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Entrepreneurial Malmö

A Study of Contemporary Urban Development in Västra Hamnen

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Abstract

Concepts as the entrepreneurial city and the creative class closely correlate with the ideas presented in the theory of neoliberalism and neoliberal urban planning policies. These concepts have spread widely throughout the modern world and effect the planning of almost every city today, from developed countries to developing countries.

Typically seen as a stronghold for social democratic policies and the welfare society Sweden should be one of the last places where theory of neoliberalism and neoliberal urban planning has come through. Likewise there are emerging signs of this urban policy trend. With the case of Malmö, and more specifically the urban area Västra Hamnen, it is in this master thesis investigated, through the means of document analysis, if these concepts are adopted even there.

Key words: Neoliberalism, neoliberal subjectivity, entrepreneurial city, the creative class, document analysis, Sweden, Malmö, Västra Hamnen.

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Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

My passion for the urban world started with a visit to Hong Kong back in 1994. Looking up, numerous skyscrapers reached for the clouds, gleaming where the sun hit the façades of glass and steel. On ground level a bustle of people were about their everyday life – someone chasing a taxi for work, a couple arguing with each other, another laughing, street vendors crying out what they had to offer for the day or just someone hurrying past for some appointment unknown to me. As a contrast to this busyness the greenness from the hillsides around the city, pocket parks within the city, and the calm water of the bay, provided areas of retreat from the otherwise pulsing city life. Charmed by this, I have since been intrigued by the urban milieu and the interaction between various human beings that takes place within the city.

It is my firm opinion that cities are strongholds of growth, creativity, innovation, interaction and exchange of views and ideas, tolerance, inclusion and integration. Therefore it is hard not to recognize cities as an area of study of human progress as we have become wealthier and healthier than ever. Still, while cities bring much positive developments notions of exclusion, segregation and inequality loom as a dark cloud above all cities in the world. Even though we have become wealthier and healthier the gap between the wealthiest and healthiest and the less so, is invariably increasing (see e.g. Harvey 2005; Peck and Tickell 2002). Something that I argue poses likewise fascinating as troubling questions. For instance, what are actually the driving forces behind the fact that the richest and poorest people often end up living side by side in our cities? Or, why do some cities degrade, while others thrive or make miraculous comebacks?

This, I argue, is a side-effect of the overall neoliberalization of the world. Neoliberalization and market-friendly policies have been affecting the ways cities develop and function since the late 1970's and has installed itself at an almost autocratic position when it comes to decision-making in politics and economy, and by that urban planning. The appealing end product of neoliberalism – better living conditions and socio-economic opportunities for individuals, overall freedom, sustainability, and economic stability – is surely nothing to argue against. However, the desire to recreate urban space in means of attracting capital flows has brought socio-economic and spatial changes to the urban environment and the ones living there. Social problems and concerns are neglected in favor of economic growth, and if kept neglected we will – in

my opinion – venture into a future of pressing social problems, with a divide of the ‘elite’ and the ‘other’.

In this particular thesis I will attempt to explore how neoliberalization and, the concept of the entrepreneurial city, have affected the course of development of the south Swedish city Malmö from being an industrial city to becoming a so-called knowledge-city by adopting new policies of growth. Further, as theories of neoliberal urban planning and the entrepreneurial city foremost have been investigated on western cities of larger global repute – e.g. American context, but now slowly also the European counterpart and to some extent larger cities in the developing world (see e.g. Brenner 2004; Jessop 1997) – I aim to test, and hopefully add to these theories, as to see if they also are applicable regarding the urban development of mid to small sized, Scandinavian cities.

1.2 Purpose of Study

1.2.1 Statement of Purpose

In Sweden, the former industrial city Malmö has gone through a massive urban transformation. After a full century of industrial success, and in a position as one of the country’s greatest growth region, the city suddenly experienced dramatic changes. The once successful Kockum’s shipyard industry went from being a world renowned company to bankruptcy following the oil crisis during the 1970’s. The decision to close down the car producer SAAB’s factory in the 1990’s, combined with other industry closures, further reduced Malmö to a shell of its former industrial self. De-industrialization, the loss of 35 000 work places together with refugee receptions led to high unemployment rates and insecure economic and social situations for the cities inhabitants.

However, political decisions during the mid-1990s regarding urban development together with a turn of focus from manufacturing industry towards knowledge-intensive sectors led to renewed accumulation of capital and investments were made to create welfare. A powerful vision work was initiated under the slogan ‘Vision Malmö 2000’ and a plan called ‘Kunskapsstaden Malmö’ was created. Since then various urban developments have taken place, for instance a new university, a bridge connecting Copenhagen and Malmö, train tracks beneath ground level, a new concert house, and new city districts (Malmsten 1994; Ohlsson 1994; Berggren and Greiff 1992). Most attention has been leveled at the city district Västra Hamnen, which has gone through a fundamental transformation. The recent rejuvenation of the city district stems from a complex process of re-evaluation and re-contextualization of the local milieu in response to potential (neoliberal) urban development and commercial opportunities. The former industrial component has perished, and in its place new forms of economic and political key agents of development have been re-established.

The result of this urban transition is an example of what often is expressed as the entrepreneurial city (Harvey 1989) in the academia literature, a transformation of the city as the traditional provider of welfare services, to a city that advocates and encourages local economic growth. Studies of this topic originally focused on de-industrializing American cities but the phenomenon has today spread to cities all around the world, thus transforming the city to become an increasingly important actor of space for place-marketing, urban (re)development, gentrification, and various forms of large scale urban development projects. Tools to re-invent, re-produce and re-image place to attract capital.

Interested by the notion of the entrepreneurial city, and the apparent dominance of neoliberal policy and ideas on all levels of society, I aim to within this study examine how this complex process of urban transformation took place and has since been consolidated in Malmö generally and Västra Hamnen specifically. Moreover, the aim is not to create a new grand theory for urban development, but merely try to identify and demonstrate the complexity of (neoliberal) urban development and socio-economic issues inherently connected to this. Further, attention to the role played by narratives and discourse in declaring the importance of Västra Hamnen as a district for future development of Malmö will be given.

To conclude, this study attempt to answer the following questions:

- What values and ideals are being pursued in the urban transformation of Västra Hamnen? Do the theories of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberal urban planning harmonize with that of Malmö's, and more specifically that of Västra Hamnen's urban development?
- Which actors are being mobilized in the creation of the urban space and in which ways do these affect the physical and socio-economical space of Västra Hamnen?
- And lastly, what are the broader socio-geographical effects of this regarding the urban space of Malmö?

1.2.2 Justifying the Purpose

First of all one may ask, 'why conduct a study on urban development?' According to van den Broeck urban planning tools can: (a) change society, as planning will lead to the creation of new social, political and power relations: (b) embody and reflect societal struggles: (c) be employed in different ways according to existing power relations and ideologies and (d) evolve with the continuing creation, transformation and disappearance of tools, a process that is embedded in societal evolution and is both path-dependent and path-creative (2008: 265). Taşan-Kok argues that together, these assumptions imply that forging new tools may not necessarily change the dominant neoliberal path-dependency of planning, but rather could help clarify the role of planning by redefining its influence on social, political and power relations (2012: 10).

By planning our societies we can chose and affect the direction of development of our societies. Furthermore, the urban space is where the majority of the individuals of

our world conduct their life today. We live, eat, sleep, work, trade, socialize, etcetera as individuals in our cities. Our governments gather and decide the tomorrow of society in our cities. All of these acts and many more, unfold daily in our cities around the globe. Turning the urban space to one of the most important arena for both individual development as well as to that of the society. Furthermore, theories of urban development spans over various academic disciplines making the issues complex matters but likewise provide a broad base for interesting cases for deeper analysis. By these reasons alone I find it important to conduct studies of urban development.

