-, medium-, and long-term goals and visions. The extent to which these strategies of place-making will result in a new image for the city as a whole, or for a specific neighborhood, depends on the consistency of the promoted image over time, the coherence of different place-interventions in relation to each other and to the intended new image, the existence of resistance stories or events that convey an image contrary to the intended one, and how the inhabitants of the city and tourists, visitors, and investors view the new image as representing the city. It also depends on the ability of the new image to integrate/ assimilate events, stories, and movements that emerge spontaneously, without an intentional link to the new image, and that might even be contrary to it.

I will look into purposive image-creation and place-making by telling the story of Malmö, a municipality in the south of Sweden that has been actively working to create a new image for the city. I will draw from

material collected in interviews with public officials, the media, and official documents, and focus the discussion on the three aspects presented above that influence the city's image and how they promote the new image. In the conclusion, I will discuss the challenges that this partial understanding of *place-formation* might pose in public sector urban planning, and suggest that a closer look into the concept of *place* and *place-formation* might generate helpful advice for *place-making* strategies.

2. Place-making through urban renewal

Urban renewal is an approach often associated with strategies for *place-making* because it allows local leaders to alter the physical image of the city, erasing history in the form of built structures and replacing these with new ones that support to a new image. It also has the added advantage of creating a feeling of dynamism for local inhabitants, visitors, and investors. This sense of local dynamism can itself be part of the image being created by promoting, for example, the idea that to help new companies settle in the city, the municipality is taking concrete steps in the form of a local business incubator or by opening a new shopping center or a football stadium. Additionally, urban renewal projects have short-term and visible results, which align well with political cycles and are an easier aspect to steer and solve than, for example, dealing with long-term unemployment resulting from large industries' closures.

In Western Europe, de-industrialization has been ravaging old industrial cities since the 1970s. Studies have shown how local politicians and elites in, e.g., Glasgow have tried to reinvent their city by investing in city marketing, in urban renewal, and in cultural and leisure activities (Paddison, 1993). The intention was to attract new types of production to the city in the form of (high-value-added) services, cultural activities, and new consumption patterns that would revitalize the waning local economy. In a study on image creation strategies in six old industrial cities in the U.K., Bradley et al. observed that "what unites these cities, despite their diverse experiences of industrialization and deindustrialization, is the problematic legacy of old industrial images in the context of the post-industrial economy. This is exacerbated where other social, political and aesthetic dimensions contribute to city image in similarly problematic ways" (Bradley et al., 2002).

Following these trends in urban policy, *place-making* to sell a new image of a city in order to attract investments, companies, and specific types of inhabitants became an integral part of the role of urban planning in the context of an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy. Hubbard explores this by focusing on the connection between this approach and the physical transformation of cities through urban design (Hubbard, 1996). Partial aspects of the city's history are used to construct a theme around which to renew city quarters, for example, the case of the Jewelry and the Guns Quarters in Birmingham (Hubbard, 1996). The integration of historical fragments of a city's past into the urban renewal plans for these neighborhoods aims to appeal to notions of authenticity and collective memory about the city. The concept of authenticity is particularly interesting in these cases, as the "artifacts" (buildings, streets, material symbols) exploited in these projects illustrates a new approach to the museification of some neighborhoods, promoted and commodified as representing the city and its history over the rest of the city and the untold episodes of its past. What counts as "authentic" emerges from the understanding of what the consumer of this image will count as "authentic" (Prentice, 2001).

Authenticity as a concept is difficult to define. For Florida (2002), authenticity derives from aspects of the community that can be seen and experienced, for example, historic buildings or established neighborhoods, but also a unique music scene or specific festivals – buildings and events that are not "generic," broadly seen as places and products for standardized consumption, from Starbucks to the Disney theme parks. But this authenticity as understood by Florida (2002) is something that exists beyond the subject that is observing or experiencing it. A place can be authentic even if the subject experiencing it

does not necessarily belong to that place. It is an authenticity that can be used, implying that an experience of authenticity can be created for others to enjoy. This understanding of a place's authenticity would be contrary to that of, for example, Relph, for whom "to be inside a place is to belong to it and identify with it" (quoted in Cresswell, 2004). The authentic in this context is something that relates back to the subject experiencing it. An authentic place is a place that is given meaning and purpose and is accepted by the subject observing and experiencing it. As such, it is a less artificial and façade-prone construction of what counts as an "authentic" place. Nevertheless, when turning to image-creation and place-making strategies within entrepreneurial city approaches to urban development, authenticity is itself a commodity, an experience to reproduce by the careful selection of which episodes of a city's history to portray, which buildings to preserve, which inhabitants and activities to focus on as beacons of the new image being imagined and constructed. As Hubbard and Hall put it, "given the pervasive nature of place marketing, it might be argued that it no longer makes much sense to distinguish between the 'myths' and 'realities' of the city, as the images of the city incorporated in the promotional brochures, adverts, guidebooks, and videos come to define the essence of the city as much as the city itself" (Hubbard and Hall, 1998).

The creation of an "authentic" or "unique" image for the city will arguably determine how successful a city is at branding itself and at projecting the new image to inhabitants and outsiders, in the sense of both positive images and also negative ones (Bradley et al., 2002). Similarly, the creation of a new image for the city depends on how the intended consumers of the new image will associate the new with the pre-existing image and, for planners, who this consumer is supposed to be. The challenge for urban planning is to generate a cohesive and consistent new image that is consubstantiated in the symbols, built environments, and stories about the past, present, and future of the city, and that is not challenged by or in conflict with "deeply seated popular perceptions" (Bradley et al., 2002: 68) of what the city was and is.

3. Malmö – Place-making in an old industrial city

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, located across the sea from Copenhagen. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Malmö was one of the industrial engines of Sweden. By the mid-twentieth century, the shipyard Kockums and the cement company Skanska dominated the city in terms of employment and income generation. Kockums was one of the largest shipyards in the world by 1959, and the city enjoyed almost full employment between 1950 and 1970. The city was also the birthplace of the first union of workers, in 1882, and its political scene has been dominated by the Social Democrats since 1919 (Vall, 2007).

But the crisis in manufacturing and heavy industries that shook traditional industrial areas in Europe was also felt in Malmö. Kockums was outcompeted by South Korean ship builders, and the last ship was launched in 1986, heavily financed by state subsidies. The marks of deindustrialization left scars in the physical fabric of the city, with the old shipyard area left underused or abandoned, and with the redundant industrial work force, especially labor immigrants, concentrating in housing complexes in the eastern parts of the city (Vall, 2007). The municipality tried to find new industries to settle in the abandoned shipyard. SAAB opened a factory in the area in 1989, but it closed down in 1991.

3.1. Breaking with the past – a new image for the future

In 1995 the municipality started a citywide visioning process. In the words of its mayor, "we were trying to find a new path for an industrial city, where that industrial path was closed" (Interview Reepalu). It was about formulating visions and a new image for an industrial city which was industrial no more. The

exercise resulted in a vision for the future city – Malmö was to be identified as a sustainable and knowledge-based city. In order to reach this vision, three broad pillars were defined and adopted by the municipality to guide the city's development (Interviews Johansson, Larsson, Reepalu). First, the municipality wanted a university in Malmö. This goal was linked to the broader vision of helping Malmö to enter the age of knowledge-intensive industries, and in the shorter term to curb local unemployment numbers and retrofit the local labor force into new fields. The new university offers courses in biofilms and biointerfaces, health, information technology and computer science, and new media, among others, following the now dominant international discourses about stimulating knowledge-intensive industries to promote local economic growth. It opened in 1998 and was located on the Western Harbor peninsula, where the shipyard had been.

The second pillar was that Malmö wanted to attract higher-income residents. During industrialization the municipality had built mainly multi-family dwellings intended for the expanding working classes. Families looking for single-family dwellings and higher-income families had moved to surrounding municipalities. The municipality wanted to get these taxpayers back by providing them with attractive and high-quality housing areas in Malmö: “We had to promote Malmö as a nice place to live because the general trend was that people that could afford good housing moved to other municipalities. We had to show that there could be good living in Malmö also” (Interview Johansson).

The third pillar was influenced by the Bruntland Report, the 1992 Rio Conference, and all the attention these events were receiving from the media and international community. Malmö wanted to be an environmentally friendly city, cutting away the bleak industrial legacy, embracing the potential that green technologies and green building could bring in terms of profiling the city as a sustainable and knowledge-economy city, and contributing to a rise in the quality of life for Malmö's inhabitants.

3.2. *Building the new image*

These three pillars came together in a highly promoted urban development project – the housing exhibition Bo01. This event offered the opportunity for the municipality to start to actively build a new image for Malmö. The motto of this international housing exhibition was “City of Tomorrow.” The idea was to create a housing area to showcase building and urban planning ideas and techniques for a more environmentally friendly city. The place chosen to host this new housing area was the western part of Western Harbor. Where the shipyard once was, a new mixed-use area combining housing, offices, retail, and leisure areas would emerge. Pioneering environmental technology granted the area an exclusive and highly profitable outlook: “A city district that inspires creativity, develops further knowledge and stimulates economic growth” (Stad, no date).

The area was close to the city center, an extension of the better-off housing areas located to the west and in sight of the newly inaugurated Öresund Bridge, strengthening the image of Malmö as a city connected to Europe. Even if the residential and office spaces were meant for upper-class residents and knowledge-intensive industries, the public spaces were built around the premise of providing a meeting place where all inhabitants and visitors were welcome. There were no references, physical or discursively, to the industrial past of the city or the district, except as a reminder of the changes that had happened in Malmö since the mid-1990s, visible in the transformation of the old harbor area. The area gains its distinguishing features from collaboration between the architect responsible for the organization of the housing exhibition and the municipality's Department of Streets and Parks. These parties worked together to create public spaces that took advantage of the closeness to the sea, a new city park – *Ankarparken* – and the extension of these green spaces towards the south and west of the area. What is “authentic” in this

project is that it has a very attractive geographical location and a very specific character – a district where environmentally friendly techniques are applied to the built environment – and it’s completely new.

The Bo01 was not an isolated project in the active construction of a new image and district. The whole Western Harbor was the stage for projects where knowledge-industries, innovation, and sustainability were key themes. The area has been developing slowly since Bo01, and it now hosts companies in communications and systems development, consultancy services, design, education, and R&D. The Turning Torso, an office and residential building conceived of by internationally acclaimed architect Santiago Calatrava, was built on Western Harbor. This new landmark was the brainchild of the Social Democrats in the city but was quickly adopted by the municipality as well, which came to use it in the official material portraying the new image of Malmö as a “Knowledge City.” Both the housing exhibition project and the Turning Torso are examples of flagship developments, large-scale urban renewal projects intended to be catalysts for local economic development, breaking with the trend of inner-city decline, creating a symbol for the new image, and attracting investments (Bianchini et al., 1992).

Additionally, sustainability has come to be an overarching theme for urban development, with increasing visibility in the city’s comprehensive plan (Stad, 2013). Many of the urban development projects after Bo01 came to integrate and mainstream techniques and ideas developed during the experience with the housing expo (Interview Andersson). In addition, a city tunnel that cuts across the city was built, adding a sense of twenty-first century urbanity to Malmö and reducing the commuting distance to Copenhagen, the international airport, and the regional hinterland. The city center has also been the stage of numerous urban renewal efforts and has developed into an area with hotels, cafés, and shops. In the words of the communications officer at the municipality, “There is [in Malmö] what I call a metamorphosis” (Interview Rosberg).

In the process of building a new image for the city, the municipality has adopted styles and trends in architecture and urban design that refer to a specific time and age – the age of globalization, intercity competition, and knowledge. The physical structure of industrial Malmö is slowly being eclipsed by the emergence of a new cityscape for designer shops, cappuccino drinkers, and office workers with smart phones, riding their bikes to work.

3.3. Encountering the past and the city that still is

However, the Malmö of today is portrayed by the media as a schizophrenic city of disconnected images. In a recent article in the regional newspaper, Sandström writes, “When Malmö was a grey industrial city, it was one of the richest municipalities in Sweden, known for being boring. Now it is the opposite – the brand is rich, but the economy is grey. (...) Add to that the reports about poverty and the perceived lack of security and it is clear that the success story built around words such as visibility and accessibility are not able to stop a story about a city in social crisis” (Sandström, 2012).

The visions for the city could hardly have been more inviting. Who would say “no” to living in a city with high-quality built environments, green spaces, and clean air, easily connected to other parts of the region and the world, or to being included among the creative, knowledge-intensive companies? But these visions did not include a large part of the inhabitants of Malmö. This exclusion or omission might have been intentional, an attempt to “modernize” and “dress-up” the declining industrial city by “pushing out” or “hiding” the old Malmö under a glossy façade of new buildings, urban vibrancy, and globalized companies. This exclusion might also have been an unintended but nonetheless inevitable result of a place-making strategy grounded in the vision of a new image and future for the city. Whatever the case may be, the problems of old Malmö are still there, even if slightly transformed. Socially, high

unemployment and social welfare costs derived from the numbers of workers that were laid off after industrial closures were replaced by an inflow of refugees from Iraq, Somalia, and former Yugoslavia during the times of conflict in these countries (table 1).

Table 6 Evolution of foreign-born and foreign-background populations in Malmö, 1975–2010

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Residents born abroad	7.9%	7.9%	8.0%	10.1%	11.3%	10.2%	10.5%	14.1%
Residents with a foreign background	No data	34.5%	40.2%					

* An inhabitant is considered to have a foreign background when born to foreign parents, whether abroad or in Sweden. (Statistics Sweden)

In 2012, 14.2% of Malmö’s inhabitants were unemployed, an increase of 0.6% compared to the year before. But for foreign-born people, unemployment was 27%. Youth unemployment (aged 18–24) was 23.3%, but youth unemployment among foreign-born people was 37.3%. Paid income support rose in November 2012 compared with 2011, and 645 more households received assistance (Stad, 2012). The eastern and less affluent parts of the city especially are still plagued by social unrest, segregation, unemployment, and poor image (table 2 and figure 1) (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2005; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008). Table 2 shows that in the areas to the east (Rosengård, Kirseberg, Fosie), residents have a lower income than in the western areas and in Centrum. Formal education level also reveals an east–west division. Rosengård, a large-scale residential area built in the 1960s, stands out due to the high percentage of residents with a foreign background and very low employment.



Figure 1 Location of large neighborhoods in Malmö (Stad, 2008)

There is a difficult coexistence between the creation of a new Malmö, emerging in the west, and encountering the old Malmö in the east, as illustrated in the paradoxical discourses on “change” (Holgersen, 2012). The media quickly picks up on these incongruences of the “new” Malmö by referring to the xenophobic attacks on the city’s immigrant population that attracted international attention, to the social unrest in the neighborhoods to the east, or simply to the chaos in train connections to Copenhagen. A recent special report by *The Economist* used the case of Rosengård and Malmö to illustrate how immigration and growing inequality pose future threats to the Nordic countries (Economist, 2013).

