



## **PUBLIC PLANNING IN THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY – THE BO01, MALMÖ, AND BRUNNSHÖG, LUND, IN SWEDEN**

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### **Abstract**

Recent research has argued that due to a turn in urban policy towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance, the scope and influence of urban planning conducted by public actors is changing and even decreasing. Entrepreneurial City approaches are employed by the municipality to promote local economic development through improvements on place attractiveness, and often rely on urban renewal and design, associated with businesses approaches such as branding, marketing, speculation and risk taking. The goal is to create neighborhoods that will attract companies and specific types of inhabitants (creative, young urban, entrepreneurial) to reside and work in the city or neighborhood. Business approaches are thus invading the field of public sector urban planning, and setting the context within which it occurs. The group of people involved in the planning project is fragmented and multifaceted. However, although the influence of public planning might be apparently watered down with the involvement of different stakeholders in the planning project, this paper will argue that instead, in practice, public authorities and planners remain influential and crucial actors in urban development projects as initiators of (re)development projects, when they bring in financial incentives or lease out the plots for development, or when they add to the project political legitimacy and bring around the table different actors that would otherwise be less likely to join forces.

This paper discusses this turn towards entrepreneurial urban governance approaches and its influence over the practice of public planning, from an urban governance perspective. It looks at one urban renewal project in the city of Malmö, and one project of urban expansion in the city of Lund, in Sweden. A case study approach is followed, using official documentation and expert interviews with developers, public planners and other municipal officials. The paper indicates that the setting in which public planning occurs

is marked by fragmentation (in actors involved, goals, and financial means) and decentralization. These Entrepreneurial cities are managed as companies, trying to promote an image, develop a brand or sell a neighborhood. This influences how public planning can work with public spaces and in conceiving a city for “the public”. The projects’ goals find parallel in the aims of other planning projects occurring throughout the city, but can this be a coincidence of the type of landscapes that planning projects are looking for, or is it a sign that there is still a comprehensive overview of urban planning for the city? It concludes with a discussion on how public planning is adjusting to the changes in urban policy and governance. The paper contributes to the discussions on how the practice of planning is influenced by the influence of neoliberalism and a turn towards entrepreneurial urban governance.

## 1. Introduction

The term “Entrepreneurial”, in the concept of “Entrepreneurial City”, is borrowed from the field of Business Administration and Economics, and is linked to an approach to urban policy and local economic development that is inspired by practices of the Corporative and Business Administration worlds. This approach is considered to represent a shift (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, characterized by risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion-seeking, and profit motivation as guiding local policy-making (Hubbard and Hall, 1998. The case of Malmö, in Sweden, was analyzed by Dannestam, 2009). The city is entrepreneurial because the actors involved in urban policy adopt businesses approaches such as branding, marketing, speculation and risk taking to urban policy-making. 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 the highly skilled and educated ones, to reside in, and for private investors to invest in real-estate or to create new businesses. The municipality is regarded as a firm and the city its product for sale, and policy makers as managers looking for new business opportunities, ways of promoting its own product, new business partners willing to invest and develop the product.

The term was first coined to describe urban policies pursued within a context of neoliberalization of urban policy in the US and the UK, and following the critics and dismiss of the Keynesian Welfare State (Cochrane, 2007). It is not related to a decline of the role of public authorities in urban policy and development, or to the simple replacement of the role of the public by the private sector. Instead, what is pointed out is a change in how public and private sectors interact within urban development projects and policies, particularly within a context of inter-urban competition (Shimomura & Matsumoto, 2010; Jessop, 1998).

Entrepreneurial cities are also a result of institutional reforms that go beyond the global scale of economic transformation, and the adoption of discursive practices that promote entrepreneurship and 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 (Hubbard and Hall, 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 planning, as the field that formally takes charge over urban planning in the city. Studies focusing on the implications of this turn for the practice of public planning are fewer (although see McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001; Gualini & Major, 2007; Tasan-Kok, 2010) and tend to approach these implications from the stand point that this turn signifies a decrease in the scope of influence of public planning (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001, Elander & Strömberg, 2001).

This paper will discuss this entrepreneurial urban governance approach and its influence over public planning, by focusing on the characteristics of this turn from a governance perspective, and how public planning is adjusting to the changes in urban policy and governance. It emphasizes that although the influence of public planning might be apparently 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, when they bring in financial incentives or lease out the plots for development, or when they add political legitimacy and bring around the table different actors that would otherwise be less likely to join forces in the project.