Secondly, ‘why study Malmö and Västra Hamnen?’ Malmö is a good case to study as the city has been regarded somewhat as a model city for the Swedish welfare state (see e.g. Billing and Stigendal 1994; Stenelo and Norrving 1993), and described as “a symbol or a pattern for the realized social democracy” (Bergström 1993: 32). Thus, considering the neoliberal turn in the Western part of the world, Malmö and Västra Hamnen becomes a particular interesting least-likely case study to investigate as the shift towards neoliberal policies in Malmö should strongly counteract that of Malmö as a model social welfare city. Additionally, I am a firm believer that no place is the same as another, every place has its place-specific context, even if two places in the beginning could seem to be exact similar. To further strengthen my cause, I borrow Dematteis definition of the ‘local milieu’. He defines it as “a distinctive and always unique social and geographical environment comprised of a set of particular qualities embedded in a territorial context” (1993; 1999). Thus, theories of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberalism do not necessarily need to be applicable to the case of Malmö and Västra Hamnen, or could have different outcomes.

Lastly, ‘why a study of neoliberalization and the entrepreneurial city?’ Neoliberal policies and ideas are all around us today. They have gone global. Common for these policies and ideas are that cities are centers of growth. To understand the contemporary society, urban development, the notion of the entrepreneurial city and the shift of urban governance one therefore needs to understand the foundations of neoliberalism. Moreover, it is my firm opinion, there has been said little of how neoliberalization of our cities subconsciously affect subjectivity and thereby contemporary urban planning and how we as individuals conduct our lives (see e.g. Larner 2003). Additional a number of scholars have agreed that there is a (political) transformation happening to the nation-state’s role and tasks regarding urban development and the urban space (Cochrane 2007; Goldsmith 2006; Clarke 2006; Harvey 1989; Peck 2001), something which further points towards the notion of the entrepreneurial city and the ongoing neoliberalization of the society, which in itself makes it worth to investigate further.

1.3 Disposition

In the first chapter of this study a brief introduction and background to the subject is given, after which, the state of purpose is presented, as well as the disposition of the thesis. The second chapter consists of three separate parts. In the first part general theory of neoliberalism is addressed, elaborating what differ the neoliberal and the liberal, continuing with discussing critique and contradictions within neoliberal policies. The second part reviews the concept of the entrepreneurial city with focus on Harvey's theory regarding said topic. In the last part of the second chapter the notion of the neoliberal subject is explored, and ends with a brief discussion of Florida's creative class.

Chapter three presents the reader to the methodology applied in this study where discussions of research design, operationalization, methods and material are presented. Followed by a fourth chapter briefly depicting the settings of this study's case-study, namely the south Swedish city Malmö and more specifically the city district Västra Hamnen.

Chapter five discusses the findings from the document analysis and the gathered quantitative data in relation to the theories explored in chapter two through three separate parts. The first part consists of a brief historical overview of Malmö's urban development throughout the 1950's till 1990's, followed by a discussion regarding Malmö's so-called entrepreneurial turn with examples from Västra Hamnen. The last part of the chapter discusses how narratives have re-created the image of the city and the emergence of threatening social inequalities and notions of polarization.

Chapter six concludes the thesis in three smaller sections discussing the research questions one by one.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

2.1 Neoliberalism

2.1.1 A Common Playground – General Thoughts of Neoliberalism

As a point of departure I will begin by exploring some general thoughts of neoliberalism. It is said that the final step of realization of neoliberalism from theory to actual policy is paralleled to the election of Thatcher as British Prime Minister in 1979 and Reagan as President of the United States in 1980 as symbols where neoliberalism replaced the economic theories of Keynes (1936) (Hay 2002). Its foundations can be traced back to classical liberalism first advocated by Smith (1776) while its modern founder Friedman (1962) replaced Keynesianism with a more monetarist approach and thereby set the rules of what we today name neoliberalism. This is further acknowledged by McLean and McMillian who refers to neoliberalism as the renouncement of Keynesian welfare state economics and the dominance of the Chicago School of political economy (2003: 368).

More commonly known, this refers to the account that neoliberalism is equated with a radically free market, maximized competition, and free trade, achieved through economic de-regulation, elimination of tariffs, and a range of monetary and social policies favorable to business (Friedman 1962, Hayek 1973). All while the individual is willing to accept the risks associated with participating in free markets, and to adapt to rapid changes arising from such participation (Friedman 1980). Furthermore the individual is being solely responsible for the consequences of the choices and decisions they freely make, instances of inequality and social injustice are morally acceptable, at least to the degree in which they could be seen as the result of freely made decisions (Nozick 1974; Hayek 1976).

Thus, according to neoliberals this condition requires governance where the government ‘sits back’ and lets private actors rule the market. Should the government intervene, the economy is thought doomed to fail – i.e. borrowing the words of Garret “good government is market friendly government” (2008: 248). Gough fortifies this by pointing to this particular aspect in the neoliberal system, and that it is crucial for the state to operate ‘correctly’ (2002: 410-412). Additionally the neoliberal system promotes private enterprise and entrepreneurship as key components of innovation, growth and prosperity, which all need and thrive from a free market (Harvey 2005: 64; Rose 1999: 141). Employing a slightly historical perspective Ohmae adds some weight

to above statements. Ohmae argues that the older patterns of nation-to-nation linkage have begun to lose their dominance and that in its place new patterns of economic activities have created channels of flows that owe nothing to the lines of demarcation on traditional political maps (2008: 223).

Alias, neoliberalism is defined, here in the words of Harvey, as

a theory of political economic practices which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (2005: 2).

2.1.2 To Differ the Neo from the Liberal

Brown stresses the need to differ political and economic liberalism when discussing neoliberalism. In economic thought, liberalism contrasts with mercantilism on one side and Keynesianism or socialism on the other. Its classical version refers to a maximization of free trade and competition achieved by minimum interference from political institutions. Something that coincides well with the neoliberal interpretation examined above. In political thought, however, while individual liberty remains a touchstone, liberalism signifies an order in which the state exists to secure the freedom of individuals on a formally egalitarian basis (2005: 39). Of these two interpretations of liberalism, Brown states that

the liberalism in what has come to be called neoliberalism refers to liberalism's economic variant, recuperating selected pre-Keynesian assumptions about the generation of wealth and its distribution, rather than to liberalism as a political doctrine, set of political institutions, or political practices (2005: 39)

Foucault shares the economical view Brown clarifies above and identifies the market as a space of autonomy which has been carved out of the state through unconditional right of private property (Read 2009: 27). Furthermore the change between classical liberalism and neoliberalism – according to Foucault – is that the emphasis is changed from an anthropology of exchange to one of completion. In classical liberalism, exchange is the general matrix of society. In neoliberalism – except an extension of the process of making economic activity a general matrix of social and political relations – focus is shifted from exchange to competition (Read 2009: 27). While exchange was considered to be natural, competition is understood by the neoliberals to be an artificial relation that must be protected against the tendency for markets to form monopolies and interventions by the state (Read 2009: 28).

Additionally Foucault argues that classic liberalism and neoliberalism share a general idea of what Foucault terms 'homo economicus', a particular view of man as an economic subject at the basis of politics. However, what is of interest here is that in the shift between classic liberalism and neoliberalism a more general shift in the way in which human beings make themselves and are made subjects is also made according to Foucault (Read 2009, 28).

2.1.3 Critiques of Neoliberalism and Its Contradictory Nature

The strong focus on the market has directed heavy critique towards neoliberal policy. Gray summarizes the neoliberal global market as “a Utopia that can never be realized” with results such as social dislocation and economic and political instability on a large scale (2008: 25). Brown argues in similar ways, claiming neoliberalism to be indifferent toward poverty, social displacement, cultural decimation, long term resource depletion and environmental destruction (2005: 38). While scholar such as Mittleman (2008), Stiglitz (2006), Peck and Tickell (2002) and Swyngedouw *et al* (2002), warns for socio-economic polarization, marginalization, raised inequality and social insecurity, and a rise of a new class society. Something which is further emphasized by Wolf who argues that inequality not only has increased between nations but likewise within (Wolf 2008: 186).

As a critics’ term neoliberalism is therefore often presented as an ideal or political program that seeks to supplant collective, public values within individualistic, private values of market rationality as the guiding principles of state policy, economic governance, and everyday life. Rose express this as that the ideal of the ‘social state’ has given way to that of the ‘enabling state’, i.e. the state is no longer to be required to answer all society’s needs for order, security, health and productivity (1999: 142).