Table 7 Foreign residents, formal education, and income in Malmö, per area, 2008 (Stad, 2008)

	Foreign-born residents	Sweden-born residents with foreign-born parents	Employed	Formal education		Income per capita, SEK
				High-school diploma	Bachelor or above	
Malmö	29%	9%	64%	41%	40%	131 082
Centrum	24%	6%	66%	33%	55%	149 769
Västra Innerstaden	12%	3%	75%	35%	55%	176 351
Hyllie	29%	10%	63%	47%	31%	127 650
Limhamn-Bunkeflo	14%	3%	77%	39%	48%	167 012
Södra Innerstaden	33%	10%	57%	37%	45%	109 915
Fosie	43%	13%	55%	47%	24%	103 312
Oxie	21%	6%	73%	51%	25%	123 367
Kirseberg	27%	8%	65%	45%	33%	119 268
Rosengård	60%	26%	39%	40%	18%	74 624
Husie	17%	7%	78%	50%	32%	137 268

4. Discussion and Conclusions

4.1. Going back to place

This paper focused on place-making strategies that assume that places can be intentionally steered, changed, and shaped. Instead, I argue here that these strategies overlook how place is the result of both *purposive* and *spontaneous* events, and is complex, fragmented, and never stable in meaning.

The case presented was of Malmö and how the municipality has tried to create a new image for Malmö, different from the early 1990s' image of a city with a large working-class population and experiencing industrial decline. The municipality framed a new image for the city as a result of a visioning process where ideas about the *future* city were discussed. In order to reach this future, different urban development projects have consistently given visual and symbolic substance to the vision. Present and Future have been created according to the new image.

But this new image builds on an understanding of place as homogenous and steerable. It assumes that there can be dominant image for Malmö. But as previous studies have shown, there is a long way to go between the *purposive* actions to change an image of a city and how outsiders and inhabitants actually view the city – the *spontaneous* image. Paddison (1993) points to this distinction between what can be changed more easily through marketing and urban renewal (or in the case of Glasgow, cultural events) and the difficulty of inducing deeper changes in how a city is perceived by local inhabitants and external investors, visitors, or other inhabitants of the country: “The durability of the city’s poor external image as a place in which to live is evidence not so much of the failure of the image-promotion campaign, but rather that, for the individual, the image of a city is compartmentalized. Hallmark events combined with an advertising campaign may influence specific aspects of a city’s image – its perception as an important cultural center - which in turn may influence the decision to visit the city. However, such events may leave relatively unaffected the overall image of a city, and particularly its more negative aspects” (Paddison, 1993: 347).

Mats Brusman’s study of how town development processes affect specific urban places sheds some light onto the complexity between creating an image through urban development and place-making, and the confrontation of the new image with the old, sometimes conflicting, pre-existing place identities (Brusman, 2008). The *image* of a place is more easily changed by the inclusion of something new, than the *identity* of the place. I would argue that the identity of a place is as complex and dynamic as the identity of

an individual, and in Brusman's study this complexity is brought to light. An individual's identity, consciousness, and actions are rooted in the social context she is part of (Brusman, 2008: 29). There is a dialectical relationship between the individual and the social structure in the sense that they influence each other. Similarly, a place can be understood as a cultural representation and a process (Brusman, 2008). It requires the physicality of space associated with the sociocultural enactments and meanings that an individual or a collective associates with that space. The place is the result of an individual *and* of a social construction. Simultaneously, it also influences these because places are part of what constitutes the identity of individuals and collectives. For example, an individual's identity can be linked to the place where he worked – the case of the shipyard workers in Malmö that associated their own identities with the old shipyard, and did not identify with how it had been transformed into a neighborhood for knowledge-industries and creative people (Möllerström, 2011).

The failure of place-making strategies to actually change the identity of a place also lies in the unreflective reliance on marketing and branding techniques to package and sell a product that is difficult to define – place. Place-making simplifies the notion of place. Not reducing the concept of place to its locational and geographical meaning, and understanding place as lived (Agnew, 2011) implies that place is a subjective construction; it happens in the intersection of memories, experiences, and expectations (Brusman, 2008: 37). There is a component of place-making that cannot be fabricated – the memory of the place, even though attempts can be made to manipulate it. The other two components – experiences and expectations – are at best difficult to steer. Brusman thus concludes that “people's perception of a place depends not only on what is physically present in the moment, but also on ideas about the past, future, and other places. (...) The meaning of a place is always rooted in the memory of the past” (Brusman, 2008: 41).

Place is always unique, and people look for the authentic and unique in the places they connect to as an added element in the individualization of the self, extending this individualization to the place(s) where he or she interacts. The uniqueness of place, its “authenticity,” is the result of the interconnection of memories, experiences, and expectations to the influences of globalization, the mobility of people, goods, ideas, and values across geographical space, and this produces fragmented, heterogeneous, and conflicting “places” co-existing within the same location. Authenticity and Uniqueness can be embodied in specific physical objects – historical buildings, established neighborhoods, a park or square – and in the coming together of a specific assembly of activities and people – a music scene, a cultural scene, or a neighborhood populated by people from different socioeconomic and ethnic-cultural background, as emphasized by Florida (2002). But the authenticity of a place is not something objective, quantifiable, or even steerable, as would appear from the writings of Florida and from place-making strategies such as Malmö's. These strategies focus on the creation of one image, the association of a coherent and stable group of people to a location and to a place – the knowledge-city, the creative city, the sustainable city. They overlook the subjectivity of place, the interconnection between place and individual, and the dynamic character of place and of what is understood as authentic. In doing so, they are destined to fall short of their expectations from the start.

Another source of potential failure is the conflict between the “insiders” and the “outsiders” of the notion of place that is being fabricated. As shown in the case of Malmö, the image created aims at a new host of companies, investors, and inhabitants that live, work, and play in knowledge-industries and in creative and sustainable environments. What happened to the people who lived in Malmö before these knowledge-industries arrived? What happens to the ones who live in Malmö now but are not involved in these knowledge-industries? What is more conflicting in the case of Malmö is that the old image of Malmö is used currently, by the municipality, to magnify the extent of the transformation of Malmö from industrial and working-class towards knowledge-economy, sustainable, and creative. However, the new image of Malmö is also of a heterogeneous population, which includes many immigrants and foreign-born residents faced with difficulties in entering the job market. The homogeneous, industrial, working-class city has

given birth to a heterogeneous and profoundly divided city. But this segregated reality is difficult to combine with the municipal vision of a new Malmö. The image created by the municipality snubs these inhabitants. It ignores that the image of a place emerges from the “thrown-togetherness” (Collinge and Gibney, 2010) of different people and different senses of place, which results in the urban place being the unfinished product of an ongoing negotiation.

Place-making strategies would thus benefit from a “progressive sense of place” (Massey, 1993), conceptualizing place as being constructed “out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are actually constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself” (Massey, 1993: 66).

4.2. *What about the role of urban planning?*

Place-making and image-creation strategies that will help cities fare well in intercity competition rhetoric are increasingly common in urban planning. Planners are key actors in this process of retrofitting a city for creating local economic growth and building the pre-conditions to promote inward investment. This is how the political rhetoric goes, led by a handful of studies that advise policymakers to invest in urban environments where creativity, innovation, sustainability, and entrepreneurship are plentiful (Florida, 2002; OECD, 2007). It is the proactive construction of a new city through place-making, and it is here that urban planners need to rethink how to include history without being constrained by it; how to engage with politicians and civil society in shaping public spaces that reflect place identities that are never stale or stable but are in a permanent process of construction, confrontation, and realignment with new socioeconomic and cultural contexts in these globalized-local-urban areas. Maybe Bo01 is a story not only about creating a new image, but also about the need for inclusive images, visions, and projects. Urban planning has had a key role within the whole metamorphosis project for Malmö, by building a *visible* shape to the new image. It was an active player in the proactive creation of this image. The failure to include or reach all of the inhabitants of Malmö is a painful reminder of how planning and planners are not only incapable of dealing with the shattered realities of our urban areas but are actually active builders of these shattered realities.

Malmö’s transformation also highlights the difference between a physical structure, which can be built, and a collective image, which cannot be built. There will be poor and low educated people even in the knowledge-based city, as recent studies about divided and increasingly segregated cities show (Andersen and van Kempen, 2003; Smith, 2002; MacLeod, 2002; Macleod and Johnstone, 2012). If the city is successful in attracting high-income families, the disparities in the city may even increase. A homogeneous industrial city with small income disparities is transformed in a heterogeneous knowledge-based city with growing income disparities. Perhaps this is what we can see in Malmö.

Place-making strategies provide an opportunity for planning practitioners and local leadership to think cross-sectorally, with a focus on locality, to experiment with ways to integrate the local community, and to draw closer to Healey’s collaborative planning ideals. Place can provide a springboard for consensus but only when understood as fragmented, heterogeneous, and always changing. Attempts to encapsulate place in a stable, homogenous, and mutually agreed-upon image are bound to fail, generate apathy or disengagement with the image/place, or simply create conflict between those who become the insiders and the outsiders of these images.

Interviews

Pernilla Andersson – project manager at Real Estates Department at Malmö City. 18.05.2011

Bertil Johansson- Senior planner at Planning Department, Malmö City. 07.03 2011

Christer Larsson – Head of Planning Department at Malmö City. 27.02.2012

Ilmar Reepalu - Mayor of Malmö and member of board of Bo01AB. 20.03.2012

Göran Rosberg- Information Officer at Malmö City. 03.03.2011

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V. Final conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy by looking into large-scale UDPs in Sweden. I argued that physical planning, as an integral part of urban policy, would also be affected by this entrepreneurial approach. The questions guiding the research were then:

1. How have the practices of physical planning been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy?
2. How has physical planning responded to this urban policy context?
3. Which potential challenges and dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

Each individual paper focused on a particular aspect of physical planning practices (see figure 2) and discussed the above questions. Appendix 4 presents the overview of the four papers, their submission status, research gaps, research questions, and main conclusions.

In this final conclusion, I will bring together the individual papers according to their input to the three questions above, guided by three themes – Influences, Responses and Challenges/ Dilemmas – reflecting on the implications of the Entrepreneurial City approach for physical planning in the Swedish context. I will then discuss the contributions of the thesis to the literature, and raise questions that might influence future research in this topic.

1. Influences

In this dissertation, I looked into large-scale UDPs within the frame of an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy. Sweden is a pertinent example to analyze in this context. First, Sweden has a long tradition of welfare provision, linked with the development of the housing policy and established through the intervention of local municipalities that implement what has been defined at the state level. Physical planning in the public sector has greatly expanded its reach as an integral part of urban policy meant to promote access to welfare state equipment and goals (Blücher, 2006; Elander and Montin, 1990). However, recent research has highlighted a change in the attention placed on welfare distribution issues at the local level, with political discourses adopting Entrepreneurial City approaches to local economic development and prioritizing the promotion of local economic growth. This was observed even in municipalities where a social-democratic tradition was very strong, as in the case of Malmö (Dannestam, 2009; Vall, 2007). One often-used argument for this growing interest in local economic growth is that it is expected to generate a trickle-down effect that will help sustain the local welfare provision (Dannestam, 2008). On the one hand, there is a large body of literature criticizing and questioning the extent of this trickle-down effect (chapter III.2). On the other hand, in the Swedish context the trickle-down effect should be taken into consideration, as municipalities have the power to collect local income taxes. These ensure that the municipality is a key actor in carrying out welfare policy and can practice a great amount of self-governance in its role as a financing agent for welfare provision (Montin, 2000). However, in the case of Malmö, a city that has arguably adopted the Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy (Dannestam, 2009; Möllerström, 2011), municipal taxes are being spent on the promotion of a new image for the city to attract new, wealthier tax payers, and in urban development projects meant to support this

new image and provide living and working locations for the new inhabitants and new investments. Paradoxically, instead of this speculative and risk-taking approach resulting in higher municipal revenues in the form of municipal taxes, what instead happened was that the municipal tax base actually shrank from 97% of the national average in 1994 to 85% in 2010 (SCB). At the same time, the amount of homeless people in Malmö increased, and lack of affordable housing is a problem in the city, especially for groups that typically have fewer financial resources, namely single mothers, students, and immigrants (bostadsbristen.n.nu, 2012; Hågström, 2010.02.01; Malmö Stad, 2012b).

A second reason why Sweden is a pertinent case to discuss here is the redefinition of the role of the state in connection with the provision of housing. The role of the state and its abdication from the housing policy has contributed to a greater influence of the private sector in urban development projects (Elander and Strömberg, 2001; Berling, 2006; Cars and Hedström, 2006; Hedman, 2008). As argued in paper 1, the influence of private developers and of coalitions of public and private actors is not something new in physical planning and urban development in Sweden. However, starting in the 1950s and continuing until the 1970s, the state guaranteed that a large proportion of the newly built dwellings would be bought by municipally-owned housing companies through state subsidies. There was, in this sense, a sheltering of the housing sector from market influences. The housing market was under tight control by the state. With the eradication of state subsidies for municipal housing construction, municipalities were confronted with a new economic situation. Some of the challenges included co-owning large stocks of rentals, through municipal housing companies, that were in need of renovation. Additionally, new housing preferences and family trends, prioritizing inner-city dwellings and proximity to amenities often encountered in denser urban neighborhoods, were also emerging among citizens looking for a new dwelling (Orrskog and Bradley, 2006), driving up demand for and prices of new housing. Municipalities had to find means to continue building new dwellings compliant with the new demands and to upgrade the existing housing stock (especially that in the hands of municipally-owned housing companies). This implies that although in principle the decentralization of housing matters from the central level granted the local level a greater opportunity and role in deciding what to build, where, and when, in reality this coincided with less financial support to actually achieve municipal goals and requirements regarding new construction and maintenance.

A third reason is the proliferation of ideas and discourses supporting the need for local politicians to promote the local economic development of their cities by engaging in place-making and place-marketing activities that would attract investments. Moreover, local politicians were arguably expected to position their city within the global intercity competition for talented people, free capital, and companies that operated within high-value-added production, especially knowledge-intensive companies. This is also associated with examples of cities where large-scale urban development strategies have been used to direct public and private investments to areas that had been under-used or abandoned or had fallen into decline, such as harbor areas, underused industrial sites, and downtown areas that had been neglected. This was the case with Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum and the urban development surrounding it, Amsterdam's Westergasfabrieken, and Lisbon's Parque das Nações neighborhood. This discourse was captured by Tove Dannestam (2009) and by Veselinka Möllerstöm (2011) in their dissertations about Malmö. One could also add that when municipalities require investment partners to engage in projects at the local level, these large-scale projects tend to draw the attention of the media and of potential investors in both the public and the private sectors. It is thus more likely for the municipality to be able to deliver back to the city and its inhabitants an image of work done. This trend has also been observed in Sweden for the past thirty years (Cars, 1992).

Thus, local politicians take their cues for how to promote local economic development from the changes in the governance setting in which their municipalities are involved, in the relationship between the

municipalities and the state, and from best practices, discourses, and examples from other cities and contexts. These cues raise the first question of this dissertation:

How have the practices of physical planning been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy?

1) *Engaging in public-private partnerships* – this is a governance setting where the municipality shares the financial burden with private partners. This trend has been actively supported by supra-national organizations such as the OECD and the EU, which give preference to co-funding for projects backed by public-private partnerships, and through the dissemination of best practices. But even at the national level there are incentives for collaboration between public and private actors. The advantages and challenges of this governance setting have been discussed elsewhere (Cars, 1992).