The paper is informed by a series of expert interviews and analysis of documentary evidence, plans and reports, in order to build a review of the urban governance structure built around the projects and what tasks and responsibilities planning had within this structure.

The cases selected represent most-likely cases (George & Bennett, 2005) of large-scale urban development projects influenced by an entrepreneurial approach to urban planning. Municipalities in Sweden are taken as cases, as there is a heritage of planning involved in delivering public welfare that might alter the perspective of the planners involved in the project and/or strengthen their negotiate position with regards to the private sector positions.

The Bo01 is a most-likely case because it is the site of an international housing exhibition held in Malmö, in 2001. The old harbor area was reconverted into an exhibition stage, in a case of urban renewal used to create a new image for the city, from industrial city in decline, to Knowledge-industry city. Nowadays, the area includes residential and office spaces, public parks and recreational areas, and hosts a new Media and IT profiled 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 combines the characteristics of the medieval city

center with an environment that attracts new companies and investments, and contributes for ideas to be shared between the professionals that will work and reside in the area.

In both cases external events are the engine behind the area transformation – a housing exhibition, and the establishment of research facilities. Urban development is used to create a district of the city where knowledge-intensive companies, entrepreneurial activity, and the creative class (Florida, 2002) are key goals. The municipal planning department is a key actor, which would be expected of planning projects in Sweden.

The following section introduces the main characteristics of an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy and what this might imply to the practice of planning in the public sector. Potential challenges posed by this entrepreneurial approach to public planning are discussed. The subsequent section outlines and analyses the cases in light of the governance approach taken. A final conclusion and discussion will highlight challenges of an entrepreneurial turn to urban governance for public planning.

## **2. Public planning in the Entrepreneurial City**

Entrepreneurial city approaches to urban policy are frequently portrayed as representing a turn in urban policy-making “from government to governance” (Harvey, 1989; Hubbard & Hall, 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 together public and private actors to the field of policy making and implementation.

By governance, it is understood here 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 focus on governing mechanisms such as grants, contracts and agreements that do not rest solely on government authority and sanctions (Milward & Provan, 1999: 3).

The turn from government to governance is discussed by scholars as developing to the decentralization in public administration and government (Montin, 2000), and resulting of an ideological (Jessop, 2002) 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) This derives in a greater complexity - of levels of intervention, players, funding sources, goals, accountability.

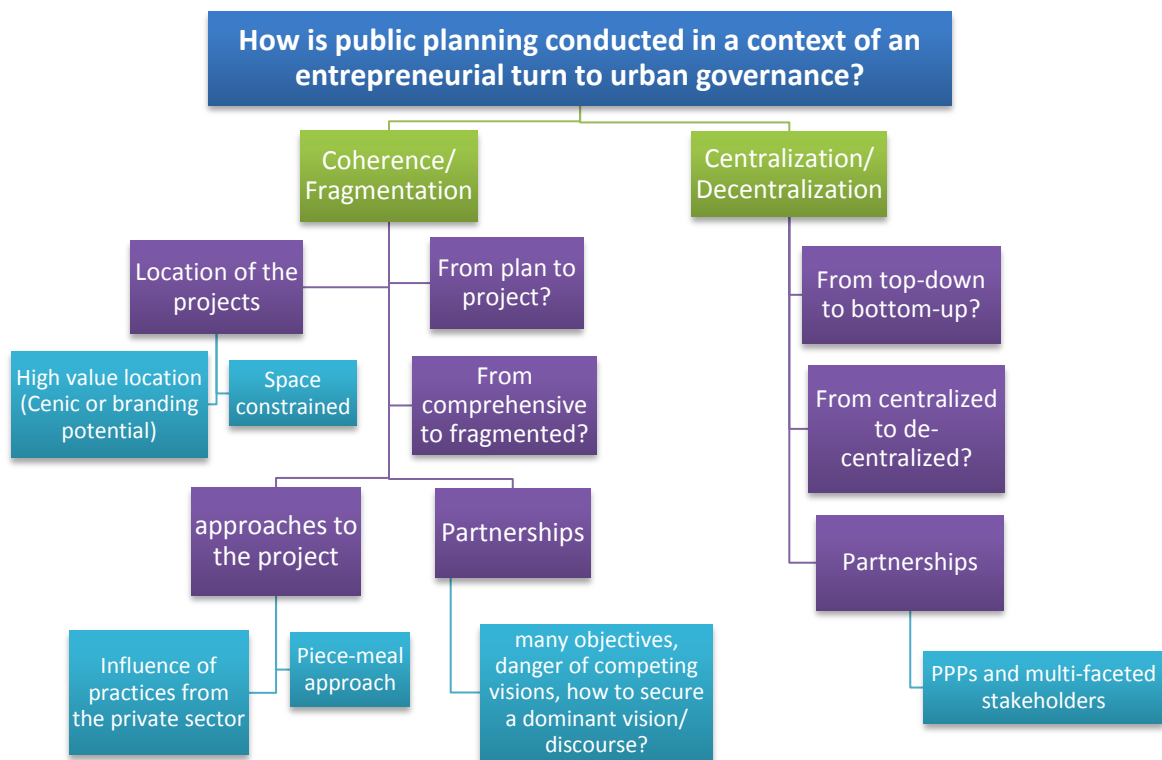
In a context of urban governance, Harvey understands that nowadays decisions about interventions over different spheres of the city are made in a multi-actor context. For Harvey, urban government is not the appropriate expression to classify the processes surrounding the management of the urban area and the relations between the actors involved in this management. Instead, urban governance is a more suitable expression, as *“the real power to reorganise urban life so often lies elsewhere [that not 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 mobilised by diverse social agents.”* (Harvey, 1989: 6).