At the same time there does not seem to exist a single critical conceptualization of neoliberalism, sometimes it is conceptualized as a policy, or as a hegemonic ideology, other times as a distinctive form of governmentality (Larner 2000). Baeten suggest neoliberalism as a philosophy expressed in certain *attitudes* towards society, the individual, employment, and the city (2012: 24). This multifaceted nature is further confirmed by He and Wu who point to the fact that neoliberalism thus far has displayed a much higher adaptation towards different sets of environments than maybe first expected (2009). However, as Peck and Tickell argue, while neoliberalism takes on different forms in different places, the ‘family resemblances’ between these, forms some essential features to be isolated (2002: 388).

As a response to this, scholars choose in greater extent to address neoliberalism as a process – i.e. neoliberalization – instead of a hegemonic system of capitalism (see e.g. Harvey 2005, Larner 2003, Brenner and Theodore 2002, Peck 2001). The common argument is that the restructurings imposed by neoliberal theory never fully show their pure form, as they are always introduced molded to fit specific institutional and political settings. Borrowing the words of Harvey once more

To begin with, most states that have taken the neoliberal turn have done so only partially – the introduction of greater flexibility into labour markets here, a deregulation of financial operations and embrace of monetarism there, a move towards privatization of state-owned sectors somewhere else (2005: 87)

Neoliberalism should therefore not be seen as simply a set of economic policies of one explicit form. It is a set of very adaptable power relations that extends the logic of market relations across the entire social field. The explicit task of governmental

programs and strategies becomes to align social and ethical life with economic criteria and expectations, intervening in society to create the necessary conditions (Vrasti 2011: 10) – i.e. if neoliberalism is deployed as a form of governmentality, it involves extending and disseminating market values to *all* institutions and social action (Brown 2005: 39). Something Harvey argues creates a situation where individual success – or failure – on the market, is reflected in their own well-being, welfare, health, education, etcetera (2005: 65).

Additional critique has been leveled towards the contradictory nature of neoliberalism where much credit can be given to Harvey (2005) and Peck *et al* (2009). Harvey explores the shadowy areas and conflicts within the general theory of neoliberalism and identifies a number of general contradictions, while Peck *et al* points out some serious disjunctions between the neoliberal ideology and its everyday political operations (2009: 51).

Combining these two analysis, Taşan-Kok has grouped the different discrepancies into five major contradictions that are inherent in the neoliberal state: (1) contradictions related to the redistribution of state power and responsibilities: (2) contradictions related to the new roles of relations between the state and private sector: (3) contradictions created by increasing entrepreneurialism, individualism and competition: (4) contradictions due to market freedom versus individual freedom and collective democracy: and (5) contradictions in the collative identity and democratic governance (2012: 12). For a more throughout list of these five major contradictions and additional sub-related specific contradictions a table is provided in the appendix at the end of this thesis.

2.2 The Entrepreneurial Turn

2.2.1 New Powers Steer the Development of the City

With neoliberalism dominating policies at various levels of society, new ideas and ways to govern cities have parallel emerged as well as new views of economy. One of these which have come to dominate urban development is the thought of entrepreneurialism.

According to Smith (2005) cities have gone from being governed by nation-states economic power – thus being the provider of place and space for industrial production and welfare – to today be places and spaces of entrepreneurial nature for primary economic growth. Dannestam (2009) stresses that this does not equal that cities are acting outside the nation territory as free agents, but rather that the nation-state not always have to function as the primary reference point. Instead the city positions itself as an actor in a bigger regional and/or international context.

Thus, cities have come to compete with each other for resources. Here the metaphor ‘entrepreneur’ has come to use, and refers to the development where the public sector is influenced by aspects that are traditionally connected to the private business sector, as for instance, risk taking and innovation. The city is to be governed more as a company

(Hubbard and Hall 1998; Painter 1998; Harvey 1989) and infrastructure plays a key role as a mean of competitive advantage. Connection to other cities, regions and even nations through the means of airports, bridges, rail road systems, etcetera, are important urban structures cities try to improve and promote as to attract capital, investments and inhabitants (Swyndgedouw *et al.* 2002; Harvey 1989).

Harvey (1989) argues that the shift from urban government towards urban governance is a process still ongoing, and could be applied to more and more cities all around the world. Other scholars notes that even though local urban politics have had an economic orientated role for a long time in American context where it has been described as ‘economic boosterism’ or ‘urban growth machine’ (see e.g. Dannestam (2009); Jonas and Wilson 1999), it is first now in more recent time that this notion also has reached an European context where an higher notion to the subject has increased through concepts such as ‘new urban politics’ (Jessop *et al.* 1999), ‘urban/local governance’ (Andrew and Goldsmith 1998) and ‘the entrepreneurial city’ (Harvey 1989). Or as Andrew and Goldsmith puts it

Cities have come to recognise that they need to be internationally competitive in the world economy, and nobody wants to be second-class in this competition. In North America and Western Europe, as well as in parts of the Third World, there has been a considerable growth in the role played by local governments in terms of local economic development. While one might argue that such ‘economic boosterism’ has always played a major role in North American cities, certainly in Western Europe, with its older and stronger development of the welfare state, economic development has become a much more recent concern (1998:103).

According to Harvey (1989) politics are driven in different forms of partnerships or networks, with the core aim to increase the public political sectors ability to develop a mutual partnership between various social stakeholders with the overall aim to solve social problems. This can take form in physical urban planning and partnerships to promote growth through the construction of research centers, congress centers, hotels, arenas, theme parks, and etcetera (Mukhtar-Landgren 2009). Thus, by adopting further concepts such as ‘city branding’, ‘place-marketing’ and/or ‘image-building’ cities try to promote their own specific place with the aim to seize the attention of what is argued to be attractive social groups and businesses.

2.2.2 The Entrepreneurial City

This brings me to the concept of the so-called ‘entrepreneurial city’ of which Harvey writes about in the article “*From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism*” (1989). Briefly the article discusses how decision-making regarding urban development strategies has shifted from a type of managerial governance toward one of entrepreneurial governance following the economic crisis of the 1970’s as a result to try to address the problems of de-industrialization, widespread unemployment and overall fiscal hard times at both national and local level. Furthermore Harvey points to the possibility that the greater emphasis on local action to combat these ills seem to have something to do with the

declining powers of the nation-state over the control of multinational money flows. This in turn forces local powers to do their best in negotiations to maximize the attractiveness of the local site as to lure capitalist development (Harvey 1989).

Harvey stresses the fact that this shift is all but easy to analyze, as there are conceptual issues to deal with. To begin with, the reification of cities when combined with a language that sees the urban process as an active rather than passive aspect of political-economic development poses acute dangers. Cities should not be seen as active agents, they are but mere things. Further, urbanization, according to Harvey, should rather be regarded as a spatially grounded social process in which a wide range of different actors with quite a particular configuration of interlocking space practices (1989: 5).

Nonetheless, Harvey identifies three important yet different aspects of urban entrepreneurialism: (1) the notion of public-private partnerships as to attract and secure external funding, new direct investments and/or new employment sources: (2) the very activity of the public-private partnership being entrepreneurial in the sense that it is speculative and risky, both in design and execution, compared to the more traditional rationally planned and coordinated urban development: and lastly (3) that entrepreneurialism focuses much more closely on the political economy of place rather than of the notion of traditional territory space (Harvey 1989: 7).

Moreover, it is claimed that this leads to that cities have to create inter-urban competition strategies to maintain a competitive edge against other cities. Additional, the competition situation itself – to create an attractive place – exert a pull on possible investment actors, which tends to divert attention and resources away from already existing broader place bound problems, such as polarization and marginalization of the already weak and poor, even though it means to secure benefits for all inhabitants within a particular jurisdiction (Harvey 1989: 8).

2.2.3 Voiced Critique Regarding the Entrepreneurial City

A common critique in the academia literature is that the entrepreneurial partnership tends to be undemocratic as the normal channels for debate are bypassed. Planning is said to be made in the shadow, and it is private interests that dominates and controls the work rather than that of the public (see e.g. Sandercock and Davey 2002; Gibson 2005).