As illustrated in the papers, the governance setting surrounding the projects included both public and private actors and funding from different sources. Together with the political and media visibility associated with large-scale UDPs, this setting created the opportunity for the project to get off the ground. When it was more difficult to secure the interest and participation of the private sector, for example, in Norra Sorgenfri, it was also more difficult to quick-start the project.

2) *Engaging in place-making and marketing the city for investors* – in the intercity competition for investors, creative classes, and tourists, what is particular about the city, and what does it have to offer to these groups? This is what the marketing literature refers to as the unique selling point (USP) (Kotler et al., 1993).

Treating the city as a product to promote in the search for investment and partners implies that the product needs to be dressed up in view of who the potential buyers are. This entails in some cases the construction of an entirely new image for the city that will break with previous associations with industrial decline and social problems. This was the case with Malmö (discussed in paper 4), particularly the image that was supported by Bo01. It can also take shape in the promotion of an image that can align with current development occurring in the city, for example, the decision to install ESS and the MAXIV labs in Lund as one of the drivers to develop a new neighborhood in the city where creativity and knowledge are the theme, can be shared, and are “in the air” – Brunnshög.

3) *Securing the interest of business partners and potential investors* – this implies that profit has to be part of the equation when deciding which investments to engage in, and which audiences to target as potential buyers and users of these investments. Profit motivation is also associated with speculative and risk-prone projects for both local politicians and their private sector partners.

Norra Sorgenfri is a good example of the point above. The project team has formulated a design proposal for the area and has suggested a type of built environment and a mix of functions that have been successful before. Mixed-use, green spaces, pedestrian- and bike-friendly, and centrally located have been characteristics to which investors have responded well to (as discussed in paper 2). However, there has been a lack of interest in pushing forward the project because local developers can see quicker and/or higher profits from the urban development projects in Western Harbor and in Hyllie because local landowners are unsure of how much investing in the development of their properties now will result in higher rents in the near future, and because local politicians are just not sure that the district can become trendy and stop being associated with crime and prostitution in the near future. In the plan, it seems like a fine investment area, but will it make a profit (or more important, will it make enough profit to justify investing here instead of somewhere else)?

4) *Adopting catchwords that will help the municipality promote its projects within and beyond its municipal borders* – terms like “green building,” “sustainability,” “diversity,” “creativity,” and “innovation” are broad enough to allow for urban development projects to play with these terms and to gather the interest and objectives of the project’s partnerships around them.

In Bo01, diversity was associated with many architects and development companies working together in small plots to create a “diverse living environment” and many different living and urban design solutions in the district. In Brunnskögd, the same emphasis on the architectural qualities of the new area is promoted, with the intended result being an urban area that resembles the medieval city centre. In Norra Sorgenfri, diversity is translated more frequently as the existence of artists in the area. None of the uses of “diversity” are in itself inadequate. Diversity can mean all of these things and more. Precisely because it is such a broad concept, it is suitable for situations where one looks for consensus-generating concepts, ideas that will be broadly associated with something positive, and with a higher end-value for the urban development that will be created. Terms such as the above can be used to attract buyers and investors that want to live or invest in (and are willing to pay the premium associated with) the added value associated with these terms.

5) *Focusing on who and what the municipality wishes to attract to its city* – scholarly literature offers plenty of contributions to two questions: What promotes entrepreneurship/creativity/innovation in a city/company? And what do the “creative classes” want of the city? Policies tend to target specific problems or opportunities; there is nothing particularly new in that. As I discussed especially in the third paper, Entrepreneurial City approaches tend to prioritize catering to the needs of specific types of companies and socioeconomic groups.

In the cases discussed here, there was a clear prioritization of particular groups of people as future users of these neighborhoods: wealthier families as residents in Bo01; gentrifiers of St. Knut as residents for Norra Sorgenfri; middle-class consumers for the shopping areas of Hyllie; Danish commuters for residents in Hyllie; (hopefully) artists for granting charm and “diversity” to Norra Sorgenfri; researchers, university students, and scientists for Brunnskögd. This results in the generalization of mixed-used areas with higher densities and a compact city approach, cafés, trendy shops and amenities, and the expectation of lively shopping areas, with high scenic and environmental qualities. The assumption that the incomers will be conscious consumers and inhabitants promotes including the use of eco and green labels and related ideas in the built environment, being pedestrian- and bike-friendly (in all but Hyllie), and emphasizing accessibility (in all but especially in Hyllie and Brunnskögd due to their particular locations). This focus can also be linked with the specific governance setting in which these projects are developed. Public-private partnerships are more prone to focus on the interests of groups that can be more clearly heard within the setting of the partnership. This implies that the groups sitting at the negotiation table are looking for the best possible agreement that will allow them to defend their particular interests and the interests of those with whom they will directly engage. If a developer can realize higher profits by orienting the production of dwellings towards higher income groups, he/she will push for the built environment and the settings that will allow this to happen.

2. Responses – managing a large scale UDP and creating the capacity to act

A recurrent idea throughout the thesis was that physical planning would also be changing due to these influences over urban policy. Physical planning practices can never be seen stable or stationary, but should be understood as reacting or responding to changes occurring in the internal and external contexts within

which they occur (see chapters I-3.a and III), which in this dissertation were framed as a supposed “turn” towards an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy. A second question to ask is then:

How has physical planning responded to this urban policy context?

The role of private developers and stakeholders in the partnerships established for the execution of large-scale UDPs was frequently discussed in the literature as counterweighing the role of the public sector in general, and of physical planning in particular, with the introduction of concepts, approaches, and goals dominated by business and private interests. It arguably created a context that was harder for physical planning to manage because there was more diversity of goals or ambitions for the project, sources of funding, and ways of working. The cases explored in this dissertation revealed that physical planners thought that they enjoyed some degree of flexibility to experiment with methods and approaches in the design and implementation of large-scale UDPs, and this transpired in some of the approaches taken to bring together a partnership of interested stakeholders that would be able to agree on common goals and approaches to the large-scale UDP, thereby creating the capacity to act.

Area-based agencies and core project groups were two strategies with which physical planning tried to overcome the increasing complexity of bringing together different partners, interests, funding agencies, and goals to these large-scale UDPs. In the case of the Bo01, the creation of an area-based agency (Bo01AB) was meant to ensure that there was a single body responsible for coordinating the needs and ensuring the success of the exhibition, while overseeing the project’s finances and being involved as a consultant in the design and implementation of the urban development area emerging under the banner of the housing exhibition. In the case of Brunnsbög, a core project group was formed to work exclusively with the area to ensure that there were no divided loyalties, that intra-project communication was favored, and possibly to grant an extra level of symbolic importance to the project. The core project group also facilitated communication with interested parties, as there was a uniform group representing the municipality.

Another way for physical planning to work within multi-stakeholder partnerships was to *build a common platform of understanding*. This was done by introducing mid-level planning documents that tried to frame a common vision for the new neighborhood that was more defined than the comprehensive plan, but not as strict or concrete as the detailed plan. This was the case of the Quality Program for Bo01 and the *planprogram* for Norra Sorgenfri and Brunnsbög. Although not a compulsory document and not binding in its execution (except in the case of the Quality Program of Bo01), these mid-level documents offered an opportunity for the stakeholders involved to participate in the formulation of common goals, strategies, and ambitions for the area, to exchange expectations, and around which to generate a base for agreement.

Another way for physical planning to reach agreements within the multi-stakeholder partnerships was to try to *bring together the different stakeholders in mid-level groups of à priori shared interests*. For example, in Brunnsbög and Bo01 there was a recurrent mention of the “developers” group, even though it was also often pointed out that developers compete amongst themselves. But for the purpose of aligning goals and standards for the development, it was helpful for the developers to first agree amongst themselves, define a common vision, and present a common front in the discussions with the municipality. Inviting all the key stakeholders to *participate in the early phases of the design phase* was also meant to favor the emergence of an agreement within the partnership. One of the advantages is that the concept design for the area could be defined as the different stakeholders were brought together and shared their expectations for and about the new development.

From the cases discussed in the papers, it was not at all clear that there was a strong influence of private developers over the design of the areas. The *design proposed for the built environment* was mainly driven by the physical planning team in the cases of Brunnsbög, Bo01, and Norra Sorgenfri. There was a break from

what had been the standard for urban development and land allocation until the 1990s, with large plots developed by a single developer. But this was a break proposed by the physical planners and architects involved, and not easily accepted by the developers.

One can also see the tendency to work with *smaller plots and a wider range of developers* and architects as a response to the fewer financial resources that the municipality has to guide the development and ensure the developers that they will have a final buyer for their dwellings, offices, and commercial spaces. Additionally, there has recently been a succession of poor years for the housing market, which deters developers from risking getting involved in construction without any assurances. From the side of physical planning, a broader range of developers and architects involved in a project implies that there are potentially more conflicting goals and that management, steering, and mediation among developers and for the project is more complex. However, there is the advantage that the new area is likely to develop over time. This means that it will not be occupied all at once by, for example, families with small children (who might demand new investment in kindergartens and primary schools). This was clearly the intention with the development of Western Harbor, but also Norra Sorgenfri.

The disadvantage is getting the first movers to initiate their projects. Norra Sorgenfri is in a particularly disadvantaged position in this regard because not only is the area itself not as attractive for developers as is Western Harbor or Hyllie, but additionally, Malmö inhabitants associate the area with decline, prostitution, and black clubs, which implies that there will potentially be less interest in moving to the area.

However, one could also see the changes in the urban design approach of these large-scale UDPs as an attempt to facilitate coordination and oversight of the project. Smaller plots imply that not all plots will be, or need to be, developed at the same time. It is then easier for physical planning to kick-start large-scale UDPs as different developers and architects agree to begin construction and create the visual cues that will entice other developers and investors to look into the area as a potential investment site. Additionally, since the dominant theme in most of the large-scale UDPs here was to promote a feeling of “urbanity” associated with the diversity and density of the built environment, having different architects and developers working on small plots contributes to a greater coherence between the goal – an urban-like diversity in the built environment – and what is likely to be the outcome – many different architectural solutions, many different buildings finished at different points in time.

One could also question whether physical planning was becoming more “entrepreneurial” in light of the changes in its operating context. I would argue that physical planning is still primarily a manager because it has the (challenging) task of bringing together different actors, interests, funding sources, and goals to a negotiation table and brokering a deal that will kick-start the large-scale UDP within the temporary multi-stakeholder partnership that will support it. However, what was also clear in the large-scale UDPs in this dissertation (with the exception of Hyllie) was that physical planning and the municipality were also the ones taking up the initiative of inviting to come together a set of public and private actors who might be willing to participate in a large-scale UDP in a specific neighborhood. Additionally, as discussed above, physical planning also influenced the urban design approaches and the image around which to develop the large-scale UDP. Thus, one could argue that physical planning has taken on a more proactive approach to create the opportunity and the format around which a new urban development is to happen.

However, I would be cautious about arguing that as urban policy is increasingly more “entrepreneurial,” so is physical planning. What we might be seeing is that in municipalities with large planning departments and 1) with areas where a large-scale development can potentially take shape or 2) where a large-scale investment opportunity has been given to the municipality, there is more leeway for physical planning to take on a proactive role. Further studies of physical planning practices associated with large-scale UDPs in

both larger and smaller municipalities would be required to map out whether there is in fact a trend towards a physical planning practice that is more “entrepreneurial,” taking initiative, building partnerships, leading negotiations around goals and standards for large-scale UDPs, and engaging in speculative and risk-taking projects with the prospect of profits and future investments for the municipality.

The *adoption of catchwords* by physical planning could also be seen as a tool to reach consensus within the partnerships, contribute to image creation, and introduce vague notions of equity, diversity, sustainability, and quality of life that could later be used to justify and reinforce the premium value attached to the large-scale UDPs. Associated with this was the reproduction of themes and built environments, often in accordance with a broad new image intended for the city. Both could also be understood as an unintentional response of physical planning striving for coherence within the different urban development projects occurring throughout the city.

One could also mention as a physical planning practice associated with the Entrepreneurial City the *instrumental character of the large-scale UDPs*: to promote the city to outsiders (Brunnshög and Bo01), to attract new types of residents (Brunnshög, Bo01, and Hyllie), and to consolidate a new image for the city (Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie). This is associated with a change in the intended target of the large-scale UDPs. Up until the 1970s the focus of physical planning activity was on residential areas for working-class families, first to address the low quality of the existing housing stock, and later to address the shortage of housing for workers moving into the industrializing cities. Currently the provision of residential areas could be seen as a much more complex issue to address. The question now involves anticipating what the intended future residents will demand of the area, and these demands are difficult to predict beforehand and tend to be quite diverse.

Project-based approaches and a *piecemeal approach* to the urban development in the municipality could be understood as strategies by physical planning to adjust to the reduction of public funding to support the execution of projects. Taking a project-based approach helps physical planning to look for other funding sources that will help in the execution of the project, for example, within the framework of a housing exhibition, as in the case of Bo01, or by lobbying the state for funding that will support the creation of a light rail connection that adds to the value of the new neighborhood, as in the case of Lundaälänken and Brunnshög. Additionally, a project-based approach ensures greater flexibility in the adaptation of strategies and goals according to the different constellations of stakeholders formed around each individual project. The task of physical planning, of steering, managing, and coordinating, is in this way facilitated.

It also, of course, generates difficulties. One often mentioned in the literature was the difficulty in ensuring a comprehensive view for the development of the city as a whole. This was not seen as a problem for any of the planners interviewed for this dissertation. The case might be that the comprehensive plans have recently been updated. The process was still recent enough that the large-scale UDPs already taking place or being planned for were more easily connected with the broader goals for the entire municipality as defined in the comprehensive plans. Another interpretation is that the comprehensive view of how the city is to develop, as discussed in the comprehensive plan, is essentially a political document and a chart of intentions. When discussions about the design of an urban development area include private stakeholders at an early stage, they are likely to feel less inclined to discuss the links between a *planprogram* and the comprehensive plan, and more likely to instead want to discuss what, in practice, will become of the new urban development. The planners just need to, internally and within the hierarchy of the planning framework, make sure that there is enough connection between the large-scale UDPs and the visions for the urban development of the municipality as politically agreed upon in the comprehensive plan.

3. Challenges/Dilemmas

Finally, the third question running through this dissertation concerned the challenges and dilemmas that physical planning was faced with in light of working within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. It is essential to bring forth and above all be aware of what a current response might entail in the future. The third question in this dissertation was then:

Which potential dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

When considering the potential challenges and dilemmas derived from working with catchwords such as sustainability, creativity, and innovation, one could argue that these can promote the *emergence of best practices* in the development of built environments oriented towards these types of characteristics. These might come in the form of ideas of how to promote soil decontamination in a previously industrial area, how to create green spaces in densely built areas, or set-ups to favor carpooling and open stormwater systems. However, there is also a tendency for the *homogenization of the built environments* arising from the quest to promote a built image associated with these globally reproduced terms (Gospodini, 2006; Ben-Joseph, 2009). The urban design approaches followed in large-scale UDPs do seem to share characteristics (Gospodini, 2006) and to be reproduced in highly publicized projects, but also in the less publicized ones (as in the case of Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri).