Public sector urban 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 specific project goals (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003. Burkitt & Whyman, 1994). The change in the direction of planning practice is also discussed by Montin (2000), who points out that traditional local planning used to be responsible for the regulating land-use, while nowadays its role is focusing on providing the means for development opportunities. From a regulator, planning has transformed into an enabler of pro-growth strategies. The public planner not only plans for the location of housing and workplaces, but also for houses and work environments with an image that attracts specific types of inhabitants and companies.

Policy-making and implementation under an Entrepreneurial city approach took a turn towards focusing primarily on single projects. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) discussed the turn from a comprehensive approach to planning (that they called the plan) to a more time, space and resources constrained approach (that they called the project). These planning projects captured a segment of the city and worked with that segment in view of the socio-economic 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 systems, these types of projects are characterized as one-off ventures decoupled from their context and from the planning projects of the wider municipality – a piece-meal approach to urban development. One could also see this turn as an unavoidable consequence of the growing importance of Public-Private Partnerships and negotiative planning (Cars, 1992). A project based-approach would 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 urban 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: 187).

The challenge for entrepreneurial urban governance is how to create integration within this fragmented landscape 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/city that is to be renovated? One could also argue that the strength of the current landscape of urban projects lies exactly on 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. 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 partnerships.

Figure 1 summarizes the main characteristics of this turn in urban policy making, emphasizing its potential influence over planning.



**Figure 1**

In recent years, scholars have focused on challenges for public planning practice, derived from this entrepreneurial approach. Tasan-Kok (2010) discussed how the complexities of multi-actor governance influenced the implementation of urban regeneration projects. She 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, while simultaneously area-based agencies are set up to oversee the projects, replacing or shadowing the traditional tasks of the planning department (Tasan-Kok, 2010; McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001). The need for coordinated action and quick responses is jeopardized in such hierarchical structures.

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 justifies why aims and goals change according to market conditions.

Tasan-Kok (2010) and Gospodini (2010) stressed the design-oriented character of these Entrepreneurial City projects, with urban design emerging as an added tool to promote the new district and the city.

The corporate imperative, the fragmented governance structure, and changing goals frame some of the challenges for planning under this entrepreneurial approach - how to ensure continuity and interconnectivity between different projects or within the same project across time?

### **3. Case studies**

The Bo01 was an International Housing exhibition under the motto of "*City of Tomorrow*". The exhibition was held in Western Harbor, a former industrial area, scarred by the presence of shipyards gone bankrupted, and a SAAB industrial complex, shut down during the 1980s. To host an international exhibition in a location where the industrial tradition of the city was most visible served the dual purpose of renovating an abandoned area, and build a new image of the city, associated with Innovation, Creativity and Sustainability, instead of the traditional image of a blue-collar city of heavy industrial production, hit by severe unemployment and decline.

Parallel to this project, the city center was being renovated and a new university college had been established in the city, also located on 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. The residential district of Augustenborg was also focus of a project to become a more attractive, sustainable and multi-cultural living environment. Three of Bo01's overarching goals - sustainable living, to strengthen the image of Malmö as a place to live and to invest in, and the redevelopment of a new district of the city - were supported by parallel projects throughout the city.