Further critique is leveled against questions of long-term sustainability of this new sought 'urban renaissance'. Today many cities copy urban elements from other already "successful" cities (e.g. Bilbao, Barcelona, Glasgow), but as Hannigan (2003) points out, there is a risk that instead of achieving unique values and attributes, all cities are moving towards a homogenization. This phenomenon is often referred to as 'disneyfication'. It creates a unified idea of what is thought to be attractive; shopping malls, congress halls, sport arenas, culture centers, specific type of architecture, theme parks, etcetera, are all seen as important attributes (Stevenson 2003).

Additionally to the fact that this phenomenon homogenizes our cities, it has been noted that enormous costs are connected to the development of these often large scale urban development projects. Moreover, even though promoters have stressed the notion

of ‘trickle down effects’ – as to counter social issues such as unemployment, or stimulating the local economy – these effects are yet to be fully seen (Stevenson 2003).

Further, scholar such as Eisinger (2004) argues that it is foremost the middle class consumption and leisure activities that is benefitted through these urban changes, and that this entertainment orientated urban development thus favor the elite. All while the costs of these developments are forced onto the local inhabitants who have to pay the long-term price through raised taxes.

2.3 The Neoliberal Subject and the Creative Class

2.3.1 New Values Forming the Individual

Rose argues that the social and the economic today are seen as antagonistic – economic government is to be de-socialized in the name of maximizing the entrepreneurial comportment of the individual (1999: 144). Thus, the conception of the citizen has transformed. In the 1980’s it was commonplace to hear talk of the ‘active citizen’ who was to be counter-posed to the ‘passive citizen’ or the social state. The question here was not of active involvement in public affairs, in local democracy or in the conducts of politics. Rather, the model of the active citizen was one who was an entrepreneur of him- or herself (Rose 1999: 165). Foucault terms this ‘homo economicus’ ([1978] 2008: 226) and argues that what has disappeared in neoliberalism is the tactical polyvalence of discourse as everything is framed in terms of interests, freedoms and risks (Foucault 1978: 101). For instance, everything which human beings attempt to realize – from marriage, to crime, to expenditures on children – can be understood ‘economically’ according to a particular calculation of cost for benefit. Further, this entails a massive redefinition of ‘labor’ and the ‘worker’ where the worker has become ‘human capital’. Salary or wages thus become the revenue that is earned on an initial investment in one’s skills or abilities. Additionally, any activity that increases the capacity to earn income, to achieve satisfaction, is an investment in human capital. And even though a large portion of human capital – one’s body, brain, genetic material, race or class – cannot be improved, Foucault argues that this natural limit is something that exists to be overcome through modern technologies – from plastic surgery to possible genetic engineering that make it possible to transform one’s initial ‘investment’ ([1978] 2008: 226).

Even so – as Rose argues – the active citizen is not simply a re-activation of values of self-reliance, autonomy and independence as the underpinning of self-respect, self-esteem, self-worth and self-advancement. Rather – and in lines with Foucault’s argument above – the individual has to conduct his or her life, and that of his or her family, as a kind of enterprise, seeking to enhance and capitalize on existence itself through calculated acts and investments. The citizen is to become a consumer of identity and lifestyle, linked into society through acts of socially sanctioned consumption and responsible choice (Rose 1999: 164, 166).

Moreover, there seems to no longer be a conflict between the self-interest of the economic subject and the duty of the citizen towards its nation-state. Instead it now appears that one can best fulfill one's obligations to one's nation-state by most effectively pursue the enchantment of the economic well-being of oneself, one's family, one's firm, business or organization (Rose 1999: 145).

The neoliberal ideal should thus be taken as a new regime of truth, and specifically a new way in which people are made subjects, not operating on rights, obligations and laws as in classical liberalism, but interest, desire, investment and competition (Read 2008: 27-28). Harvey, in turn, argues that neoliberalism has "pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (2005: 3) and that

For any way of thought to become dominant, a conceptual apparatus has to be advanced that appeals to our intuitions and instincts, to our values and our desires, as well as to the possibilities inherent in the social world we inhabit. If successful, this conceptual apparatus becomes so embedded in common sense as to be taken for granted and not open to question (2005: 5)

2.3.2 Subjectification Affecting the Collective

In identifying with one's proper name as a subject one is simultaneously identifying oneself with a collectivized identity and at the same time differentiating oneself from the kind one is not (Rose 1999: 46). Further, a collectivized identity could be associated with the powers of a territory between the authority of the state, the free and amoral exchange of the market and the liberty of the autonomous, 'right-bearing' individual subject – i.e. 'the community' (Rose 1999: 167). Here, it is not a question of primarily a geographic space, a social space, a sociological space or a space of services, but a moral field binding individuals into durable relations. It is a space of emotional relationships through which individual identities are constructed through their bonds to micro-cultures of values and meanings (Rose 1999: 172).

In slightly similar ways, Etzioni argues that the community is defined by two characteristics. The first being a web of affect-laden relationships among a group of individuals, that often criss-cross and reinforce one another. The second, a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, norms, and meanings, and a shared history and identity – in short, to a particular culture (1997: 127).

Rose argues – in lines with the arguments above from Foucault and Harvey – that this turn of focus towards the community is a construction of something new, a slow birth of something complex, a new way of thinking as to give meaning to the complexities of the autonomous self (1999: 173). The subject is now reorganized under the sign of the community, and is addressed as a moral individual with bonds of obligations and responsibilities for conduct that are assembled in a new way unified by family ties, by locality, by moral commitment to environmental protection or animal welfare. Thus, the individual in his or her community is both self-responsible and subject to certain emotional bonds of affinity. Further, conduct is retrieved from a social

order of determination into a new ethical perception of the individualized and autonomized actor, each of who has unique, localized and specific ties to his or her particular family and to a particular moral community (Rose 1999: 176).

Moreover, the difference lies in how social identity is created. In the old system an individual socially identified him- or herself above all as a member of a single integrated national society. However, in this proposed new system, the community offers a relation that appears less remote and more direct. More specifically it occurs not in the artificial political space of society, but in matrices of affinity that appear more natural. One's communities are nothing more or less than those networks of allegiance with which one identifies existentially, traditionally, emotionally or spontaneously, seemingly beyond and above any calculated assessment of self-interest (Rose 1999: 177). Thus, like so many other similar loci of allegiance – class, civil society, and ethnicity – each assertion of community refers itself to something that already exists and has a claim on us. Yet – interestingly – our allegiance to each of these particular communities is something that we have to be aware of, requiring the work of educators, campaigns, activists, manipulators of symbols, narratives and identifications (Rose 1999: 177).

Additionally Scholte notes that a keystone of human safety and confidence is a firm sense of being integrated into and being supported by a larger collectivity. Scholte argues that neoliberal policies have posed problems for social cohesion, and that it has approached social relations as a matter of competition in a global marketplace, a conception that makes little or no room for cooperation and collective interests (2005: 308). Moreover, social equity involves the promotion of equal life chances, so that different individuals face a level playing field in society with the same opportunities, free of arbitrary privileges and imposed exclusions. Equality here means that social relations are not marked by structural stratifications of opportunity that accord some person's inbuilt *a priori* advantage over others – for instance, place of birth. Scholte further notes that equality not necessarily has to require that social categories should be eliminated and that all individuals should become the same. Rather, such uniformity is neither attainable nor desirable. However, it is obviously unequal when embedded stratification of social positions – for instance gender – largely determinates whether or not individuals gain access to the resources they need to develop their capacities (Scholte 2005: 316-317).

2.3.2 A Few Words Regarding the Creative Class

As part of the neoliberal subjectification of the individual, and connected to the concepts of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberal urban development, this bring me to the last concept discussed in this thesis – that of 'the creative class'. A concept criticized for being an elitist and exclusionary term (see e.g. Peck 2007), but yet a concept embraced by many cities urban development offices.

According to Florida – who has coined the term – the 21st century's engine for economic development is the individual human being's creativity. While Florida argues that creativity in city formation and growth is not in any way a new phenomenon, it

has, with the decline of physical constraints on cities and communities in recent decades, become *the* principal driving force in the growth and development of cities, regions, and nations. Thus, every nation's or city's chance for development is based on their capacity to attract and capture these creative individuals – which often equals well-educated, young, strong economic well-off, white, individuals. Moreover, Florida further divides said individuals into two groups; the 'super-creative core' and the 'creative professionals'. The former, consists of scientists, engineers, professors, poets, designers, architects and entertainer, but also analysts, critics and writers. The latter, are in principle all others that are enrolled in high knowledge-based professions, as for instance technology or pharmaceutical industry (Florida 2005; 2002).

