By invitation only: uses and users of the 'entrepreneurial city'

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By invitation only: uses and users of the 'entrepreneurial city'

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ABSTRACT

Large-scale urban development projects (LSUDPs) are embodying the diffusion of an entrepreneurial approach into urban policy and consequently to planning, with the built environment being transformed into spaces oriented towards specific users and uses. For planning practice, this entails including urban forms and discourses that support exclusion and polarization in planning projects. This paper asks how physical planning promotes and/or hinders spatial and socio-economic integration in these projects. The analysis focuses on two UDPs in Malmö, Sweden. Official planning documents, interviews with public officials and the media are used to illustrate the discourses and practices built around these projects to glance over aspects of equity and integration in a city that is plagued by socio-economic and spatial segregation. The paper contributes to the discussions on implications and dilemmas for physical planning derived from the adoption of entrepreneurial approaches in urban policy.

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 socio-economic crisis following a lengthy period of deindustrialization. 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 policy-makers turned from emphasizing the management and delivery of public services and local welfare promotion, towards emphasizing the need for local economic promotion and place marketing to attract companies, investments and (creative, wealthy) inhabitants. The 'metamorphosis' of the city has crystallized in several large-scale urban development projects (LSUDPs) 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 LSUDPs does not match the spatial and socio-economic heterogeneity of the city. Thirty per cent 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 the shortage of affordable housing (Stad 2012b). The city can also be divided, spatially and socio-economically in a western part, more affluent, with higher employment numbers and higher income

per family, and an Eastern side with a higher percentage of refugees, unemployed people and lower levels of formal education and income per family (Stad 2008b).

This paper questions how physical planning practice, associated with an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, promotes and/or hinders the spatial and socio-economic integration of Malmö, by looking into the discourses, practices and design approaches followed in two LSUDPs. 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 be used to indicate municipal urban planning and the local planning department.

Previous research argued that LSUDPs embody the diffusion of an entrepreneurial approach into urban policy and consequently into planning (Harvey 1989; Hubbard 1996; McGuirk and MacLaran 2001; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002; Taşan-Kok 2010; Baeten 2012), and that this has potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice. However, this research has been less focused on the orientation towards specific types of users and uses (Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006; Rousseau 2009; Miles 2012) and the implications it has for physical planning. For planning practice, this entails including specific forms and discourses that support exclusion and polarization 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, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002; Peck 2005). Ultimately, the paper engages with a question that is central to planning practice: who and for what do planners plan for (Kitchen 1990, 2001) and highlights physical planning practices associated with a polarizing view over who and for what the city is for.

Following this introduction, we discuss what justifies the entrepreneurial approach to urban development, who and for what the projects in this approach are intended for, and the criticisms of this approach. The third section presents our methodological choices. The fourth section focuses on the Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie projects, and on how these projects deal with issues of socio-economic and spatial integration. The concluding section focuses on the potential implications and dilemmas for planning practice that derive from the influence of entrepreneurial city approaches over physical planning practices.

Towards the entrepreneurial city

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, and adopting a more proactive and outward-oriented approach to local economic development. This new approach is characterized 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' (Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006; Rousseau 2009; Miles 2012). The impact on planning practice is that these policies translate into projects to build places that will attract and cater for the needs of specific types of activities (especially creative or high-value-added industries, and advanced services) and the creative, highly educated, and entrepreneurial people. Physical planning tries to anticipate the 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 purposively created or renewed are defined within a logic that will sustain the economic activities, residents, and visitors that are deemed fit for the city. In this wake, a 'real' city is omitted 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 no longer holds the primacy for 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 (Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2000; Florida 2002; Hutton 2004; Moodysson and Jonsson 2007).

Additionally, there has been a trend, supported by some scholarly literature and by organizations such as the OECD, to promote the revitalization of the built environment to create competitive advantages for the city in the face of a purported intercity competition (Hubbard and Hall 1998; OECD 2007; Shimomura and Matsumoto 2010). The link is in these cases contrary to that explored by Hutton. Instead of the companies locating in 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 the amenities that it hosts, the conditions to attract these companies, thus promoting local economic growth (Florida 2002; Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006; Shimomura and Matsumoto 2010).

Who and for what are these cities for?