Brunnshög is located in the NE of Lund, in an area that has been pinpointed for expansion since the Comprehensive Plan of 1991. It is bordered by the neighborhood that hosts Ericsson, 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 Brunnshög, as it is physically cut off from the city by the E22, the IDEON Science Park, and Lund Tekniska Högskola (LTH). The idea to expand the city towards the NE has existed since the mid-90's and plots had already been allocated to some of the larger developers (Interview Dalman). However, the disadvantage of being "first movers" in an area that is not particularly attractive for investment had detracted the interest of developers (Interview Flycht). There was also lack of clear political vision to what would become of this area. It took an external actor – the decision to locate the ESS and MaxIV labs in the area – to re-start the process. Suddenly the project gained political importance: "The whole world will have some expectations about Lund, will have their eyes on Lund, and nothing is happening in Brunnshög. 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 Brunnshög. A tram connection (Lundalänken) has been under discussion and is considered an important element for the image of urbanity to be created in the district (Interviews Dalman and Flycht); an energy vision 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 for the sustainability emphasis of the project; Brunnshög is placed in the continuation of the "Road of Science", an initiative to brand a corridor that comprises the university area, IDEON, the university-hospital, Brunnshög, ESS and MaxIV as a knowledge-intensive area. The university and IDEON are also discussing the possibility to add more diversity of uses to the area now occupied by LTH and IDEON, adding other services, commerce and housing. The rehabilitation of the central station area, including the connection with Lundalänken, is also planned, as is the construction of a congress center next to the central station, to operate in partnership with the one in Malmö (Interviews Dalman and Flycht).

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

**Table 1- Governance structure of projects**

	<b>Bo01</b>	<b>Brunnshög</b>
<b>Main Stakeholders</b>	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
<b>Responsibility of planning department</b>	Quality Programme 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
<b>Responsibility of developers</b>	Buildings and interior architecture and design Individual sustainability solutions Keep standards from Quality Programme	Buildings and interior architecture and design (Unclear as the detailed plan has not yet been adopted)
<b>Input from other stakeholders/ consultants</b>	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 vision
<b>Main investment sources</b>	Local Investment Programme (LIP) Malmö Municipality SVEBO Developers European Union	Lund Municipality (attempts for State financing of tram) Developers

### **Between Coherence and Fragmentation**

Fragmentation as discussed in Entrepreneurial City literature, was a result of the public-private partnerships that meant a wider diversity of funding sources, 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 Brunnshög 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 in the interviews was traffic and limits to parking in the areas. In the case of these two projects, public planning kept a key position in 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 a coherence of the aims of the individual project with the visions for the city and other planning projects happening in parallel (Interviews Reepalu, Dalman).

One such example of how public planning tried to build a common platform of understanding between the different stakeholders was the elaboration of the Quality Programme 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 architect from Bo01AB to partake in the process: “The interested developers have been invited to participate in the work of the Quality Programme. This was ready before the purchase of land and was a part of the agreement for land purchase. However, at the end of the exhibition it was concluded that the developers that had actively been involved in the preparation of the Quality Programme were more aware of its role to guarantee the environmental standards, while those developers that had not been involved in the preparation of the Quality Programme considered the document useful for the aesthetic and marketing of the area”. (Person, 2005: 48)

From the public planning perspective, there is no turn from comprehensive planning towards fragmented projects (Swyngedouw et. al. 2002; Khakee & Barbanente, 2003). In the case of Bo01, the project did step out from the standard process of public planning (interview Johansson and Blucher) but this was related to the existing specific time constraints, and to the demands of an International 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 and Andersson). The Bo01 project was fully in line with the vision of the Municipality to build a new image for Malmö, associated with knowledge economy activities and sustainable living (Interviews Johansson, Blucher). “[Bo01] reached out to be a part of the city. It’s a wonderful meeting place for people from all over Malmö (...). This created a very good example for changing the image of the city “(Interview Reepalu)

In the case of Brunnshög, the project gets 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. (...) So everything is happening at the same time and this is very rare when it comes to planning”. (Interview Dalman)

Regarding the project location, 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 location was attractive because it was close to the city center, in a peninsula and close to the sea (...) had the sight of the newly built Öresund Bridge” (Interview Blucher). “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 Brunnsbölg the connection to the city center is being shaped by the urban design of the area. Instead of the larger plots and wide streets and squares of the initial plan, the current proposal introduces a structure that resemble the medieval urban pattern of the city center. Also emphasized is Lundalänken, to overcome the idea that Brunnsbölg is far from the center.