Further, the creative economy revolves around a simple formula that Florida terms 'the three T's of economic growth' – technology, talent, and tolerance. Florida's first T – technology – is considered to play a fundamental role in economic growth. To strengthen the arguments presented, Florida refers to Nobel Prize Award winning economists such as Solow (1987) who argues that technology is the key to economic growth, and to Romer (1986) who argues that growth is an endogenous process based on the continues accumulation and exploitation of human knowledge. Thus, that the city has a solid technology capacity is vital, however not sufficient. To further boost this there is a need for a strong cluster of high technological companies as well as a university (Florida 2005: 6).

However, for the first T to function properly, Florida's second T must exist – i.e. talent. Florida argues that productive capacity does not exist in preexisting institutional templates or production systems rather it is within the head and heart of the talented individuals. Again arguments connected to work by Nobel Prize Award winners are lifted. For instance Lucas (1995) who argues that growth is a consequence of 'human capital'. Thus, the cities role is to bring together and augment human capital, and places with more human capital grow more rapidly than those with less. Further Florida argues that by measuring so-called 'creative capital' – which is to say, creative occupations – this includes people based on their current work rather than merely their education levels (Florida 2005: 6).

Lastly, the first two T's would be worthless if not the third T would be fulfilled. Tolerance is needed to create an open, dynamic and multifarious culture, and is hence a key factor in enabling places to mobilize and attract the former two T's (Florida 2005: 6; 2003: 10-11; Peck 2007: 177). According to Florida technology and talent can be thought of as raw materials, a stock. However they differ from traditional factors of production like land or raw materials as they are not fixed stocks, but transient highly mobile factors, flowing into and out of places. And what makes some places able to secure a greater quantity and quality of these flows is, according to Florida's theory, the third T of tolerance. Such places gain an economic advantage in both harnessing the creative capabilities of a broader range of their own people and in capturing a disproportionate share of the flow (Florida 2005: 7).

However, Florida further stress that a positive economy is not solely sufficient to attract and keep the creative class. Rather it is also about to provide an urban place with a specific way of living. Cities are to build and provide attractive milieus and establish

the 'right' urban feel the creative class requires. According to Florida, these neighborhoods and urban districts are of a nature where an experience-intense balance between work and leisure is provided, where social barriers are low, diversity is seen as a quality and where sufficient space is provided for a wide mix of creative activities (Florida 2005; 2002; Peck 2007: 180).

Chapter III

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Point of Departure

According to George and Bennett when performing a study one need to consider five design tasks. For instance, one task is to specify the problem and research objective, this I have already declared in the above chapter. Other tasks consists of developing a research strategy, and address case selection (2005: 76, 79, 83-84, 86) – both of which I will address below. All in all, the five design tasks should be viewed as constituting an integrated whole as they are interrelated and interdependent. George and Bennett note that “despite the researcher’s best efforts, the formulation of the design is likely to remain imperfect – and this may not be apparent until the investigator is well into phase two or even phase three of the study” (2005: 88).

From a methodological point of view, this study applies document analysis as its main method to examine technical reports, earlier studies and research projects, comments made both in local and national press, and other texts that give voice to the principal actors involved. Moreover, in line with the notion of triangulating and mixed-method – i.e. combining different methods as to provide a better data spread and broader base for analysis (Repstad 2007: 28; Read and Marsh 2002: 231) – I have combined the method of document analysis with observations of quantitative data, thereby aiming for a good mix between qualitative and quantitative methods. Likewise, a mixed-method study further validates and corroborates findings across data sets obtained during the study, thus reducing the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study method (Angers and Machtmes 2005). Initially I also aimed to incorporate interviews with document analysis, which is a very good choice of method to combine with document analysis. However, due to various difficulties and a restricted time frame, I was not able to include this in this thesis.

Furthermore, this study is conducted from an inductive perspective rather than a deductive as the overall goal is not to prove a theory right or wrong, but to test and thereby further refine and develop existing theories, adding contextual specific findings for the broader knowledge base (Goldmann *et al.* 1997: 38).

Finally, as most researchers might bring preconceived expectations into their studies, the studies could be somewhat demarcated through the understanding of the factors that might have an impact (Esaiasson *et al.* 2003: 127). However, regarding this issue, I

share Sayer's rejection of that science can be fully value-neutral and that objectivity is more about "the commitment to finding true statements" (2000: 52, 163), but likewise recognize that a scientist can and should be aware of her or his standpoint and the norms and values on which the study is founded.

3.1.2 Case Selection

George and Bennett argue that cases "should [...] be selected to provide the kind of control and variation required by the research problem" (2005: 83). However, there is one common major critique towards case studies regarding the selection process. This is generally regarded as 'selection bias' – defined by George and Bennett as "when some form of selection process in either the design of the study or the real-world phenomena under investigation results in inferences that suffer from systematic error" (2005: 22). Problems like these can occur when cases or subjects are self-selected or when the researcher unintentionally selects cases that represent a reduced sample along the dependent variable of the relevant populations of cases (Lieberman 2005: 444; George and Bennett 2005: 23).

Nonetheless, George and Bennett note that selection with some preliminary knowledge allows for much stronger research designs (2005: 24). Additionally, when developing and/or testing a theory – which in this case is my cause – the general approach is to collect a large amount of information about a small selection of cases. The aim may either be to identify new causal factors or develop and refine already existing ones (Esaiasson *et al* 2003: 122-123). Moreover, it is important in tests of theory to identify whether the test cases are most-likely, least-likely or crucial for one or more theories (George and Bennett 2005: 75).

In a most-likely case, the independent variables put forward by a theory are at values that strongly posit an outcome or an extreme outcome. In a least-likely case, the independent variables in a theory are at values that only weakly predict an outcome or predict a low-magnitude outcome. Most-likely cases are therefore tailored to cast strong doubt on theories if the theories do not fit, while least-likely cases can strengthen support for theories that fit even cases where they should be weak (George and Bennett 2005: 121)

Thus, in this study I will limit myself to investigate the south Swedish city Malmö located in the southwestern corner of Scania. Additionally I will limit myself particularly to the city district Västra Hamnen. As already briefly noted in the introduction of this thesis the city district of Västra Hamnen is an interesting case as it is a relatively new built area, which went through an impressive urban transformation with the start of European residential exhibition Bo01 the year 2001. The city district has become Malmö's iconic flagship of urban change and together with Copenhagen, Lund and to some extent Helsingør and Helsingborg the Öresund region has become highly interesting for closer studies regarding urban development. Moreover the case of Västra Hamnen is particular of interest as Sweden remains famous for its social democratic tradition and robust welfare state, which should oppose the theoretical values and ideas presented in neoliberal urban planning – making this a least-likely case study.

Lastly, I have further chosen Malmö for its easy accessibility, as I am living in the neighboring city Lund. The two cities are of close geographical proximity which helped a great deal when conducting field observations and gathering of data. Additionally, as I am born and raised in the region I already have some pre-knowledge of the region and of Malmö in particular which I argue has helped a lot in the earlier stages of this study. Obviously I am aware of that this might have brought unintentional subjective interpretations, however I have taken particular care of staying as value-neutral and objective as possible. Moreover, this study has been conducted without any economical back-up.

3.1.3 Document Analysis

According to Bowen (see also Rapley 2007) document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents and, like other analytical methods requires that data to be examined and interpreted in order to obtain meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (2009: 27).

As a research method, it is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies (Bowen 2009: 29) and as Merriam points out “documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem” (1988: 118). Document analysis can therefore provide data on the context within which research participants operate, bearing witness to past events, provide background information as well as historical insights. Information contained in documents can further help generate new questions, thereby being an interactive complement to other methods. Additionally documents provide supplementary research data, adding valuable additions to the broader knowledge base as well as it provides means of tracking change and development. As well as be analyzed in a way to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources (Bowen 2009: 29-30).