If earlier waves of industrialization designed the city for heavy industries and large supplies of workers, these more recent industries call for an urban design catering for specialized, highly educated workers, and for visitors and investors. This implies 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), but 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 city approaches associate urban regeneration projects with city branding, and uses 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 the perverse effects that this emphasis on specific types of uses and users has on the socio-economic 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 by and supported through a neoliberalized 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 for 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, 603), 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 socio-economic and spatial polarization, 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 still existing degradation within cities, where the poorer segments of the population reside, oppose, and confront the intended new image for the city. LSUDPs 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 observed (Loftman and Nevin 1995; Bailly, Jensen-Butler, and Leontidou 1996).

The danger deriving from the socio-economic and spatial fragmentation of the city (MacLeod and Ward 2002; Mitchell 2003; Kohn 2004) might come in the form of the diminishment of neutral spaces where individuals interact with others, the decline of areas where the poor, the homeless, and the 'undesirables' of aestheticized spaces of consumption can reside, or simply the loss of spaces for teenagers to hang out (Low and Smith 2006). The problem arises in the socio-economic homogenous character of many of these new neighbourhoods, in the isolation from the wider urban community, and in the segregation from socio-economic or ethnic groups that cannot afford to live or use these compounds. Kirby (2008) confronts these fears by arguing that they are based on the 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 the diversity and tolerance to different life-choices, cultures, and 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.

In the next section, we discuss our methodology and introduce our case studies. The cases chosen illustrate the attention dedicated in LSUDPs to the users and uses of the knowledge-economy, translated into several hindrances for socio-economic and spatial integration. The entrepreneurial approach to urban policy followed in Malmö is physically illustrated by these projects. The implications for planning practice are discussed in the conclusions.

Methodology

The paper focuses on two LSUDPs: Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie (Figure 1). Hyllie was initially designed to attract a certain type of highly educated and highly skilled inhabitants that would move to Malmö and work in knowledge-intensive industries. It follows the discourse initiated through the housing 2001 exhibition 'Bo01' which sought to attract 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 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, creative classes, sustainability, and trendy environments also affects whom Norra Sorgenfri is intended for. As such the cases offer complementary inputs in physical planning practices within an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy,
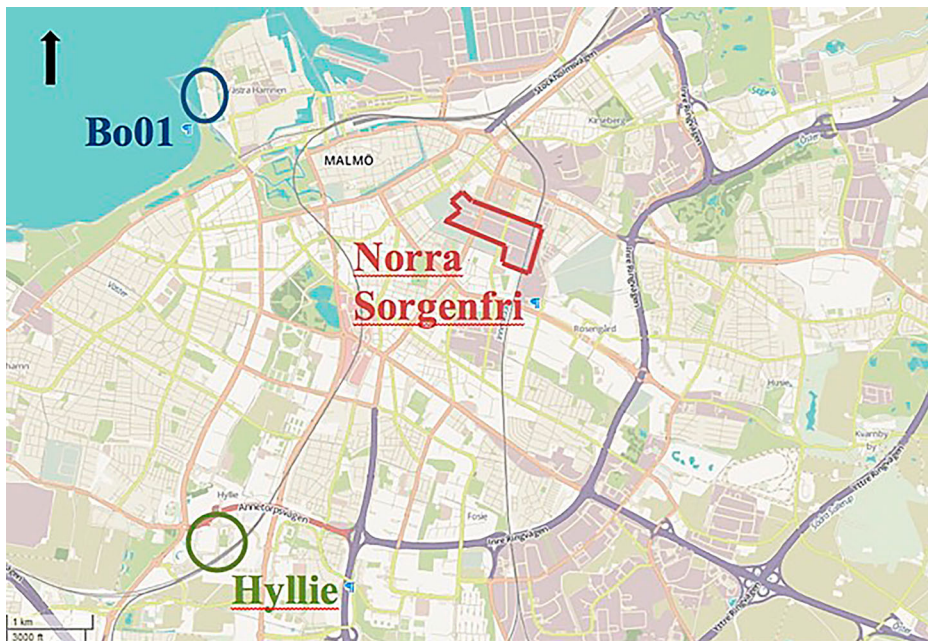
Figure 1. Location of projects. Source: Open Street Map.

because they are officially oriented towards divergent goals, while in practice engaging with similar discourses and practices.

Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie can be regarded as successors of Malmö's first LSUDP, Bo01, an international housing exhibition built on former shipyard grounds that introduced and legitimized new practices within the planning department and experimented with the sustainability discourse (Persson 2005). Bo01 was openly built for higher-income families in a city until then strongly steered by social-democratic principles. This was justified by municipal officials and planners with the technical requirements and high-quality standards of the dwellings, which pushed the prices up, and with the constraints the municipality faced at the time.

> At that point, we needed to have better housing areas then we had in the city. We are quite dominated by large-scale [housing estates]. If we should be attractive for other life styles and other families, we had to create some new, attractive housing areas. (Interview, Head of Planning Department)

The Bo01 area, and the whole of the Western Harbour district of which Bo01 is 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, how to attract companies in knowledge-intensive sectors, and as the physical prove that Malmö has indeed left its industrial past behind (Interview Information officer). In order to consolidate the new image for the city, subsequent projects have mainstreamed the theme, discourses, practices, and urban form initiated with Bo01. Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie capture this mainstreaming in different ways.

Our analysis first looked in to planning documents: comprehensive plans (*Översiktsplan*), detailed plans (*detaljplan*), and plan programmes (*planprograms*), to understand how the focus on users and uses of the new areas was justified, the design and discourses used to give room to these users and uses, and the links of each project to the rest of the city. This stage focused on highlighting the official rhetoric about the projects. This analysis was followed by semi-structured interviews to clarify how the official discourse translated to the practice of physical planning, which dilemmas it raised, and how the projects were seen as integrating with the rest of the city of Malmö by the planners

themselves. The interviews were held with planners and managers of the two projects, with public officials linked with physical planning in the city of Malmö and with developers.

Hyllie and Norra Sorgenfri

Hyllie is a LSUDP 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 around the main station square, the core of the project consists of a major events hall, the largest shopping centre in Sweden (to date), and office blocks (Figures 2 and 3). This agricultural land was already earmarked for development in the 1964 Master Plan as part of the so-called national Million Programme which tried to meet rapid population growth with the construction of a million new dwellings nationwide. Hyllie remained undeveloped as the Million Programme came to an end in 1975. The recent railway plans revitalized the 1960s aspirations, 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 at 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 metre 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 metres 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 Planner at Planning Department and architect at Parks and Streets department). The project fits well into the goal of the

Figure 2. Hyllie, station square, 2013.

Figure 3. Hyllie, shopping centre Emporia, 2013.

comprehensive plan for Malmö of promoting a denser city through the redevelopment of industrial and underused areas (Stad 2012c). Norra Sorgenfri is also included within the strategy of focusing UDPs in areas adjacent to already popular areas, hoping to capture from the effect of proximity with already successful neighbourhoods. The municipality aims at using the old industrial buildings to grant character to the development, keeping the more architecturally interesting buildings, and re-qualifying them for new uses (Stad 2008a). In the empty plots in-between the pre-existing buildings, new buildings are to be built, densifying the area but keeping with the industrial theme (Figures 4 and 5).

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 1. 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 underused 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

Figure 4. Old industrial building in Norra Sorgenfri, 2010.

Figure 5. Co-existence of abandoned plots and active industries, Norra Sorgenfri, 2010.

Towards socio-economic integration

The initial plans for *Hyllie* certainly prioritized commercial activities (events, shopping, prime office spaces), and were not aiming 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 etcetera, 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 – Statistics Sweden) 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 immigrate 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, not inviting to become a 'meeting place' or 'a place in the world' as it is hoped in planning documents and promotion brochures (Stad 2015). 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 commercialized (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.[1] 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 socio-economic, 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

Figure 6. The old bus depot in Norra Sorgenfri, 2010.

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 Parks and Street department and Real Estate department) (Figure 6).

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. As a principle, the planners involved would like to see a mix of socio-economic and age groups residing and using the area. However, they also recognize that there are no strategies to promote this, except from the 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 generalized version of a resident (interviews project managers for Norra Sorgenfri, Streets and parks department and Real Estates department).