There are also some challenges for *equity promotion and social goals* that are associated with working within a governance setting that brings together many different stakeholders with potentially conflicting goals at the negotiation table. The risk encountered in large-scale UDPs in an Entrepreneurial City approach is that these goals might be more clearly defined, and more dominant, with respect to profitability criteria and to meet the demands of the market. Concerns over equitable distribution of benefits of the development, access to the areas created, or how the area will respond to the needs of the local populations tend to be subordinate. This is not always openly formulated, and the use of terms such as intercity competition, urban attractiveness, or creative environments helps mask the true intended winners and concerns. In the case of Bo01, the lack of affordable housing was easily justified by the highly technological requirements and demands put forward by the exhibition theme, and by the “need” for the municipality to “be attractive to other lifestyles and other families” by creating “new, attractive housing areas” (interview Larsson). There is nothing wrong with that aim in itself, but one can also ask why not have the theme of “the inclusive city”? “The city of integration” could have been an alternative motto, or even “building the city of equity.” Given the history of Malmö as a working-class city, with strong labor union movements and a social-democratic government, none of the above would have been bizarre. What is bizarre is to build for something and someone who is not there and might never be. Therein rests the speculative character of many of these large-scale UDPs. And for planning practitioners, the question remains: whom are you planning for?

Physical planning in Sweden has traditionally been responsible for welfare delivery in the form of access to basic infrastructure and services and management of land-use. The orientation of physical planning towards enabling access to welfare-related infrastructure and services for all is now in question. The municipality and its leaders opt for local economic growth first, and physical planning is supposed to strategically cooperate with other actors in support of this goal. However, even though the discourse is drawn on expectations for local economic growth to sustain welfare delivery, in practice the projects endowed by the municipality are not meant for all. There is a clear *target in the uses and users of the spaces of and for local economic growth*, prioritizing activities within knowledge-intensive industries and sectors and the people who are either actively involved in these sectors or who can potentially be – a strategy to maximize municipal tax income, which in Sweden represents an important source of municipal income. This is not

wrong in itself, as policies often target specific groups, interests, or concerns. The problem is that the target group tends to include socioeconomic groups that *à priori* already have greater ability to choose where to live; they can afford to choose. The “public” of these strategies of growth is much more limited than the “public” of welfare promotion projects. For physical planning, this change of priorities seems to encourage processes of gentrification, displacement, and socioeconomic polarization within the city.

There are, in my perspective, three aspects that in part explain why it is difficult (or challenging) for physical planning practice to side with the interests of disadvantaged socioeconomic groups, especially in the Entrepreneurial City approach, and take on a traditional role of promoting access to welfare services and amenities to all. First, the welfare tradition itself is changing in Sweden. Traditionally, welfare delivery could be said to rely on the role of the state as a paternalistic promoter of equality. The egalitarian quality is linked with the promotion of access to education, health care, and other social services, where the argument is that all should have access to fundamental services, independently of their individual socioeconomic status, and that society as a whole would benefit from having well-educated and healthier citizens. The paternalistic quality is more visible in the welfare insurance in case of unemployment, disease, or old age. The argument is that some individuals, because of irresponsibility or poverty, are not able to afford private insurance to safeguard them against any of these situations (Glyn, 2006). It is then up to the state to protect them through the active support of local governments that implement what the state has defined as goals and standards for welfare provision. As an active part of local government, physical planning became associated with these two qualities – egalitarian and paternalistic. But if the welfare system is changing, with the inclusion of other public actors and private actors in the delivery of welfare services, and with higher demands put on quality and quantity of welfare services provided, then one should expect that the roles of the welfare state and the individual would also be put into question. Additionally, what is the role of the state (or the municipality) in deciding how the individual will live?

Secondly, and as was said earlier, physical planning is not an observer of urban policies, nor is it in a position to choose which policies it wants to participate in or not. Physical planning is a part of urban policy, and if urban policy targets some groups over others, then physical planning is bound to, willingly or not, participate also. There is a learning effect diverging from working in public and private partnerships, and in the large scale UDPs aligned with an Entrepreneurial City approach, this inevitably catches up with physical planning.

Third, several studies have shown mixed results (and a lot of unsubstantiated assumptions) regarding the relationship between the built environment and individual opportunities (Cheshire, 2006; Chaskin, 2013). The claim is that promoting mixed-income neighborhoods, or removing lower-middle-classes from their public housing complexes and resettling them in safer, healthier, cleaner areas, will have effects on their abilities to connect to better paid jobs, increase their sources of income, or do better in schools. Local efforts are important in sending signals to the population that something is being done, but often the problems of social exclusion and poverty run deeper than just the neighborhood one lives in, demanding a policy intervention that falls way outside the competences (and role) of physical planning.

On the other hand, one could argue that there is a need for a reconceptualization of the relationship between citizens and the private and public sectors and the services that are being provided. In the cases at hand, it would be a reconceptualization of the relationship between housing provisions, demands of the inhabitants, and the private and public sectors that are providing the new dwellings. That private, profit-motivated actors engage in speculative and risk-taking projects, and build only for those that can afford a premium, is not surprising, nor should it be reproachable. However, when there is a need for more affordable housing and for rental housing, as is the case in Malmö, it is questionable how long the public sector should not intervene when the private sector is unwilling (or unable) to meet demand. Physical

planning has adapted to work within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy and respond to the challenges and influences of public–private partnerships and market concerns. Can we also expect that it will learn how to lobby for and create the arenas where the needs and interests of those excluded or ignored by Entrepreneurial City approaches might also be brought to light and considered?

4. Contributions

This dissertation makes two distinct contributions: the first to the literature on Entrepreneurial City approaches; the second to Swedish physical planning practice, by reflecting on and discussing what is changing in the urban policy context within which it operates.

The literature review revealed many studies focusing on the implications of a turn towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance for urban policy making and the public sector. However, less attention has been dedicated to the specific field of physical planning. This is an unexplored avenue but one that deserves further attention because, as I have shown, there is a strong emphasis of Entrepreneurial City approaches on interventions over the built environment of a city or neighborhood, and on the creation of a physical landscape that will serve to promote a new image for the city. This requires greater attention to what is being done by public sector urban planning, as the field that formally takes charge of urban planning in the city. Moreover, the few studies focusing on this issue tend to approach the Entrepreneurial City approach by emphasizing that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for public sector urban planning.

Additionally, in scholarly literature, what characterizes the Entrepreneurial City approach and the supposed “turn” towards this approach have been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon context in which it was first discussed. But as previous studies have argued, the extent to which this turn has been replicated in other contexts is debatable. This dissertation thus contributes to the literature on Entrepreneurial City approaches by discussing how it is contextualized in Sweden and for physical planning practices.

The cases in this dissertation showed that in Sweden, the roles of physical planning and of the local municipality remain central in urban development projects marked by the adoption of an Entrepreneurial City approach. Physical planning and the municipality serve as the backbone to the project, coordinating between different interests, brokering deals, contributing to the emergence of a common vision for the project, and adding legitimacy to the project. The cases also offer a more nuanced perspective on the supposed “turn” towards an Entrepreneurial City approach. The context for physical planning practice in Sweden is marked by situations where fragmentation and decentralization are encountered, which align well with the characterization of the “turn” towards Entrepreneurial City approaches. However, these are tempered by situations inherited from planning context of the 1950s to the 1970s. This observation does not imply that the supposed “turn” is not happening but instead enforces the notion that this is a developing process.

The literature on Entrepreneurial City approaches is also dominated by studies of large-scale urban development projects and highly promoted projects, often flagship projects. This is understandable because of the greater clarity of observations that can be made in these projects, which involve more funding sources, potentially more stakeholders, and generate potentially greater impacts on the urban and socioeconomic fabric of the city. Less discussed are less- publicized projects and smaller scale projects. However, if an Entrepreneurial City approach is arguably happening in urban policy, then one can expect to also observe it in less- publicized and smaller-scale projects. This dissertation showed that less-publicized projects endorse the values and goals of entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy, in the

mainstreaming of built environments that support a specific image for the city. These less-promoted projects can be understood as tools for the consolidation of the new image for the city. I also pointed to the similarities between flagship projects' approaches to urban design and the intended users and uses for the renovated area, and the approaches and targets of less-publicized projects.

The literature review also focused on existing studies that point to the potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice within a context marked by the Entrepreneurial City approach. However, existing studies tend to focus on questions of governance arenas, urban design influence and implications, and less on the specific users and uses of these Entrepreneurial City projects. Another set of studies explains why there is a focus on specific uses and users in urban strategies that are meant to encourage investment in the city. However, these do not focus on what implications this has for physical planning practice. This dissertation brought together these two sets of literature and pointed to the challenge for physical planning practice of balancing between restrictions (economic) and ambitions (social and design quality) in large-scale UDPs in the Entrepreneurial City. I argued that even if, rhetorically, the ambitions for the project are based on social inclusion and equity level, in practice the projects tend to promote some socioeconomic groups and lifestyles over others. This generated issues of equity of access to the city that is taking shape in these large-scale UDPs. Ultimately it questions what role physical planning practice has in safeguarding the interests of more disadvantaged socioeconomic groups and in addressing the present needs of a city.

Finally, it was argued here that large-scale UDPs within an Entrepreneurial City approach often adopt place-making and image-creation strategies that assume that places can be intentionally steered, changed, and shaped following the aims and objectives of leading politicians or urban elites. However, there is a rich and varied literature that discusses place as the result of both purposive and spontaneous events. In this dissertation I discussed the involvement of physical planning in the creation and consolidation of a new image for the city, through strategies and projects that profile a new image of the city for idealized inhabitants, and municipal expectations of future investment and residents. I concluded that physical planning practices within an Entrepreneurial City approach would benefit from reflecting on how to include history and engage with the socioeconomic groups that inhabit the city, in their quest to profile the city for new groups, activities, and a new image of and for the future of the city. I also proposed that physical planning practices could benefit from deeper discussions on how to plan for heterogeneity and diversity.

5. Future research agenda

This dissertation puts forward the notion that physical planning is not entrepreneurial but instead works within a context that is marked by an Entrepreneurial City approach. This does not mean that physical planning has to be but a passive bystander in this context. As illustrated by the cases, physical planning practices were marked by experimentation, adaptation, and learning about how to operate in this changing urban policy context. A future avenue for research could be to analyze the opportunities for creativity within physical planning practice associated with, for example, the use of vague concepts such as "sustainability," "green technologies," or "innovation" within an Entrepreneurial City approach. How much do these terms leave room for new values in planning to emerge? How much do these concepts create an arena for physical planning to push forward "social" and "green" agendas?

Another aspect that deserves further attention is that most of the Entrepreneurial City literature focuses on growing cities, large cities, and mainly large-scale urban development projects. Future research should also focus on how the Entrepreneurial City approach translates, or spills down, into urban development

projects that are small-scale. If and when similar patterns of governance settings, urban design approaches, themes or image promoted, and focus groups and activities can be found in small-scale projects, then one can discuss the entrepreneurial approach as a fully developed urban policy approach instead of a developing process or a trend.

Another avenue would be to explore to notion of diversity, and how to promote it, in the field of physical planning. Diversity has positive connotations, as highlighted in the cases explored here. It is used as a quality and a characteristic to promote within the built environment in order to boost its appeal. It is also used to characterize a city as being more open to, tolerant of, or inviting to new inhabitants and companies. It can also be linked with strategies to promote social cohesion and integration in the city. It is certainly a concept that has actively entered the practices of physical planning. But many questions remain: 1) How much does diversity interact with the concept of difference? 2) What are the arenas within physical planning and urban governance where “diversity” can be promoted? 3) What does it mean, in physical planning practices and discourses, to have a diverse built environment and a diverse neighborhood? 4) How can the concept of “diversity” stimulate new planning approaches to positively engage with the high heterogeneity of our cities in ethnic, socioeconomic, cultural, and lifestyle terms?

Finally, an issue that was raised in this dissertation was the notion of the city as a complex entity with a multitude of associations and images confronting and colliding with each other versus the simplified/coherent image promoted by municipal discourses. What is lost in the translation and simplification of the image of the city for municipal marketing and place-making exercises? A future research avenue could be to explore how the institutionalized image is understood, supported, criticized, or adopted by physical planners.

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Appendices

1. Introduction to Malmö and the projects
2. Example of preparatory work ahead of the interviews
3. Interview templates and examples
4. Overview of papers, research gap and contributions

1. Presentation of Malmö, Lund and the projects

Introducing Malmö

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, with 307.758 inhabitants in 2013. It is located across the Öresund strait and Copenhagen, in southern Sweden (figure 1). Malmö is part of the Öresund region, a transnational region that includes Skåne, in Sweden, and the Danish regions of Zealand, Møn, Lolland-Falster and Bornholm. The two sides are connected by the Öresund Bridge, a fixed link inaugurated in 2000. About 20 000 commuters cross the bridge every day to go to work in the neighbouring side. 96% of the Öresund commuters live in Sweden and work in Denmark. Malmö has a privileged position in this trend, because from the city's central station to the central station in Copenhagen it is only a 45 minutes train ride (Öresunds statistik och analyser).

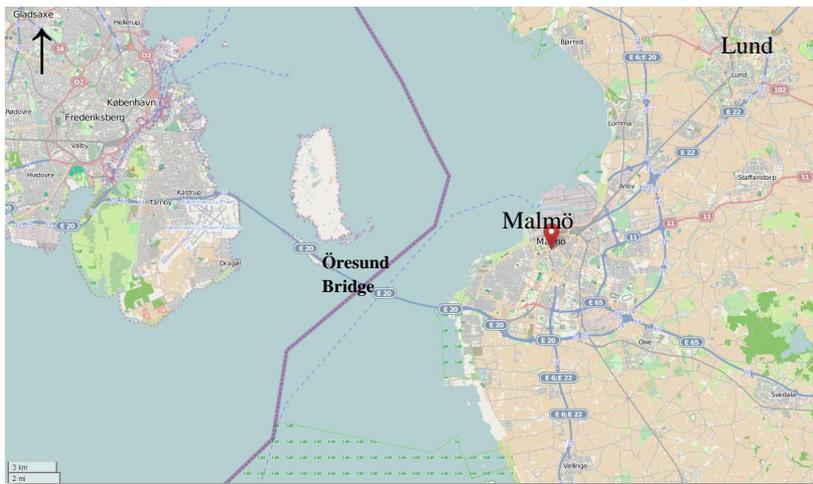


Figure 1 Location of Malmö in relation to Lund and Copenhagen. Source: Open street map

Malmö also holds an important role as an in-commuting municipality in Skåne. About 62 000 people commute to Malmö for work, on a daily basis (Malmö Business a). Malmö has a workforce of about 154000, mainly employed in small and medium sized companies. The largest sectors of employment are in corporate services, trade, health and services and education (Malmö Business b). The biggest employers are in the public sector, namely the municipality (*Malmö Stad*), the county administration (*Skåne läns landsting*), the police (*Rikspolisstyrelsen*), and the university college (*Malmö Högskola*). In the private sector, the largest employer is the construction company Skanska Sverige AB (Malmö Stad, 2012).