The method is also recognized to be less time-consuming and therefore more efficient than other research methods as it requires data selection instead of data collection. It provides a high availability of data as many documents are in the public domain, many times accessible through the Internet. Further, it is less costly than other methods as the data is already gathered. Documents are also ‘unobtrusive’ as they are unaffected by the research process. They are also stable, as the investigator’s presence does not alter what is being studied, and finally, documents provide a broad coverage of both time and space and provide a high exactness as inclusions of names, references and details of events are to be found in the documents (Bowen 2009: 31).

As already pointed out a variety of forms of documents may be used for systematic evaluation as part of the study. Whichever documents are selected, Bowen stress the need to provide the reader with a list of the analyzed documents, explaining the type of document, how it has been analyzed and what data has been collected (2009: 29). Therefore, a full list of the documents used in this study – and their various type – is provided in the appendix. Furthermore, the analytic procedure in document analysis entails the data – excerpts, quotations etcetera – to be organized into major themes, categories and case examples specifically through content analysis (Labuschagne 2003).

In accordance to this I have categorized my findings in the following subareas: historical accounts, signs of turn in policies, private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies, and socio-economic legitimacy.

The main information gathered is publications from different Departments Offices within the Malmö Municipality Office. The choice falls natural since this is the management units that have operational responsibility for issues relating to urban development in Malmö. However, as there is a common policy and strategy within these documents I want to stress that these documents first and foremost are a basis for the review of public policies and initiatives. Therefore I have also gathered information from other sources such as newspapers, which provide the ‘story of the others’, as official policy documents often only entail that of the ‘winner’. Additionally, as change is best discovered by studying time and space I have also turned to documents of historical descriptions of Malmö and the formation of Västra Hamnen.

Lastly, I find there is need to briefly touch on some of the limitations of document analysis. As Atkinson and Coffey stress, documentary sources should not be used as surrogates for other kinds of data as we cannot, for instance, learn through records alone how an organization actually operates day by day. Equally, records, however ‘official’, cannot be treated as firm evidence of what they report (2004: 58). Furthermore documents could have other insufficient details, have a nature of low retrievability – as access to documents can be blocked – and be of biased selectivity – organizations choosing which documents to make public (Bowen 2009: 32). However as Bowen argues these are really potential flaws rather than major disadvantages given the methods efficiency and cost-effectiveness in particular (2009: 32). Moreover, these flaws can, in my opinion, be corrected by combining the method with other research methods.

3.1.4 Statistics and Other Quantitative Data

Scholars such as Schurrman stress the need to have access to ‘good’ data and to choose the ‘right’ data. If the initial data is poor, it does not matter how much you manipulate it, it will still be of poor quality and subject to error. Additionally, data could have been collected by individuals using different measurement devices or by asking different questions. The data is then transferred to a computer where it is classified, standardized and aggregated, perhaps by yet a different individual than the one collecting the data, a process which if not carefully done is prone to error (2004: 54).

Different pitfalls and dangers with data and what the data actually is saying are important to highlight in all forms of analysis, and that the researcher is prepared to take responsibility for what he or she use. For instance, as Longley *et al.* notes, simple coverage classifications provide comparable, frequently updateable, high-resolution measures of change, but tells us rather little about for instance urban lifestyles, while richer representations of differentiated lifestyles require conscious choices from available socio-economic data, with known attributes of content, coverage and a high frequency of update (2005: 58).

Due to time restriction and absence of proper economical back up, I have turned mainly to the official Swedish state-owned statistical database Statistiska Centralbyrån (SCB) and the Malmö Municipality Office to aid me in providing accurate quantitative data for this study's cause instead of the time-consuming effort of collecting the raw data myself. This includes for instance different population censuses and socio-economic data of various sorts. Furthermore I argue that SCB – and the Malmö Municipality Office likewise – is a source of high reliability as it is an administrative authority which is responsible for public and governmental statistics aimed for development, publishing and spreading of data for debate and science. The use of statistics and quantitative data in this thesis is following the argument above of the use of a mixed-method style, thereby complement the document analysis and add further depth to the overall analysis.

3.1.5 ArcGIS Mapping

Rose notes that cartography – the activity of mapping – exemplifies the ways in which spaces are made presentable and re-presentable (1999: 36), while Schuurman argues that the real power of GIS technology emerges from the ability to tell us more about the spatial world than is possible to discern from pieces of data stored in a computer model (2004: 88).

Thus, I have additionally turned to the mapping program-tool ArcGIS simply to help visualize the settings of my case study and thereby help the reader to localize herself or himself better. Moreover, the data and shapefiles used to create the maps for this study have been provided to me via the GIS department of the Institution of Human Geography at Lund University. The shapefiles and data have then been edited – with newly collected and updated data – and molded by myself to its current form and layout.

Originally I aimed to combine the statistics found for this thesis with my document analysis through the use of thematic maps, but due to a restricted time frame I was not able to fully incorporate this method in the thesis. Thematic maps would have added a further layer to the analysis, and thus would have been a welcome addition.

Even so, and lastly, a note of caution. Maantay and Ziegler stress that maps have the potential to be used for propaganda or to purposefully mislead the public (2006: 267). They further stress that “when information is portrayed graphically in the form of a map, it can take on an aura of truth that often goes unquestioned” (2006: 268). Hence, the creator of the map has to be especially careful when it comes to what information and data is used and shared. Responsibility of the map lies with the mapmaker being honest and unbiased when presenting his or her data, and maintaining objectivity is no exception when it comes to GIS. Issues of which I have taken great care to respect and follow with the aim to provide as objective maps as possible.

Chapter IV

Setting

4.1 The South Swedish City Malmö

The Scandinavian country Sweden houses approximately 9.6 million people on Europe's – seen to surface – fifth biggest country. Roughly 70 percent of the population lives in the southern parts – from Stockholm and southwards – which is equal to a third of the total area of the country, and as the rest of the developed world Sweden is highly urbanized with over 85 percent of its inhabitants living in cities (SCB 2012: 20; Öberg, and Springfeldt 1997: 27, 96).

On the political arena social democratic politics have dominated since 1930 and made Sweden well-known for its welfare policies, high position on Human Development Index (see e.g. Malik, UNDP 2013: 143) and OECD's Purchasing Power Parity-list (see e.g. OECD, web 2013), and its low GINI-value (see e.g. SCB, web 2013). However, since 2006's political election liberal politics have been adopted, leading to a de-centralization of the public sector in benefit for the private sector, resulting in a slight shift of focus regarding the welfare state.

The country is divided into 25 regions or so-called landscapes. In the most southern landscape, Scania (Skåne), Sweden's third largest city Malmö is located (see fig. 4.1). Its convenient geographical proximity to Copenhagen's Airport provides the city with an international flair, while the whole Öresund region offers a total population of around 3.7 million inhabitants, making it to the largest labor market region in the Nordic countries. Nearly 60 000 people commute daily to Malmö and additional 20 000 commute across Öresundbron. Since 1st of July 2013, Malmö is constituted by five greater city districts – before it was ten – and has an approximate total population of 300 000 inhabitants spread on a surface of 155.6 square kilometers (Trade and Industry Office, Malmö Municipality Office, 2012; SCB 2011).

The city's urban structure is going through a major remodeling. New city districts are developed and residential areas being built. Infrastructural discussions of new tram- and super bus-lines are being held, and densifications of the inner parts of the city are ongoing. Large industrial manufacturing companies have been replaced by small and mid-sized companies within foremost knowledge-based branches. Great efforts are being made to leave the industrial and degraded Malmö behind and embrace the idea of the knowledge-based society. Malmö Högskola which was established 1998 and yearly enrolls approximately 25 000 students and employs additional 1 600 people further adds to this apparent shift (MAH, web 2013; 2012).



Data source: Base map - ArcGIS Map Service; Malmö.shp - Institution of Human Geography, Lund University, 2013. Map compiled by: Robert Weidacher Hsiung, 2013

Figure 4.1 This map depicts Malmö’s geographical location in Sweden and to surrounding north European countries.