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 all the time on the way to the next idea. It looks full of character, mixed 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 the uniqueness and own initiative', where 'interesting places' can be created.[2] (Arkitekten, Juni 2008)

The developers are expecting to take advantage of a gentrification process occurring in nearby neighbourhoods to better sell their apartments in a neighbourhood that, at least now, is not attractive to invest and live in

> [this project is important for MKB because] we already have lost of plots in the area and we think that it is an area that is progressing (…) and in a gentrification process, this is absolutely one of these upcoming areas, so close to the city. (interviews MKB)

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: 'Definitely [gentrification] has been discussed and that was one of the reasons why we wanted to have this culture of art as part of social sustainability' (interview Streets and parks department). The artists already working in the district are the recurrent answer to any question regarding socio-economic 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 ambition that the artists will 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 operationalize these ambitions. Neither is there financial support from the municipality nor clear interest from the developers and landowners (interview Street and Parks department).

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 around 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 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 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 to 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 realized to date. 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, under construction, and those already built, create a very peculiar ambient power (Allen 2006) in the area. While not excluding anyone in particular as such, 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 some luxury apartment plans, together put an unmistakable stamp of 'high-end development' on Hyllie.

Norra Sorgenfri emphasizes the promotion of spatial integration between the eastern and western parts 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 in the visioning process the expectations for the area to act as an integration tool were high, currently this vision has been toned down (interview Streets and Parks department), and some of the developers are less optimistic about the impact the project might have (interview

MKB) There are 'missing links' to 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 project managers at Planning department and Streets and Parks department)

Additionally, one could also argue that the vision is directed to a connection between east and west, but solely for movement from the west and centre towards the east. It is 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 movements from the east to the west are presented as inhabitants living in the east that will be able to use the amenities existing in the centre (Stad 2008a), which implies a hidden undervaluation of what currently exists on the eastern parts of Malmö.

In sum, and in spite of the rhetoric that is promoted at the city level, both projects emerge as being poorly integrated with their surroundings, and little sensitive to the socio-economic and spatial polarization of the city, which they disregard or do not address.

Discussion and conclusions

This paper set out to discuss how physical planning associated with an entrepreneurial approach to urban policy, promote and/or hinder the spatial and socio-economic integration of Malmö. We looked into the discourses, practices and design approaches associated with two LSUDPs, from the perspective of the public officials involved in the projects. The cases illustrate that despite being aware of the difficult socio-economic situation and spatial barriers existing in Malmö, physical planning in these LSUDPs pursues approaches that contribute to enhance these barriers in the city.

Norra Sorgenfri and Hyllie have in common 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 in Malmö contributes to the exclusion of other socio-economic groups and activities not openly, but by omission and by inaction. By omission when it does not refer back to the need for affordable housing and the need to accommodate the large immigrant population. It also 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 attempts to integrate these neighbourhoods with the surrounding areas and attempts to cater for different socio-economic groups remain merely intentional. Planning even excludes by inaction when no measures to counteract anticipated gentrification are in place. But maybe this inaction or omission reflects solely the inability of the physical planning department to formulate and pursue strategies that are not prioritized by the wider municipality.

This paper thus contributes to further the discussion on the implications that the entrepreneurial approach to urban policy has for the physical planning practice. The cases illustrate that 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) that the development contributes to create jobs and local economic growth and does not drain the municipal budgets. This difficult balance can be illustrated by the need to balance between what are 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. In the wake of the efforts to lead the city into a knowledge-economy era, alternative urban realities are rejected, omitted, or neglected in favour of the imagined one. 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,

namely the provision of broad access to welfare infrastructures for all. This poses the question whom planners plan for. The cases in this paper illustrate that Malmö's physical planning practice is unable to come to terms and deal with its history of immigration, inflow of refugees, affordable housing shortage, and socio-economic problems. Instead, it is trying to slide over these problems through glossy urban landscapes of wealth, consumption, and an imported sense of belonging to a desired new age of the knowledge-economy. An open question is how this polarizing view over the city will impact the chances of the new image of Malmö to consolidate and reflect the heterogeneity of the city, in sharp contrast with the seemingly coherent image of what Malmö should be.

Notes

1. The average housing price in Malmö (April 2012–2013) was around 17600 SEK per m^2 (Mäklarstatistik 2013). The average price for an apartment in Hyllie on the major internet housing site Hemnet.se was around 27000 SEK per m^2. In surrounding neighbourhoods the average price was around 10200 SEK per m^2.
2. All translations from Swedish by the authors.

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Interviews

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Information Officer at Malmö City
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