Malmö has a relatively young population, compared with the county and national averages (figure 2). Malmö also has a very large percentage of foreign born population. Foreign born residents represent 41% of the total population in Malmö, as opposed to 20,1% for Sweden (SCB).

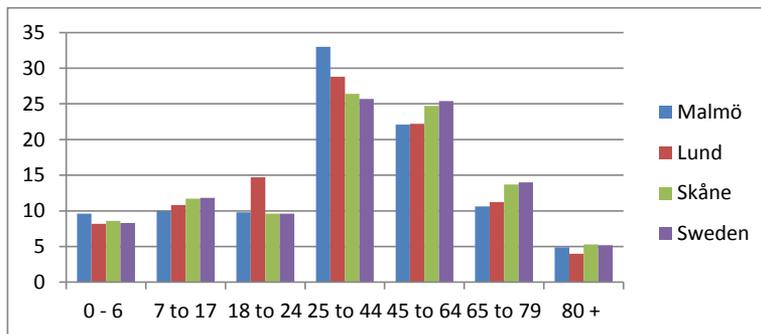


Figure 2 Age distribution, in percentage, in 2012. Source: SCB

From the industrial city to the knowledge-city

Malmö is first mentioned as a city in 1275. It was founded as a fortified quay to the archbishop of Lund. The city was initially important due to its quay, as a marketplace and for herring fishing (figure 3 – location of the old city by the sea, before the construction of the North and Western harbours).



Figure 3 Malmö in 1812 – Rekognosceringskarta. @ Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor 2013

By the turn of the 19th century, Malmö and Norrköping were Sweden's leaders in manufacturing production. A food processing industry, metal and engineering industries and the city's train system developed parallel to the presence of textile and clothing industries (Sernhede and Johansson, 2006). Industries in Malmö were also heavily dependent on the exploitation of natural resources, especially chalk and limestone. It was the deposits surrounding the city that allowed the development of a company central to the city's economic and physical expansion during the 20th century: AB Skånska Cementgjuriet (Vall, 2007). Engineering and cement industries were key to the development of another key player: Kockums. Orders for new equipment for the cement industries gave Kockums the base upon which to expand into shipbuilding and heavy engineering. By 1959 Kockums was one of the largest shipyards in the world.

Between 1950 and 1970 the city was booming with close to full employment, made possible by the demands of expanding engineering, building and manufacturing industries. Malmö's industries relied on availability of a large labour pool. In the case of Kockums, for example, labour was highly skilled but

unqualified in terms of formal education (Vall, 2007). This contributed to attract to the city first people moving from its hinterland, and later migrant workers from other countries.

The Swedish labour movement has its roots in Skåne and in Malmö. The leading political party- social-democrats, the constructing sector, the bankers, and the business world, worked and invested in the city's development with similar perspectives (Sernhede and Johansson, 2006). The city expanded and enjoyed a good economic moment (figure 4).



Figure 4 Malmö in 1974 @ Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor 2013

The oil crises and slower economic growth that characterized the 1970's left a strong print in Malmö. The city had its expansion and economic structure linked with heavy industries, characterized by mass production, a need for mainly low-qualified labour and low technologic needs and input. This profile was ill adjusted to face the economic crisis that characterized the decade. The Kockum shipyard was severely hit and, despite the national effort to overcome the situation and save Kockum, the production ceased in 1986. The city felt into a slow decline until the mid-1990s. Between 1990 and 1994, almost 25% of the job opportunities disappeared and 16% of the labour force was unemployed by 1993, while the country average was 9%.

Parallel, the number of labour immigrants and refugees increased during the 1990's. International conflicts such as the ones experienced in former Yugoslavia, increased the flow of newcomers arriving in to Malmö. During this decade, the number of immigrants residing in Malmö increased by 90% (Vall, 2007). This group was particularly affected by the low conjuncture and unemployment.

The 1990's bring many changes to the prospects of this declining industrial city. The Swedish state and municipalities agree that municipalities that face problems with changing social and economic structures should receive an economic compensation. Malmö, with high unemployment figures and a growing foreign population demanding for stronger integration fits the profile.

Also, in 1995 the construction of the bridge over the Öresund finally began. Its conclusion signals a turning point to Malmö. With the fixed link to Denmark, Copenhagen and to the rest of Europe, the role of Malmö as a transit corridor for Sweden is renewed, maybe a revitalization of the role it had until the mid XIX century, when the port area was a heart to the city and the region (figure 5).

Other potentials lie in the recent integration of Sweden in to the European Union, in 1992, which implies



Figure 5 The Öresund Bridge, view from Malmö

that strategically Malmö becomes part of the transit corridor of Sweden to its neighbouring EU partners and markets, namely Denmark. The development of the cross-border Öresund region places Malmö at the center of a competitive and growing EU region, instead of being a peripheral and declining Swedish city (OECD, 2003). The potential provided by the increased accessibility and business prospects offered by the Öresund Bridge and the Öresund region, is complemented by a vision to change the city from an industrial profile to a knowledge-intensive profile. Malmö also takes its queues from recent developments in Copenhagen, where the city's urban policy focuses on attracting companies, investments and inhabitants within knowledge-intensive and creative sectors, and urban development projects that will connect back to knowledge and creativity, such as the Örestad project (Majoor, 2008; Hansen et. al., 2001).

Malmö is also developing as a logistic centre for trains, ships and trucks, and has other industries appearing and taking a lead in the city: research in medical and life sciences is being promoted in a partnership between the UMAS⁹ hospital, Malmö's university college and Medeon¹⁰. Also within Media and Communication there are new companies emerging, especially in and around the Western Harbour area. Malmö's university college, which was inaugurated in 1998, has a strong profile in Media and Communication. The closeness to Copenhagen and to Kastrup international airport, associated with the availability of highly qualified labour supplied by the universities in Lund, Malmö and Copenhagen has also supported the migration of companies' headquarters to the city. The emergence and development of new companies in new industrial fields is accompanied by the decline of the manufacturing industry (SCB).

Further complementing the new image that is emerging we find the construction of the City Tunnel. The construction started in 2005 and included three stations within Malmö city, expanding the commuting possibilities. It allowed for the reduction in the travelling time between Malmö and Copenhagen and for a requalification of the urban development areas around the stations (Malmö C, Triangle and Hyllie). The City Tunnel is expected to be complemented by a train connection (*Malmöringen*) running via the existing *Kontinentalbanan*, to increase the access of the eastern parts of the city to the city center and to commuting areas. Also under way are plans to create two street tram connections for the city, but the construction is expected to start only in 2018 (Malmö Stad, 2013).

The change towards the Knowledge-intensive profile is visible in the architecture, with successive projects across the city meant to capture and solidify the desired new image – a sustainable city in a knowledge-

⁹ UMAS is the university, emergency and county hospital.

¹⁰ Medeon is a Science Park for knowledge-intensive companies in the fields of health and life sciences.

economy age. These projects include the redevelopment of the Western Harbour area, of Norra Sorgenfri and of Hyllie, which were analysed in this dissertation (figure 6).



Figure 6 Location of the projects in Malmö @ Open street map

The Bo01 project and the Western Harbour

The Western Harbour is a peninsula located north of the city centre of Malmö. In the words of Mikael Stigendal: “The Western Harbour area exposes the scale, scoop and depth of transformations more than any other place in the city.” (2004: 3)



Figure 7 Office buildings in Western Harbour, 2013

The peninsula once housed the shipyards Kockum, and was built, by landfill, as the shipyards grew in importance. Nowadays it is being developed as a mixed-use neighbourhood. It hosts several companies in advanced services, media and design (figure 7). Also the university-college – *Malmö Högskola* - is mainly located in the Western Harbour.

The area is occupied by students and workers during the week-days, thanks to the presence of Malmö Högskola and the many companies located in the neighbourhood. During the weekends the most popular public spaces are located in the Bo01 area, by the seaside.

The built environment developing in the Western Harbour endorses images of sustainable or green architecture, innovation and internationalization. From the perspective of the municipality, “the vision for the Western Harbour is to create a national example of sustainable urban development and complete

urban quarter comprising work and study facilities, services and housing – an urban area which stimulates the transition into the knowledge city” (Malmö Stad, 2008).

The redevelopment of the area was quick-started by the international housing exhibition that was held in Malmö in 2001. This exhibition – Bo01: *bo noll ett* – was held under the motto of “City of Tomorrow”, and the intention was to showcase techniques and solutions for sustainable urbanism. In a magazine note about the opening of the exhibition, one could read: “Sweden's first international housing exhibition, Bo01, will open on 17 May 2001 in Malmö. The City of Tomorrow in the ecologically sustainable



Figure 8 The built environment at Bo01

information and welfare society will be demonstrated and discussed until 16 September. The aim is to create a debate centered around how we live today and how we will live in the future. Bo01 will show provocatively imaginative visions of future living, where high demands on aesthetics, ecology and high technology are combined with placing man in the centre” (Scandinavian Design). The exhibition had two stages: a permanent area, where 500 new dwellings, and commercial and social spaces were created, where already existing technologies and approaches to sustainable urbanism were implemented; and a temporary exhibition area, where visions and concepts that are still not implementable could be discussed and showcased.

The plans for the transformation of the area work more with the natural and geographical elements of the site than with pre-existing structures in the peninsula. The sea was used as a central element to the public areas, complimented by the sight of the recently inaugurated Öresund bridge, that illustrated the link to the continent, the connection between Malmö and Copenhagen, and the integration of the wider Öresund region. Along the sea a promenade area was design, aligned by new buildings in a completely new architectural style, contemporary and reference-free. There are no elements that can be clearly linked to a period in history or a specific event. The new area is cross-cultural, cross-time, cross-spatial. It invites all and refers to none in particular, in a mixture of styles, sizes, and influences (figure 8).

In 2005 a new iconic building – the Turning Torso – was inaugurated in the neighbourhood of Bo01. With 190 meters and 54 floors, the Turning Torso is visible from neighbouring Lund and Copenhagen

and dominates the skyline of the city. The building has been used by the municipality as a symbol of the new image of Malmö (figure 9). It came to replace the crane of the old shipyard, sold and shipped to South Korea – a visual expression that the city was leaving its industrial days behind and adopting a new image. The project was conceived by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava. Initially the goal was to have 147 owner-occupied (*bostadsrätt*) apartments. However the high cost of the apartments coupled with the little interest of potential buyers dictated that most of the apartments are now for rental.



Figure 9 Inside the Bo01 area, with Calatrava’s Turning Torso in the background

Although the Western Harbour attracts visitors from all over Malmö, looking to the residential profile of the residents reveals that it is mainly the higher-income groups that can afford to reside here (figure 10). Nevertheless, the whole district of Western Harbour, and the neighbourhood of Bo01, are considered to have been successful projects from the municipality perspective, because they achieved three important objectives: they are national examples for sustainable urbanism, they contribute to the image of Malmö as a knowledge-city, and they provide meeting places for people all over Malmö (*Planering i Malmö*, 2012:1)

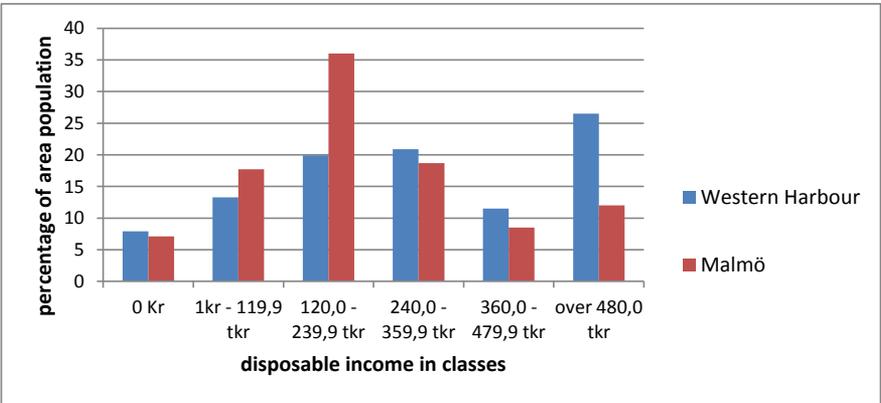


Figure 10 Disposable incomes in the Western Harbour and in Malmö (Malmö Stad 2012b)

Norra Sorgenfri

Norra Sorgenfri is Malmö's oldest industrial area. When the industrial area started to be developed, in the late 1800's, this area was located in the outskirts of the city of Malmö. Nowadays, with the expansion of the city, it is classified as a central area with the potential to serve as a corridor and connect the centre and the eastern parts of the city (Malmö Stad, 2008b).

The area has no residential buildings, but there are several residential neighbourhoods bordering Norra Sorgenfri, namely Västra and Östra Sorgenfri, Katrinelund and Rosengård. There are almost 1200 workplaces located in the area (figure 11).

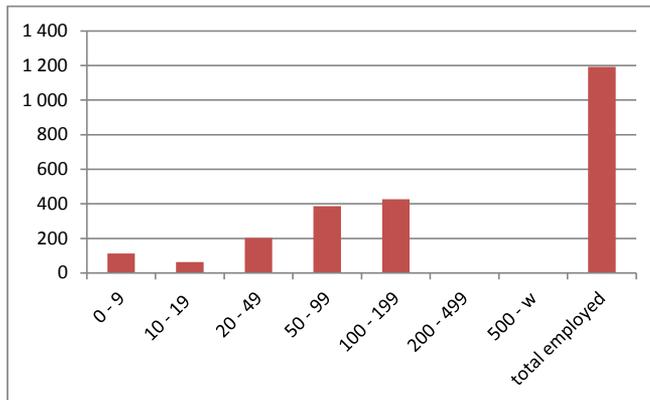


Figure 11 Workplaces, according to size of the company, in Norra Sorgenfri, in 2011

Originally, Norra Sorgenfri was occupied by the gasworks and used for tram depots. During the XX century the two most important industries in terms of employment and turnover were Addo (calculator manufacturer) and Tripasin (sausage skin fabric). Today there are still some industries located in the area, but manufacturing is no longer the most important activity. Many plots are abandoned and underused (figures 12 – 14). There is some product development in the pharmaceutical industry (Q-Pharma), several corporate offices (i.e. E-ON, Migration Board), auto-repair shops, artist's studios, clubs and small shops (Malmö Stad, no date).



Figure 12 The old bus depot, in Norra Sorgenfri, in 2010



Figure 13 Perspective along Industrigatan, 2010



Figure 14 Building for rent, 2010

Norra Sorgenfri's history as an industrial area is marked by three aspects that contribute to its charm and charisma for an urban design intervention in the present to occur:

- the opening of the Kontinentalbanan, a train connection that provided a key access to the industries in the area, and the streets of Nöbelvägen and Industrigatan; these three elements make up the characteristic neighbourhood morphology of the area- a basic grid plan, very distinct from the rest of Malmö (figure 15);
- most of the land was owned by the municipality, which allowed the establishment of several publicly owned companies and the design of larger plots, rather than the building of denser neighbourhoods, as it was the case in the city centre.