Regarding the approaches to projects, the influence of the private sector is poorly seen during the planning process due to two factors: first, the slow housing market situation in both cases led the developers to assume a reserved position. For Bo01, Malmö Stad had to convince developers to participate by waving them with favorable lease contracts for the municipally owned land: “[Malmö Stad] said ‘if you [the developers] don’t take part in this then you won’t take part in the development of this city when we [get our city back on its feet]. We own most of the land for building in this city, so they knew that they must be in good relations with us” (Interview Reepalu). In the case of Brunnsbölg, the developers are still hesitant to engage in the process because it is not yet clear whether the 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)

Secondly, the use of small plots and a wide variety of architects and developers was an idea originating from the Bo01AB architect and the municipality, in the case of Bo01, and from the municipality, in the case of Brunnsbölg. Developers are usually working with larger plots and one developer per plot. This approach was thus in both cases municipally-driven. This was made possible due to the specific demands of the housing exhibition – experimenting with new ways of creating a sustainable urban area – and with the demands of Brunnsbölg – bridge the character of isolation and distance from the center, and create an environment where people meet and interact in the public sphere. These approaches have been difficult to replicate in other projects (Interview Johansson). The singularity of the approaches pioneered in these projects enforces the idea of a piece-meal approach to the planning projects, but not of a private actor influence over how planning is conducted.

The vocabulary used by public planning to discuss the approaches followed during the project often derives from the business and private sector world: “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.” (Person, 2005:20. Emphasis added)

### **Between Centralization and Decentralization**

In the process of directing responsibilities at local level, and of extending public-private partnerships, some authors noted the emergence of area-based agencies replacing or overshadowing the public planning agencies (McGuirk & MacLaran, 2001). In the case of Bo01, the creation of the Bo01AB 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 Programme, chose the architects and building projects. Thus, although legally the planning tasks were kept with the municipality, informally the frequent meetings with the agency and the coincidence of the demands of the exhibition with the needs of the urban development made the agency an influential actor in the planning process.

The municipality, in both cases, 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.

Nevertheless, the decentralization of responsibilities towards area-based agencies such as Bo01AB, and to developers for compliance in implementing environmental standards, the financing limitations imposed by the State, and the coexistence of multiple sources of funding within the same project means an increasingly complex setting within which public planning operates. Even though it remains in a leading role, the tasks of mediating, facilitating and coordinating between the multi-faceted actors of the partnership become increasingly important.

### **Reactions in the practice of planning in the entrepreneurial city**

The context in which these two projects happen provides public 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, and urban design proposals that would not otherwise be accepted by developers. The context of a housing exhibition, time constrains, the existence of a specific exhibition theme, made way for experimenting with ideas and practices. In the case of Brunnsbö, the international attention and willingness to show something daring and new are allowing the group of planners involved in the project to also be more daring and creative in their proposals for the design of the neighborhood, and for how to involve the 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 as they go along (Interviews Blucher, Johansson, Larsson, Dalman).

The interviewees were asked about how the project stakeholders had reacted to the challenges posed by the project itself, be it through implementing new practices, routines, images, developing bridging concepts, etc. In the case of Bo01, one of the new aspects was the establishment of Bo01AB, 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, was leading the process of organizing the exhibition, and was a key consultant in the urban development project itself. (Interviews Reepalu, Blucher)

Bo01AB consisted of people sharing a planning background and/ or interest. This is probably one of the reasons why the layout proposed to the area was different from what was the standard at the time for city planning in Malmö and in Sweden. This was something innovative at the time, only possible due to the particular momentum created by the housing exhibition, the interest of developers in working in such a high visibility project and to try to recover from a string of bad years for the housing market; and because those involved in the project shared a common language – that of planning and urban development. (Interviews Larsson, Rosberg, Blucher)

The existence of a core-project group in Bo01AB 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 set-up was more complicated, with the heads of the main departments involved having to decide together on issues related to Bo01 and Malmö Stad. This meant that sometimes the politicians were called in to make a decision, or that the issue had to be extensively debated until a decision was made. This absence of a clear head taking decisions in Bo01, from the municipality side, was one of the problems highlighted (Interview Dalman). Nevertheless, Bo01AB, the developers and the municipality met frequently, in formal and informal meetings, to discuss the progress of the project.