4.2 The Geographical Context of Västra Hamnen

Västra Hamnen is a redeveloped former brownfield area in the northern parts of Malmö with contemporary architectural mixed style and somewhat of a waterfront development as it includes a coast line of 9.6 kilometers (Book and Eskilsson 1999: 105; Malmö Municipality Office, web 2013). A dense city structure, innovative technologies, and environmental and economic sustainable development are the guiding principles for the city district, with the aim to become a leading example – national as well as international – of a top modern urban area and urban development.

Further, the development of Västra Hamnen could be seen as a demonstration of the Malmö Municipality Office’s intention and commitment to increased awareness regarding environmental sustainability together with densely built urban structures. For

instance 60 percent of the energy used in the district is supposed to come from renewable energy sources such as wind power and solar systems. Further, housing material used in the construction of housings follows various sustainable solutions (Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office 2006: 12).

The former industrial harbor area that constitutes Västra Hamnen, measures just below two square kilometers – compare to Malmö’s total areal of 155.6 square kilometers – and for the time being dwells approximately 6 200 inhabitants (Malmö Municipality Office 2013: 4). Even though the development of the district is still ongoing at this present time and much change can happen to present and future plans. Fully developed, Västra Hamnen is predicted to accommodate roughly 25 000 people living in 10 000 apartments while provide workplaces for 25 000 people (Styrgruppen Västra Hamnen 2013: 6).

Since 1st of July 2013, Västra Hamnen is a part of the greater city district Stadsområde Norr. However, Västra Hamnen in itself is divided into 16 smaller subareas – Bo01, Citadellsfogen, Dockan, Flagghusen, Fullriggaren, Galeonen, Gångtappen, Hamnporten, Kappseglaren, Masthusen, Stapelbädden, Södra Dockan, Universitetsholmen, Varvsstaden and Västra Dockan (see fig. 4.2).

Far from all of these subareas are developed which creates some gaps of development within the overall urban structure of Västra Hamnen. However, one of the first phases in the transformation and redevelopment from an old industrial area, and at Västra Hamnen’s most western parts, has been fully developed. The start was marked with the European Housing Expo Bo01 2001 – an area which now functions as a proper residential area. One of Sweden’s most talked of buildings can be seen here too, Calatrava’s 190 meter high twisting sky scraper Turning Torso – 54 floors with a mix of offices at the bottom, conference facilities at the top, and apartments in between. Moreover, the Bo01 Expo theme was “the future city within the ecological sustainable information and welfare society”, and together with an ideas of mixed tenures, a set of given guidelines for architectural quality, energy consumption, sustainable transportation etcetera these concept have since continued to serve as a model for subsequent phases of development in Västra Hamnen.

In the centrally located subarea Fullriggaren, a collection of Sweden’s largest energy effective buildings are to be found, and contains one of the country’s largest residential area where collection of organic waste through waste disposers within every household exist (Malmö Municipality Office, web 2013). In the north-east of Västra Hamnen, Dockan – mainly a commercial area – is located as well as a small marina for recreational boats, and in the south-eastern corner Malmö Högskola has replaced the typical shipyard worker of the 1950’s with a young student in her or his twenties.

Just east of Västra Hamnen the central train station of Malmö is found with easy accessibility through a new entrance at Universitetsholmen. From here connections to Copenhagen with its international airport Kastrup (30 minutes away), and neighbor city Lund (12 minutes away) are provided.

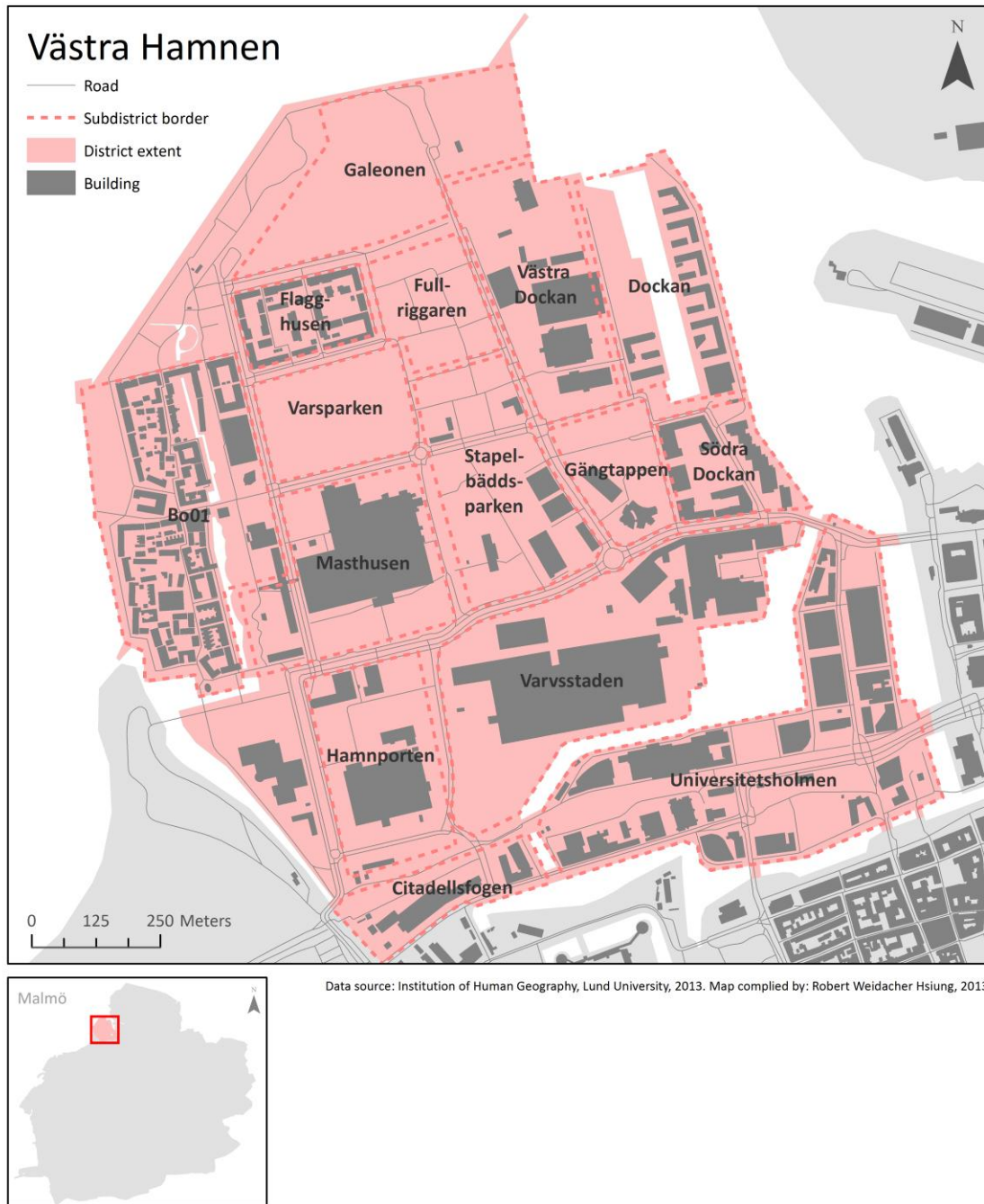


Figure 4.2 Above map displays Västra Hamnen’s geographical setting with associated sub-districts.

Chapter V

Discussion – Placing the Concepts in Context

5.1 Västra Hamnen and the Old Malmö

When exploring documents and brochures of Västra Hamnen from the Malmö Municipality Office it is easy to distinguish that Malmö as a city has actively chosen a path of development that redirects the city from its former industrial-heavy self towards a new knowledge-intensive economy. For instance, according to the document “*Det 4. stadsrum*” (Riisom and Sörensen 2009), the transformation of Västra Hamnen has affected both the local community, as well as the city as a whole. The city has renewed, reframed and re-conceptualized itself as a modern cultural city. Urban features of so-called high quality such as a dense city core, dynamic city life and a vibrant student community are all signs of this reconstruction, as well as new urban schemes for Malmö’s inhabitants and companies, which thereby trigger a multitude of urban opportunities. The transformation however is not fully done yet, and there is – according to the document – a greater need to maintain this development to continue to attract knowledge-based companies as these are the foundation of economic growth, employment, and welfare, which in turn creates a healthy social development and social cohesion (Riisom and Sörensen 2009: 4, 165).