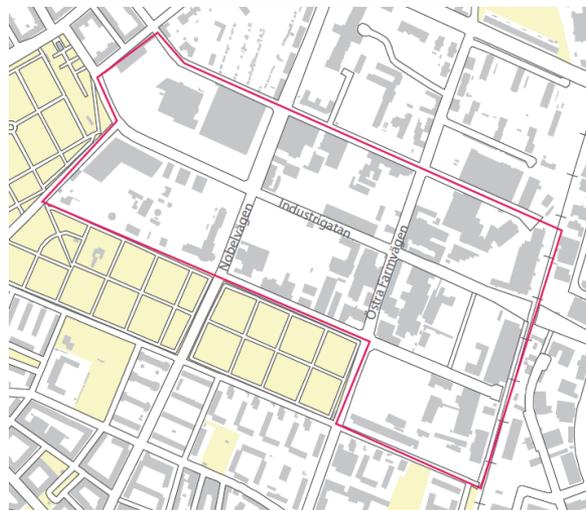


Figure 15 Street gridline in Norra Sorgenfri. Source: Malmö Stad, 2008b

The area was occupied by several different types of industries and spanning a wide period of industrial production, but it was never an important residential or service/ commercial area. As such, the building and infrastructure existing in the area are characteristic of a specific use and history. They transmit the image of the industrial city that Malmö was (figure 16 and 17).



Figure 16 Old industrial buildings in Zenithgatan, 2010



Figure 17 Old industrial buildings in Industrigatan, 2010

A *planprogram* was adopted in 2008 by the municipality to guide the spatial development of the neighbourhood. The transformation of the neighbourhood into an extension of the centre, or a new and amalgamated part of the inner city, is expected to connect the center of Malmö and its eastern parts. It is a long term project that through the interventions on the physical structure of the neighbourhood and the inclusion of new streets, public spaces and buildings, hopes to attract also new investors to the area, residents, companies and visitors (Malmö Stad, 2008b).

Some of the interventions over the built environment, proposed by the municipality to increase the attractiveness of the area are: public activities and attractions at the street level; small plots, public ground floors; mix of functions in every property; integrated street grid; broad planning process; *many* builders, architects, property owners, forms of living, target groups and activities (diversity); integration and complementarity between public spaces (Malmö Stad, 2008b).

The transformation of the physical urban environment is seen as a catalyser for achieving these objectives of integration, through the promotion of Industrigatan as a new transit point and by dividing the lots in smaller plots and insisting that the ground level be kept for small shops, cultural activities and other initiatives that will bring life and visitors into this part of the city. Since most of the plots are currently owned by private owners, the municipality is free to act mostly at the level of the public street.

Hyllie

Hyllie is located in the southwest of Malmö. The plans to extend the city of Malmö towards Hyllie have existed since the 1960s but it was the City Tunnel that gave the impulse for the project to begin (figure 18). The new train station at Hyllie became the centre of this new neighbourhood. Accessibility is one the selling points to Hyllie. To Malmö city centre it is a 5 minutes train ride, 15 minutes to Kastrup – Copenhagen's airport – and 30 minutes to the centre of Copenhagen.



Figure 18 Hyllie project. Source: Hyllie centrum @ flickr Nov. 2013

The municipality emphasizes the regional role of the Hyllie project. The goals are for Hyllie to become a meeting place in the Öresund region, a communication centre, an attractive business environment, to offer high quality residential areas, and to be a centre for events and trade (Malmö Stad, 2010). These goals are visible in the urban design of the area. In the proximity of the station we encounter large scale



Figure 19 Emporia shopping centre, 2013

projects such as the shopping centre Emporia (figure 19), Malmö arena (figure 20), the exhibition centre (Malmö Mässan), Point Hyllie (which includes offices, commercial areas and residences, figure 21) and the plans for a hotel. The residential areas are still being built, but the intended goals are for these areas to be marked by small scale, with an attention to sustainable urban growth.



Figure 20 Malmö Arena, 2013



Figure 21 P

Currently the area is developing mainly as a commercial and offices area, with nearly 800 work places in Hyllie (figure 22), and in 2013 only 67 were already living in Hyllie. When the project is finally completed, Hyllie is expected to have 8000 residents and 8000 workplaces (Malmö Stad 2010).

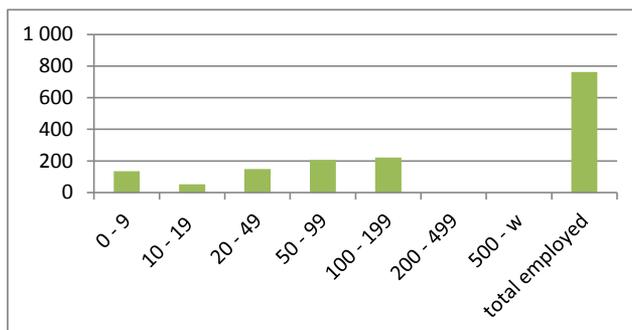


Figure 22 Workplaces, according to size of the company, in Hyllie, in 2011. Malmö Stad

Introducing Lund

Lund is also located in the region of Skåne and it is a neighbouring municipality to Malmö (figure 1). The city had 112 950 inhabitants in 2012. The city has a very young population, due to the presence of one of the largest universities in Sweden. In 2012, 14,7% of the city's inhabitants were between 18-24 years old, as opposed to 9,6% for the country average (figure 2). The presence of the university is also felt on the percentage of highly educated people residing in the municipality – in 2012, 67% of Lund's population between the ages of 25 and 64 have a university education. The total for Sweden is 38% (Lund Stad, 2012). The foreign-born inhabitants represented 17,9% of the total residents, in 2012 (SCB).

The largest employers are the county administration (*Skåne Läns Landsting*), the municipality, Lund university, Sony Ericsson Mobile Communications AB, Tetra Pack; ST- Ericsson; Alfa Laval, Astrazeneca, and Gambro Lundia (Lund Stad, 2012).

Lund's recent history shares little resemblance with Malmö's. The city was founded by the Danish king Svend Tveskæg, around 990. The city was established to secure the king's presence in Skåne. The Christian Church also used the city as a power centre, during the expansion of its missionary work. The character of the city as destined for a power centre is also revealed by its location, in the crossroad of existing road connections to the surrounding countryside.

The city experienced its golden days during the Middle Ages. From an urban form perspective, it retains till nowadays the character of a medieval city, with the winding streets, the monastery and the cathedral paying testimony to this period. Medieval Lund prospered thanks to craftsmanship, trade and mint production. In 1103 the city was made the archbishopric for all of Scandinavia. The strong presence of the ecclesiastical power guaranteed another source of influence for the city over its surroundings. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, Lund lost to Malmö its role as an economic centre for Skåne. The Reformation also brought an end to the importance of the Church. The Danish king broke with the pope in Rome and establishes a Danish Lutheran church, abolishing the archbishopric and transferring all the church estates to the Crown.

Lund, Malmö and the whole of Skåne became part of Sweden in 1658, after a succession of wars. The Swedish king was keen on strengthening the Swedish presence in the newly integrated territories and

ordered the establishment of a university in Lund, as part of this effort. Inaugurated in 1668, the university had the explicit aim of strengthening the common identity among young people from the region and from the rest of Sweden, by means of a same education and close and friendly ties. In 1768 the first county hospital was established in Lund, which would later become an important regional and national University Hospital.

In 1856 the railroad between Malmö and Lund opens. The industrialization process that was emerging in Malmö spread into neighbouring Lund, rekindling some economic growth. The city's industrialisation is currently marked by the presence of high-tech industries such as Sony Ericsson, Alfa Laval, Gambro, Tetra Pak, Astra Zeneca and Ericsson Mobile Platforms. But the city center still keeps a medieval character (figure 23).



Figure 23 City center, Lund, 2012

Contrary to the transformation processes that characterized Malmö's recent development, Lund is a city that has kept a "city of ideas" profile, building its influence over the surrounding region on the University, the university-hospital and the industries and research facilities that are settling in the area, attracted by the presence of the university and its poll of highly educated people.

Lund was recently chosen to also host two large scale new research facilities: the MAX IV laboratory is a national research lab financed by the Swedish Innovation Agency (Vinnova), Region Skåne, Lund University, and the Swedish Research Council. The second project is the European Spallation Source (ESS), a pan-European project. Both are to be located in a new urban development corridor that is emerging towards the north-east of the city. Large investments are being made to create a new built environment that will support the new research facilities and consolidate the image of Lund as a city of ideas.

Among these investments in a new tram connection – *lundalinken* – to be built along a corridor that has been denominated as "Road of Science" (*kunskapsstråket*) by the municipality. Along this corridor one encounters the largest part of the university facilities, the university hospital, research centers and business hubs – Ideon and Medicon Valley. The new urban development area – Lund NE/ Brunnsög – is set at the end of this "Road of Science" and will include the future ESS and MAX IV research facilities, together with a new mixed-use district that will cater for and house the researchers and visitors to ESS and MAX IV. This new area is expected to have, when concluded, 50 000 people living and working there.

Lund NE/ Brunnsög

The municipality has set three ambitious goals for the new urban development area. Lund NE/ Brunnsög is supposed to become: a world's leading research area; a European model for sustainable urban development; a regional destination for science, culture, and recreation (Lund Stad, 2012). The

ambitions are thus similar to those of Malmö: sustainability, regional role, and knowledge-intensive activities.

The Brunnsjön area was already targeted as a development area in the comprehensive plan of 1991. In 2006 it was proposed that the area should develop as a mixed-use neighbourhood, with offices, businesses, retail, services, residential areas (Lund Stad, 2012b). Since then, the decision to locate MAX IV and ESS in the area has meant that the development plan has been focusing on how to best make use of the proximity of these research-intensive facilities to give a profile to Brunnsjön and attract investments.

Brunnsjön is bordered by the neighborhood that hosts Ericsson, by the highway E22 and to where the labs MAXIV and ESS will be built in the near future. To the east there is a large park and to the south, the mainly residential neighborhood of Östra Torn. Location is a fundamental problem with the urban development in Brunnsjön, as it is physically cut off from the city by the E22, the IDEON Science Park, and Lund Tekniska Högskola (LTH). This means that the main advantage of the area now resides on the potential that investors might see from investing in close proximity to the MAX IV and the ESS facilities (figure 24).

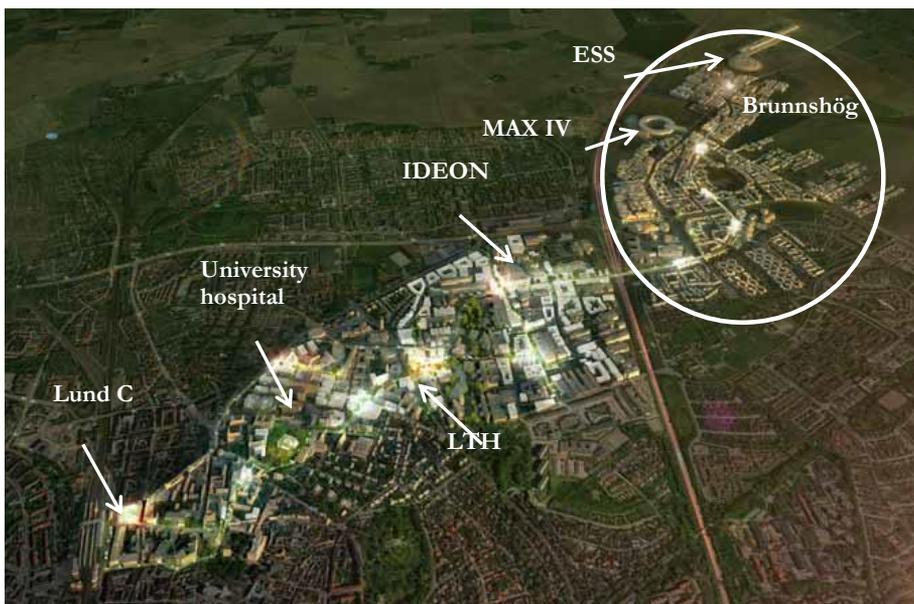


Figure 24 Road of Science and location of Brunnsjön. Illustration: Arrow. @ Lund Stad

Other projects are planned that directly support the goal of creating a lively and attractive district in Brunnsjön. The tram connection (Lundalänken) is considered as an important element for the image of urban environment that is to be created in the district (Interviews); an energy vision is being developed by Lunds energy in partnership with the municipality, ESS, MaxIV and VaSyd, to capture the heat produced by the research facilities and use it as district heating for the city, thus contributing for the sustainability emphasis of the project; Brunnsjön is placed in the continuation of the “Road of Science”, and also the university and IDEON are discussing the possibility to add more diversity of uses to the area now occupied by LTH and IDEON, adding other services, commerce and housing (figure 24). The rehabilitation of the central station area, extending the transportation of commuters and including the connection with Lundalänken, is also planned, as is the construction of a center for congresses next to the central station, to operate in a partnership with the one in Malmö (Interviews).

The built environment being planned for Lund NE is meant to combine the characteristics of the city with the needs of becoming a world destination for research and academia. This means that the new areas will draw from the design qualities of the city center: small scale, pedestrian friendly, medium densities,



Figure 25 Vision for Solbjer. Illustration: Anna Klara Lundberg @ Lund Stad

and medieval structure, and include elements that can be linked with innovation, creative environments, and urban development, for example by including the tram connection; together with an ambitious plan to have a varied offer of green spaces (Lund Stad, 2012b). One of the detailed plans for the new area is currently under discussion (Nov. 2013) and the proposal illustrates the type of qualities to be promoted in the new built environment (figure 25): small scale, pedestrian friendly, medium densities, combined with green spaces and a twenty-first century urban feeling (2012c).

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2. Example of preparatory work ahead of interviews – Norra Sorgenfri

This is an example of the analysis to the official documents and websites related to the project Norra Sorgenfri. The analysis was done before the interviews and to set the background to what would be papers 2 and 3. Some of the questions guiding the document analysis were also taken up by the interviews.

The site was visited during the preparatory work. To relate the physical environment to the social use I made observations of how different spaces were used. The observation of the neighbourhood was guided by ideas adapted from Kevin Lynch:

- **Light, Shape, Form**
- **Openness of the streets**
- **Coherence of the landscape** (how does it present itself to the walker? Is there a sense of continuation or not? Is it essentially a thematic grouping of buildings, or are there elements that give incoherence and/or heterogeneity to the district. Which elements are these? Why do they seem incoherent?)
- **What are the activities found at the street level?** (economic, leisure and cultural)
- **Legibility**- landmarks, and significant buildings, how easily people can read and understand the place, its functions, interpret what happens there
- **Elements that stand out from the whole**- are they new elements? What can they be associated with?

Norra Sorgenfri

Introduction to the historical development of the area

- **Construction of the original neighbourhood**

Norra Sorgenfri is Malmö's oldest industrial area. When the industrial area started to be developed, in the late 1800's, this area was located in the outskirts of the city of Malmö. Nowadays, with the expansion of the city, it is classified as a central area with the potential to serve as a corridor and to bring together the center and the eastern parts of the city (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri*).