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 Eva 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 the informal meetings and conversations easier to happen (Interviews Dalman Abrahamsson). However, it does have the disadvantage that the project 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, the 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 then Head of planning department – Mats Olsson. This meant the group of private interests and investors had a voice in the project organization through the person of a public officer and planner. The idea of inviting Mats Olsson to be head of the developer's group came from Ilmar Reepalu. Until recently, Mats Olsson 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 the developers were hesitant to being involved in high risk projects (Interview Reepalu). These were also the reasons why, in Bo01, the developers were invited to join in during the early stages of the project design. (Interview Dalman).

In Brunnsbög, the developers are not yet cooperating as a group of similar interests, although the project group has already approached the developers to form a single group and discuss among themselves (Interview Flycht). However, the planning process is still in the beginning, with no detail plan approved. Additionally there are reservations regarding the economic viability of investing in Brunnsbög, which makes the developers hesitant to commit when it comes to dates and standards for the development. What is clear is that the involvement of the 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 Programme was developed as a tool to secure the environmental standards for the housing and the public areas, and the compliance of the developers. The Quality programmes are not new to the municipality. Although the Quality Programme was a responsibility of the Planning Department, the developers and Bo01AB were also involved, together with other external consultants. The Quality Programme was included as a compromise in the land-allocation contracts, and functioned as a concrete guideline for the sustainability vision for Bo01. *À posteriori* it was concluded that those developers that had been actively involved in the definition of the quality programme, 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 Brunnshög is developing for researchers and highly educated people is not shared by the project group, although they recognize that there is a special attention placed over how this group of users might use the neighborhood (Interview Dalman and 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 Brunnshög as a district to live and invest in. The emphasis on sustainability is important, but what is truly innovative with Brunnshög 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 how urban policy is conducted. In the process, a new entrepreneurial governance setting is framing the conditions in which public planning is conducted. A question for debate is whether there is a turn under way in how public planning is conducted under an entrepreneurial approach towards urban development. A second question would be how public planning is adapting to it.

In the cases analyzed here, the role of the public actor remains central. It is the backbone of the project, getting it off the ground collecting the necessary partners for the project to come through. The developer's influence is different from that in the 1960s. What has changed is the importance given to how the market will react, what the market expects from the development. In that sense, one could say that it is not the developers' taking over the projects, but the expected market needs and demands taking over it. The market is an abstraction of the demands over what housing and office spaces should offer.

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

In the projects analyzed here, there were competing ambitions for the neighborhoods from the different stakeholders. However, there is a dominant vision, centered on sustainability, innovation and the knowledge economy, emerging in both cases. The discourse is politically supported and materialized in the initiatives taken throughout the city. 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 a broad community involvement is essential to guarantee the success of the strategy. On the other hand, the projects in discussion here exclude the wider community, through the justification that there actually was no one 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 back-bone against which to try informal or not regulated approaches to citizens involvement (Brunnshög) and can be what grants a holistic perspective to the development and keeps the perspective of what is the “public good”, a base-stone in the practice of public planning, and that should be kept even in an Entrepreneurial City project.

It is the challenge of how to include the “public” in the Entrepreneurial city projects that deserves further attention by researchers concerned with the practices of public planning under conditions of neoliberalism and entrepreneurial approaches to policy and planning. This challenge raises issues of how these projects might be contributing to the development of segregated cities, and how public planning is supporting the dominant socio-economic groups and ideologies against socio-economic groups and economic and cultural activities that become excluded from these entrepreneurial cities and neighborhoods.

### **List of interviewees**

Tobias **Abrahamsson** – Project coordinator for citizens involvement at Brunnshög. 12.03. 2012

Pernilla **Andersson** – Project Manager at Malmö City Hall. 18.05.2011

Gösta **Blucher** – former head of Bo01AB. 22.02.2011 and 20.09.2011

Eva **Dalman** - Project Manager of Brunnshög. 20.01.2012

Staffan **Flycht** – Business Development at Skanska. 14.03.2012.

Bertil **Johansson**- Senior planner at Malmö City Hall. 07.03 2011

Christer **Larsson** – Head of Planning department at Malmö City Hall. 27.02.2012

Ilmar **Reepalu** - Malmö mayor and member of board of Bo01AB. 20.03.2012

Göran **Rosberg**- Information Officer at Malmö City Hall. 03.03.2011

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