Originally, the area was occupied by the gasworks and used for tram depots. During the XX century the two most important industries in terms of employment and turnover were Addo (calculator manufacturer) and Tripasin (sausage skin fabric). Today there are still some industries located in the area, but manufacturing is no longer the most important activity. There is some product development in the pharmaceutical industry (Q-Pharma), several corporate offices (i.e. E-ON, Migration Board), auto-repair shops, artist's studios, clubs and small shops. This mix of functions is housed in buildings that had a different original function. - (<http://malmo.se/Medborgare/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Utbyggnadsomraden/Norra-Sorgenfri/Historia.html>)

The municipality commissioned an evaluation of the value of the buildings and urban morphology of the industrial area, in order to inform the planprogram from 2008. In this report, monument curator Olga Schlyter (2006) argues that the area has an architectural and historical value linked with its industrial history and that this is a feature that can and should be explored during the reconversion of the neighborhood. The buildings vary in style, materials used, epoch and size, granting the neighborhood a lot of diversity and increase the flexibility of uses for the existing buildings. Curiously, the area itself has been a stage for an intense transformation process, from the initial agricultural farms that gave way to different types of industries settling in the area and in the later XX century going through the process of important de-industrialization that left its marks not only in Norra Sorgenfri but in the rest of Malmö and in many western cities.

Norra Sorgenfri's history as an industrial park is marked by three aspects that contribute to its charm and charisma for an urban design intervention in the present to occur:

- the opening of the Kontinentalbanan, a train connection that provided a key access to the industries in the area, and the streets of Nöbelvägen and Industrigatan; these three elements make up the characteristic neighborhood morphology of the area- a basic grid plan, very distinct from the rest of Malmö.
- most of the land was owned by the municipality, which allowed the establishment of several publicly owned companies and the design of larger plots, rather than the building of denser neighborhoods, as it was the case in the city center.

The area was occupied by several different types of industries and spanning a wide period of industrial production, but it was never an important residential or service/ commercial area. As such, the building and infrastructure existing in the area are characteristic of a specific use and history. They transmit the image of the industrial city that Malmö was.

Schlyter (2006) recommended that the existing buildings in the area should be maintained and that the new constructions should respect certain guidelines regarding materials used so that the area would retain its original character. Although simple in nature and with no special architectural finesse or specified cultural history the existing buildings can still be a great asset in the urban space and have an environmental value creation

The oldest buildings had a specific architectural style that reflected the aesthetic concerns in the construction until the 1920's and using a type of red brick that gives character to the area. The buildings existing in the neighborhood where AB Addo was located are a testimony to the company's expansionary cycle of history (Schlyter, 2006)

- **Are there any heritage buildings?**

Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri - the area possesses a unique character – buildings from different periods, materials and expressions; the new buildings to be built in the area should be varied but certain guidelines are given to ensure that the original character is not lost: they should have a brick, sheet material or natural stone facade. <http://malmo.se/Medborgare/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Utbyggnadsomraden/Norra-Sorgenfri.html>

Olga Schlyter (2006) "Norra Sorgenfri – kulturhistoriskt underlag inför planprogram" Malmö Stad och Skåne län. Byggnadsantikvarisk utredning. Rapport 2006.026

"I kvarteret Spårvägen finns delar av spårvagnsballarna från sekelskiftet 1900 bevarade, liksom bussgaraget som successivt byggts ut från 1930-talet fram till 1960-talet. (...) De yngre delarna är ritade av den världsberömda arkitektduon från Malmö. Sten Samuelson och Fritz Jaenecke." (p.11)

Interventions over the physical environment – influences, reasons

- **Where are the ideas for how the area is to develop coming from?**

In 2006, the municipality organized a series of lectures related to community and city planning and the relationship between urban design and social and economic settings. The lectures highlighted the focus between urban design, public space and how to promote meeting points within a city that has been trying to deal with issues of segregation and integration of a high population of immigrants. The links between a competitive and economically successful city and the richness of its urban life were discussed, closely following the ideas proposed by Florida (2002, 2005). There were thus two main strings of thought presented in the lecture series. One had a clear social focus and was concerned with the integration of inhabitants in the city and the promotion of meeting points where people from different socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds could meet and interact. As Per Svensson argued in one of the lectures, the "segregated urban centre and public space is more dangerous than segregated residential areas. Not seeing one another at all is what is dangerous for a community" (*Vision Norra Sorgenfri, 2007*). The promotion of

“democratic spaces” was another aspect that Peter Elmlund defended: “how we build makes a difference. He (Elmlund) is in favour of a street grid that is open and built-up with diverse functionality; which in total forms a continuous web. This web can be described as a coherent public, democratic space which creates contact between residents of different areas of the city” (*Vision Norra Sorgenfri*, 2007).

The second string was mainly economical and saw the promotion of open, inclusive and mixed urban districts as contributing to the city’s attraction to people that are involved in the Creative Class (as defined by Florida). This Creative Class is working and investing in the economic activities that make up the New Economy that the authorities Malmö are trying to develop in the city¹¹. But also the question of immigrant economy and city planning was stressed, with Elmlund arguing that with creativity becomes a key aspect of the New Economy, the flexibility of the small businesses and of the immigrant businesses play a key role. The shortage of urban property can hinder the development of small businesses and hamper its flexibility and creativity (*Vision Norra Sorgenfri*, 2007).

• **What are the interventions that are taking place in the focus neighbourhood and; How are they transforming that physical space;**

The result of the discussions and workshops around the “Vision Norra Sorgenfri” process was a *planprogram* adopted in 2008 by the municipality to guide the spatial development of the neighbourhood. The transformation of the neighbourhood into an extension of the center, or a new and amalgamated part of the inner city, is expected to connect the center of Malmö and its eastern parts. It is a long term project that through the interventions on the physical structure of the neighbourhood and the inclusion of new streets, public spaces and buildings, hopes to attract also new investors to the area, residents, companies and visitors (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri*).

The municipality highlighted a few key aspects that are expected to bring the necessary dynamism to the interventions in the area and to guarantee that the area is successful after the investments done in its rehabilitation. These include: public activities and attractions at the street level; small plots, public ground floors; mix of functions in every property; integrated street grid; broad planning process; *many* builders, architects, property owners, forms of living, target groups and activities (diversity); integration and complementarity between public spaces (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri*).

The original street grid is to be maintained. The original streets are seen, in the current plan, as important connections of the area to its neighbouring districts and to the rest of the city and also as important transit corridors across Norra Sorgenfri. The intention to promote liveable streets with different types of small businesses and public life is to be concentrated along these main arteries. But in order to break the block dimensions, each original block will be broken up in smaller plots and several smaller streets and small green areas are to be created within the original block. The building’s facades is to be oriented towards the main streets, and the density is expected to be between 3 to 5 storey’s high. The intention with this measure is to create more room for variation among the buildings in the blocks, to facilitate the accessibility and to open up the possibility for different investors and builders to participate in the transformation of the area (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri*).

One of Norra Sorgenfri’s disadvantages is that it lacks green areas. Small parks are expected to be created within each block, semi-public and semi-visible from the main streets and in themselves forming a parallel grid of interconnected green areas. Also some of the buildings are to have green-roofs that can be used as private gardens for the residents (*Vision Norra Sorgenfri*), and to take care of surface water. A larger park is planned for the district of Delgeln. In the vision, this park was proposed to be the Botanical Garden that some of Malmö’s residents have been claiming for. However, there was no continuation of that idea in the *planprogram*.

In total 2500 new dwellings are planned to be built during the next 20 years, which is an important contribution to the housing stock in a city at hands with a dramatic shortage of housing.

¹¹ See, for example, the information for new and established companies in Malmö, available on Malmö city website: <http://www.malmo.se/Foretagare/Allt-om-naringslivet-i-Malmo.html>

- Industrigatan will become the main axis between central and eastern Malmö and is the main route crossing the area. It is to be developed as an important axis before the surrounding land is built on. (How is it to be important before the development occurs? What is meant here?)

- Block Spårvägen will be transformed into an activities center (which activities?) and a meeting place. The old bus depot will be transformed for this purpose (are they keeping the original building?). The bus depot is to host both permanent and temporary activities

- The other blocks- Verket, Smedjan, Spiralen, Tangenten, Grytan, Ugnen, Brännaren- will be developed for new residential areas, in a dialogue between municipality, building contractors and others involved (how is this dialogue expected to be happening? Who are the others? Existing residents? Focus groups?)

- For Spårvägen, the only block owned by the municipality, there is the goal of creating a “sustainable city” (What is meant here?) in cooperation with building contractors and other private interested parties. The first stage of development started in 2009 and it’s expected to result in 400-500 new dwellings and businesses.

• **Are they expected to transform the socio-economic characteristics of this space? How?**

The stress on the goals for Norra Sorgenfri is placed on the integration potential of the area. This integration can be understood as physical- the connection between the Eastern and central parts of Malmö, or the extension of the city centre towards the eastern Malmö (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri, 2008*).

But integration is used in a social context as well, with the area promoted as a new meeting place for the inhabitants in Malmö, independent of age, gender or background. The concern for meeting places across the city and across generations and ethnicities is present in several of the urban planning projects and strategies developed by Malmö municipality. The project *Möten I Staden* is a clear example of this effort towards integration among different socio-economic and cultural inhabitants. Social integration and equity seems to transpire in these sentences: “as many people as possible will be attracted and encouraged to meet up in the new Norra Sorgenfri.”; “Norra Sorgenfri should be a cosmopolitan area. The transformation from a pure industrial area to a mixed business/residential district will provide considerable diversity. Dwellings, business premises, boutiques, cafés, cultural and leisure/ sports, facilities”; “Dwellings of different types and sizes will mean that both the young and the old, single parents and families with children will choose to live in the area”; “the public areas have an important role to play with regard to diversity – they should be inviting and safe, with many and varying activities in the building’s ground floors” (*Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri, 2008*).

The transformation of the physical urban environment is seen as a catalyser for achieving these objectives of integration, through the promotion of *Industrigatan* as a new transit point and by dividing the lots in smaller plots and insisting that the ground level be kept for small shops, cultural activities and other initiatives that will bring life and visitors into this part of the city. Since most of the plots are currently owned by private owners, the municipality is free to act mostly on the street level. The demands over the characteristics of the public space are thus guided towards the creation of opportunities for the private developers to partake of the objectives of the plan for the area. The municipality takes the lead, defining guidelines for the height of buildings, subdividing plots and opening new smaller streets and an interconnect grid of green areas at the heart of each original block. This aims to create a network of public spaces (the main arteries of the neighbourhood. *Industrigatan, Nobelvägen* and *Östra Farmvägen*), a network of new streets that break the original street grid in smaller parcels to increase accessibility to and across the neighbourhood, a network of semi-private green park, and totally new residential and private areas, especially above the ground floor. The integration and complementarity between public spaces was one of the keys for the *Planprogram* in the area. Diversity (of builders, architects, property owners, forms of living, target groups and activities) was another.

- **Official reasons behind the renovation**

Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri - “one of the most important objectives for Norra Sorgenfri is making the area a meeting place which strengthens integration in Malmö”. (What is meant by integration in this context? Between the different parts of the city? Between the different populations? Social objectives?)

- **Potentials highlighted by public/private investors**

Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri

- mix of businesses and the many interested parties within the area provide opportunities for an exciting process of transformation

- identified keys (developed by whom?) are the success factors for the areas development

- Keys: public activities and attractions; small plots, public ground floors; mix of functions in every property; integrated street grid; path between central and eastern Malmö; integration and complementarity between public spaces, broad planning process; *many* builders, architects, property owners, forms of living, target groups and activities.

- potential for uniting the eastern and central parts of Malmö; Värnhem and Rosengård.

- The area is very empty, which offer potential for transformation

- the unique character

Arkenbult, Peer (2005) Vardagskunskap - Önskemål och värderingar av ett bostadsområde i Sorgenfri industriområde. Master thesis. Malmö högskola/Teknik och samhälle

As the industry has thinned out in the industrial area, and many plots are unused, it has created a potential for revitalizing that area:

- Provides prerequisite to a mixed urban development.
- Today student housing is being built in the neighborhood Rönne, where Värnhems Sjukhus once stood.
- There are areas to build new housing and to connect them to the field of student housing.
- Sorgenfri industrial area is relatively centrally located.
- The City of Malmö has plans for bicycle paths in Industrigatan and Nobelvägen.
- There are plans for two new railway stations covering large parts of Sorgenfri industrial area within a radius of 1 000 m.
- Proximity to two planned rail stations provides Sorgenfri industrial area bigger attraction force.
- In the industrial area are vacant lots that can be taken into use immediately.

Me: several private actors can help bring different inputs into the area, different types of commercial and services, different styles of housing, make the area more dynamic and different. Private actors are engaged in the vision for Norra Sorgenfri process but the municipality is in charge of running and coordinating the process.

- **Problems/ fragilities**

Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri - the whole area is a barrier between central and eastern Malmö as a result of size (120 acres) and its monotony. Many industries have closed down and buildings have been demolished. The area is empty.

Olga Schlyter (2006) “Norra Sorgenfri – kulturhistoriskt underlag inför planprogram” Malmö Stad och Skåne län. Byggnadsantikvarisk utredning. Rapport 2006.026 - “*Norra Sorgenfri är idag, åtminstone bitvis, ett*

ganska nergånget område. Stora avrivna ytor, förfallna byggnader och en del "skumma verksamheter" gör att området inte har någon hög status. Att Malmös prostitutionsstråk finns i området bidrar också till ett dåligt anseende." (p.6) Norra Sorgenfri is today, at least at times, a rather declining area. Large torn areas, derelict buildings and some "shady activities" imply that the area does not have a high status. The fact that prostitution exists in the area also contributes to a bad reputation

Actors and intentions

(interviews?)

Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri

- Co-operative effort between the City of Malmö and Real Estate Office (fastighetskontoret)
- Broad dialogue
- Nearly all the land is owned by private property owners, about 30.
- municipality is in charge of running and co-ordinating the transformation

Guidelines for buildings, streets and properties are based on objectives such as participation, small-scale operations and increased integration in Malmö.

3. Interview Templates and examples

Protocol for interviews (papers 1 and 2)

I. Instructions to interviewer (opening statements)

II. Key research questions

- 1) What is your role at the (city Hall)? When did you start working here?
- 2) About the involvement in (name of project) Project
 - a) When did you get involved? At what stage of the project?
 - b) What were you called in to do?
 - c) What were your anticipations about (Project)?
 - d) Who were you working more closely with?
- 3) About (project) area:
 - a) What were the problems or fragilities of the city that served as a background to promote (the project)?
 - b) Why this specific area?
 - c) What are the interventions taking place in (the project area)?
 - i) Interventions in the physical structure (buildings, public spaces, green areas)
 - ii) Interventions in the social structure (programs with the community? Community involvement in the development of the neighborhood....)
 - iii) Other?
 - d) What were the problems or fragilities of the city that motivated these interventions?
 - e) Who took the initiative to start the project?

Stakeholders/ project organization

- 4) About the role of the planning department
 - a) At what stage of the project was the planning department called in to participate?
 - b) What kind of tasks is the planning department responsible for?
 - i) Advise? Manage? Evaluate? Contact?
 - ii) Designing, implementing?
 - c) How did you see the involvement of the planning department? How would you characterize it?
- 5) About the designing of the area
 - a) How was the process of visualizing/ giving an urban form to the objectives for the area?
 - b) Who was involved?
 - c) Who made the visualization/ designing and sketching for the new area?
 - d) What was the task of the planning department within this visualization part?
 - e) Which other stakeholders had a say in the physical structure of the area/ how the area was designed?
 - f) (Specific questions about the project)

New ideas/ practices/ ways of working?

- 6) Were there special procedures or processes developed for (the project)? For example, ways of interacting with the inhabitants, with the developers, etc?
- 7) How do you think that the slogans of Malmö as a sustainable city and Malmö as a knowledge city get represented in (the project)?

Example: Protocol for interview – Christer Larsson

Interviewee's background

1. What is your professional background?
2. How long have you been working in Malmö Stad at the planning department? Where did you work before?
3. What was your role in the Bo01 project?

Organization of the project and stakeholders

4. From your point of view, what were the main challenges of the Bo01 project?
5. What were the potentials of the Bo01 project, for the municipality?
6. What other initiatives were being taken within the municipality/ were happening throughout the city that contributed to the same goals that were established for Bo01?
7. The main stakeholders were SVEBO, Malmö Stad and the developers' group isn't it so? How were the responsibilities shared by the different stakeholders?
 - a. What was the role of Malmö stad?
 - b. What were the tasks of the Planning department?
 - c. How did the planning department contribute for this project, in your perspective?
8. In what ways was Bo01 a success and what were the main factors causing this success?
 - a. Do you see any weaknesses in the project?
9. How did the developer's group come together? Who invited whom to join?
 - a. Why was it decided that Mats Olsson should lead the developer's group?
10. Where would you like to have seen a greater involvement from the municipality?
11. Where would you like to have seen a greater involvement from the planning department?
12. How was the Bo01 an interesting project for the planning department, from your perspective?
13. A project of this dimension and with so many stakeholders is bound to face moments where different goals, aims, and ideas on how to develop the area clash. Which were the moments and issues of dispute/ conflict?
 - a. How did you go around such difficulties?

Learning (Production of new knowledge/ practices. Sharing of knowledge)

14. Which new ideas/ concepts/ images/ metaphors were used/ developed for this project, within the planning department?
 - a. If yes, who was behind these ideas/ where did you draw inspiration from?
15. Were there any specific practices (rules, procedures, and organizational settings) developed for Bo01, within the planning department?
 - a. If so, which ones and where did you draw inspiration for them?
16. From your point of view what favored new knowledge to be created with the Bo01 project?
17. Do you think that the practices and ideas developing for this project are being replicated/ influencing other urban planning projects within the municipality? Do you have any concrete examples? Elaborate on your answer.
18. Are there any arenas (formal or informal) to share experiences from one planning project to others/ other colleagues not directly involved in the project?
19. What are your personal expectations for the Western Harbour district? How do you expect its development to influence the city of Malmö as a whole?

Example: Protocol for interview – paper 3 and 4/ Norra Sorgenfri

Interviewee's background

1. What is your professional background? Where did you work before?
2. When did you join the project of Norra Sorgenfri?
3. What are your tasks within the project?

Uses and users of the area

4. Which type of people does Malmö Stad expect will live in Norra Sorgenfri? (Are they imagining a new Möllevången area, a more middle class and Swedish area, students...)
5. Which type of people do you expect to move in to live in the neighborhood?
6. Which changes in the built environment are proposed by the project team in order to attract these people?
7. Which types of economic activities does Malmö Stad expect to locate in the area?
8. Does Malmö Stad or the project team have any specific strategies to attract companies to this area? If so, which ones. If not, why not?
9. Why would this be a good area to live and or work, in the future? Which are the advantages regarding built environment, location, "amenities", etc that it possesses in your opinion?

Integration and equity

10. Malmö city often shows up in the media under the light of being a city plagued by segregation, social problems, insecurity... how do you think this project serves to address these socio-economic problems?
11. Who are the main stakeholders involved in the design of the proposal for Norra Sorgenfri? (municipality, developers/ builders companies, private property owners...)
12. Who initiated the proposal?

Public participation?

Currently there are no inhabitants actually living in the area, and just a few companies located there. However, there are many citizens living in the surrounding neighborhoods.

13. Is there or was there any public participation of the inhabitants of Malmö in general, and of the surrounding neighborhoods in particular, in the development of the proposal for Norra Sorgenfri?
14. Was there any opposition in Malmö (the city) and in the surrounding neighborhoods to the project? If so, by whom?
15. What were the problems or reservations voiced?
16. How do you account for these different positions in the plan?
17. Which complains voiced by citizens groups and individual citizens are more difficult to take on board?
18. What were your anticipations regarding the projects' challenges, when it comes to the involvement of the citizens?
19. What is the political intention for this neighborhood?

New practices?

20. Were there any practices (rules, procedures, organizational settings, related with urban design, building regulations, forms of citizen and/or stakeholder involvement) developed with this project? If so, which ones and where did you draw inspiration for them?

Gentrification?

One of the dangers of large-scale redevelopment projects similar to this one is that of displacement of original populations and companies, by more affluent populations and new firms, due to (among other reasons) a rise in property value.

21. Is this a problem at all discussed within the project team?

22. Do you have any ideas or strategies to prevent the gentrification of Norra Sorgenfri and the surrounding neighborhoods, if and when this neighborhood becomes a more attractive living and working area, as it is the plan from the municipality?

Example: Protocol for interview – Norra Sorgenfri – MKB

Interviewee's background

1. What is your professional background? Where did you work before?
2. When did you join the project of Norra Sorgenfri?
3. What are your tasks within the project?
4. When did MKB become involved in the project?
5. Why is this project interesting for MKB?

Uses and users of the area

6. Which type of people does MKB expect will live in Norra Sorgenfri? (Are they imagining a new Möllevången area, a more middle class and Swedish area, students...)
7. Which type of people do you expect to move in to live in the neighborhood?
8. Which changes in the built environment are proposed by MKB in order to attract these people?
9. Which types of economic activities does MKB expect to locate in the area?
10. Does MKB have any specific strategies to attract companies to this area? If so, which ones. If not, why not?
11. Why would this be a good area to live and or work, in the future? Which are the advantages regarding built environment, location, "amenities", etc that it possesses in your opinion?

Integration and equity

12. Malmö city often shows up in the media under the light of being a city plagued by segregation, social problems, insecurity... how do you think this project serves to address these socio-economic problems?
13. One of the dangers of large-scale redevelopment projects similar to this one is that of displacement of original populations and companies, by more affluent populations and new firms, due to (among other reasons) a rise in property value.
Is this a problem at all discussed within MKB or with the project team at the municipality?
14. Does MKB have any ideas or strategies to prevent the gentrification of Norra sorgenfri and the surrounding neighborhoods, if and when this neighborhood becomes a more attractive living and working area, as it is the plan from the municipality?

Public participation?

Currently there are no inhabitants actually living in the area, and just a few companies located there. However, there are many citizens living in the surrounding neighborhoods.

15. Is there or was there any public participation of the inhabitants of Malmö in general, and of the surrounding neighborhoods in particular, in the development of the proposal for Norra Sorgenfri?
16. Was there any opposition in Malmö (the city) and in the surrounding neighborhoods to the project? If so, by whom?
17. What were the problems or reservations voiced?
18. How does MKB account for these different positions in the plan?
19. Which complains voiced by citizens groups and individual citizens are more difficult to take on board?

New practices?

20. Were there any practices (rules, procedures, organizational settings, related with urban design, building regulations, forms of citizen and/or stakeholder involvement) developed with this project? If so, which ones and where did you draw inspiration for them?

4. Overview of papers, research gap and contributions

Title (Status)	Research gap	Research question	Main contributions
<p>1) <i>Physical planning in Entrepreneurial Urban Governance – Experiences from the Bo01 and Brunnshög Projects, Sweden</i></p> <p>(Published at <i>European Planning Studies</i>)</p>	<p>Much has been written about the implications of this turn towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance for urban policy making and the public sector. However, the strong emphasis of these strategies on interventions over the physical landscape of a city or neighborhood implies greater attention to what is being done by public sector urban planning, as the field that formally takes charge over urban planning in the city. There are fewer studies focusing on this issue. Existing studies tend to approach this turn by emphasizing that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for public sector, and by extension for urban planning.</p> <p>Additionally, in scholarly literature, what characterizes this “turn” has been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon context in which it was firstly discussed, often associated with broader discussions on the neoliberal influences over urban policy and the transformations of urban policy and governance in the context of the rescaling of the State. But as previous studies have argued, the extent to which this turn has been replicated in other contexts is debatable.</p>	<p>The paper starts from the premise that there is a turn in urban policy towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance. The paper asks <u>how this turn might influence the conditions in which physical planning occurs</u> and <u>how physical planning is adapting to it</u>.</p>	<p>Coexistence of situations of fragmentation and coherence, and decentralization and centralization. Entrepreneurial city approach is a process underway, but not a “turn”.</p> <p>Coexistence of central role for physical planning and municipality as back-bones to the project, coordinating between different interests, framing common visions, adding legitimacy.</p> <p>Broad visions framing consensus among stakeholders – especially sustainability, also used as a selling point to promote the urban development. These broad visions are often consolidated into built environments that use urban design to convey the intended image (link to paper 2).</p> <p>Poor inclusion of the wider public. Challenge for physical planning – how to plan for the wider public? (Link to paper 3)</p>
<p>2) <i>Physical Planning in Place-making through Image Building and Design</i></p> <p>(Published at the <i>Journal of Housing and the Built Environment</i>)</p>	<p>Focus on large-scale urban development projects, and highly publicized projects, but less publicized projects are also endorsing the values and goals of entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy, in the mainstreaming of, for example, built environments that support a specific image for the city. There has been, so far, little attention on these less publicized projects as tools for the consolidation of the new image.</p> <p>So far there has been little attention to the mainstreaming of values and approaches to urban design and the promotion of specific built environments that will support the new image of a city. The paper focuses on the role of physical</p>	<p><u>How physical planning works with place-making through urban design to support image creation in a municipality that aims to create a new image for the city.</u></p>	<p>Similarities between flagship projects’ approaches to urban design and the intended users and uses for the renovated area, and the approaches and targets of less publicized projects.</p> <p>In the process of promoting the city for “creative people” and knowledge-intensive companies and activities, there is a danger of gentrification that, although recognized, is not openly addressed by physical planning.</p> <p>Similarities with approaches to urban design and urban development from the 1950s-1970s, with the focus resting on the large-scale renovation and reconversion of whole city blocks,</p>

	planning within this mainstreaming and which dilemmas it raises in the process.		but now with the intention of creating a mixed-use district that will serve to promote a new image for the city.
3) <i>By imitation only: Uses and Users of the "Entrepreneurial City"</i> (Submitted at the journal of <i>International Planning Studies</i>)	Some literature focusing on the potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice within a context marked by the Entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, however, the analysis tends to focus on questions of governance arenas, urban design influence and implications, and less on the specific users and uses for these entrepreneurial city projects Also, literature focusing on the specific uses and users of entrepreneurial city projects and consequences for socio-economic and spatial fragmentation and polarization in the city does not raise the question of what implications this has for planning practice.	How physical planning practice, associated with an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, promotes and/or hinders the spatial and socio-economic integration of Malmö	Dilemma of balancing between restrictions (economic) and ambitions (social and design). Even if, rhetorically, the ambitions might be placed on social inclusion and equity level, in practice the projects following this entrepreneurial approach tend to align further with promoting the project for some socio-economic groups and life-styles over others. Difficult justifying this in the scope of a city with a recent history of working classes, high immigration and unemployment.
4) <i>Place-making and encountering the past</i> (Manuscript presented at the peer-reviewed conference – <i>Changing Cities</i> , Skiathos island, Greece, 18-21 June 2013)	Place-making and image-creation strategies, associated with entrepreneurial approaches to urban policy and to city promotion, assume that places can be intentionally steered, changed and shaped, following the purposes and objectives of leading politicians or urban elites, and in the same logic as marketing shapes a product and a market for the product to be sold. However these strategies neglect that Place is the result of both <i>purposive</i> and <i>spontaneous</i> events. Planning practitioners, as actively involved in place-making by urban design and urban renewal, are associated to the success and failure of these strategies. What is the role of physical planning in the promotion of these place-making projects, and which problems and dilemmas might this involvement bring for the city's inhabitants and for planning practitioners?	The two main arguments are 1) that <u>place-making strategies neglect that place is the result of both purposive and spontaneous events</u> and 2) that <u>for the creation of a new image, physical planning has to take into account aspects influencing that image such as buildings, activities or services that visually connect and identify a city; history or events that have marked the collective memory of the city; and the expectations for the future.</u>	The <i>image</i> of a place is more easily steerable by the inclusion of something new than the <i>identity</i> of a place. Place-making strategies profiling the new image for idealized insiders and outsiders. Challenge for planning practice - how to include history and engage with the socio-economic groups that inhabit the city, in the quest for profiling the city for new groups, activities and a new image of and for the future of the city. How to define planning for diversity and for heterogeneity, and how to include these concepts in physical planning practices?

ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to trace and discuss the practices and challenges of physical planning within an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy. The research aim is addressed by focusing on three questions: 1) how have the practices of physical planning been influenced by the context of an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy 2) how has physical planning responded to this urban policy context, and 3) which potential dilemmas for physical planning practice derive from this new context?

By an Entrepreneurial City approach to urban policy I understand an approach whereby there is an attention placed over strategies to promote local economic growth and attract investments, companies and specific types of people in to the city. Arguably urban policies focus less on welfare-related and redistribution strategies. There is an adoption of private sector discourses and tools to promote the city as a place to live, work and invest in. These discourses and tools pass through place-making strategies, marketing, engagement in speculative, risk-taking market-led projects, and seeking partners with whom to establish alliances that will serve to promote the city.

The strong emphasis of Entrepreneurial City approaches on interventions over the built environment of a city or neighborhood implies a greater attention to what is happening to the practices of physical planning in municipalities that have adopted this approach. Existing studies tend to emphasize that it signifies a decrease in the scope of influence for public sector, and by extension for physical planning, in the governance and steering of these projects.

The dissertation focuses on large-scale urban development projects – Brunshög, in Lund, and Bo01, Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie, in Malmö. The projects were chosen due to their likelihood to illustrate physical planning practices marked by an Entrepreneurial City approach.

The main findings of this thesis refute the idea of a turn in urban policy towards entrepreneurial city approaches, and illustrate instead a process by which new practices and values coincide with previously established settings and practices. Physical planning is adopting the discourses of an urban policy approach where intercity competition for new industries (preferably in knowledge-intensive sectors) and residents (preferably the “creative classes”) guide urban development projects. The governance setting is marked by the need to establish working networks and partnerships that will create the capacity to act. Experimentation, piece-meal approaches and inter-project learning mark the adaptation strategies to an urban policy context that is still changing. Potential dilemmas lie in the fragmented character of the partnerships required to execute the projects, and in the assumption that these projects will result in the rehabilitation of the socio-economic trends of the city and promote local economic growth. Additionally the resulting built environments are prone to processes of gentrification and displacement, and spatial and socioeconomic polarization.