Nevertheless, before venturing into Västra Hamnen’s and Malmö’s present urban structures, I argue it vital to stop for a moment and briefly address the historical context of the area. In this section I therefore outline the economic and social context within which the district was operated historically.

The area known as Västra Hamnen today was created in 1775 as the first proper harbor was built in the area. But it was first during the industrialization in late 19th century that Västra Hamnen’s and Malmö’s development really took off. Focus was mainly put into the industrial and manufacturing sector and the city as a whole was thriving (Berggren and Greiff 1992: 15). During the period around the World Wars Sweden experienced particular good conditions. The wars had left Europe in a position which provided excellent opportunities for Swedish manufacturing industry, as the country was rather unharmed through its neutral position during the wars. Liberalizations of the world trade market, national infrastructure programs, and technical changes further fueled this opportunity. Opportunities which made Malmö flourish. Kockums’ – a foundry and shipyard company located in Västra Hamnen – for

instance expanded aggressively during the 1950's employing additional 6 000 workers and breaking world records in launching and delivering most tonnage (Ohlsson 1994: 50, 100-101).

As a result, Malmö exhibited a never before witnessed population growth. The city's population grew with 16 percent during the 1960's – compared to ten other big cities of Sweden which only grew with six percent – and was considered as the most exciting and promising growth center of Sweden. Malmö had become a pronounced industrial city with approximately half of the working population enrolled in the manufacturing industry and with the overall aim to become one of Europe's largest economical centers (Ohlsson 1994: 52-53).

However, these dreams had to be put on hold as de-industrialization during the 1970's transformed Malmö from a city of great promising prospects to one of acute socio-economic problems (Berggren and Greiff 1992: 54; Ohlsson 1994: 52). All over Sweden manufacturing industries were closed down and replaced with a service sector based economy. In Malmö the textile industries disappeared one by one, the construction company Skanska left Malmö for Stockholm, and with the oil crisis during the 1970's coupled with new global competition from primarily the newly industrial countries Kockum's productivity took a serious blow. Once a record world leader in production capacity Kockum's survival was suddenly depending on governmental benefits, resulting in that all production closed down 1986 after a decision from the Swedish government (Berggren and Greiff 1992: 56; Billing and Stigendal 1994: 314-328).

High unemployment, degrading and neglected inner-city areas, issues of socio-economical polarization, and a flight of the middle class – between 1970 and 1984 Malmö lost 13 percent of its inhabitants – resulted in fears that Malmö was heading into the same negative spiral many other great European industrial harbor-cities were heading (cf. Liverpool) (Salonen 2012: 13, Ohlsson 1994: 54-55).

As compensation of lost employment opportunities and an effort to combat these ills the Swedish government established a SAAB factory on the former grounds of Kockum's. Unfortunately, already 1991 the factory was closed down due to changed customer preferences in modes of production, and thus can only be viewed as a failure (Berggren and Greiff 1992: 57; Riisom and Tanimura 2008:34).

Parallel to this, high foreign immigration during the 1980's further added to an already struggling labor market, resulting in unthinkable 16 percent unemployment – forcing Malmö into dire economic strains (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 34). Thus, Västra Hamnen went from being a vital centre and the heart of Malmö's economy, into becoming a deserted area of little to none activity. The industrial city Malmö had lost its identity, and was desperately calling for help.

5.2 Malmö's Entrepreneurial Turn

5.2.1 Potential Emerging

Malmö's continuing negative development was finally lifted with a letter to the Swedish government in 1995 in which the Chairman of the Executive Board of Malmö Reepalu and the Opposition Leader Liedholm described the economic situation of Malmö as critical, and if nothing were to be done an economic meltdown was to be expected (Mukhtar-Landgren 2006: 121). This resulted in decision of building Öresundsbron (1996), a new tax equalization system (1996), a new city district organization (1996), decision of establish a university (1996), and decision of building Citytunneln (1997). The old crisis and the pessimistic view of Malmö's future were replaced with new promises of growth and an overall optimistic spirit regarding the development of the city.

Moreover, these changes were expressed in a powerful vision work – 'Vision Malmö 2000'. Briefly the conviction was that even if the industrial society was deeply rooted in the Malmö identity, there were no longer any realistic opportunities for the city to compete in the market for labor-intensive industry. The old was to be left behind and be replaced with something new. As already touched upon above the idea of the knowledge-city or, the ITC society became central to this transition (Mukhtar-Landgren 2009). Further, to avoid recurrence of past political and ideological conflicts conclusions were made that the visionary work was to be executed at city officials' level without political guiding and involvement. The operational management was constituted by a coordination-group where each of the group's eight members were responsible for its own workgroup with a specific area of attention. The workgroups were a collection of individuals representing every city district office of Malmö, officials from neighbor municipalities and other governmental offices, as well as personnel from Lund University and SLU Alnarp (Möllerström 2011, 18; Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 36).

The visionary work, early identified Västra Hamnen as the main objective for development, arguing that Västra Hamnen were to be the spear-head in Malmö's transformation into an attractive city for education, research, commerce, living, culture and recreation. Primarily two crucial developments were identified – the establishment of Malmö Höskola and the Housing Expo Bo01.

The establishment of Malmö Höskola went in record speed. The university was seen as an engine for growth and a tool to integrate and interact with the city through high-quality urban settings with the goal to attract students and creative people. Originally there were thoughts of localize the university at Hyllie, where Malmö Municipality already owned the land and the infrastructure possibilities were good. However, the highly sought after synergies between the inner-city, trade and industry, and the university were felt to be eluded if Malmö Höskola was placed at Hyllie, thus re-localization towards Västra Hamnen was decided. Large resources had to be released to purchase the land, but the location between two central planned Citytunnel-stations – Centralen and Triangeln – was argued to benefit the synergies the most and give room

for future expansion of the university and thereby benefit the overall urban development of Malmö (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 37). At 1998 Malmö Högskola was finally initiated – with the words “hereby we take the step into the knowledge society”¹ (Tykesson and Magnusson 2009, 305) – and the first crucial cornerstone for Västra Hamnen’s urban transformation was set.

The second crucial development identified was to produce high-quality housing environments as to (re)attract people to live in Malmö. This resulted in the Housing Expo Bo01. Again Malmö Municipality strategically purchased land at Västra Hamnen instead of localize the Expo at Limhamn which was originally the thought (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 37). In the public documents provided by the Malmö Municipality Office the Expo is argued a success, show-casing Malmö at the regional and international arena with stunning architecture, innovative urban planning and ecological thinking (see e.g. Styrgruppen Västra Hamnen 2013; Riisom and Tanimura 2008).

However, there is also another story being told. Tykesson and Magnusson refers to a scandal-ridden start, where many of the companies involved in the Expo went bankrupt and small business owners did not receive any economical compensation for their work done at the Expo. Moreover, the inhabitants of Malmö found the entrance fee to high, and general critique was leveled towards that Bo01 was a project for the rich and that it would only increase segregation within the city (2009: 275). Nonetheless, the concepts the city district were based on became the model for the continuing urban development of Malmö and the turn from manufacturing industry to knowledge-based economy.

5.2.2 Sell an Image to Attract Capital

As noted in the discussion regarding Harvey’s theory on the entrepreneurial city above, as well as Florida’s notion of the creative class, one important aspect within these said concepts is growth orientation through city profiling and symbolic communication as a mean to attract and secure external funding and investments. Stigel and Frimann (2006) argues that cities tries to situate themselves as a sort of brand, and hence the city could be viewed as a ‘company’ where the positive aspects one city wants to mediate could be seen as ‘products’. At the same time as many cities share the same infrastructural systems and services, the so-called fight is about to create unique positions that attracts ‘customers’.

Scholars such as Kavaritz and Ashworth (2005) further add to this ‘fact’ as they argue that values and narratives are not enough, but that the city has to mediate its attractiveness through concrete means and plans – i.e. urban planning, cultural infrastructure and urban design. Moreover this could be achieved through spectacular architecture, events, research centers, a rich cultural life, appealing residential areas, multi-use arenas, and/or lively city core attraction. All means to attract strong individuals, new establishments, investments and visitors. Thus, profile building or flagship building – as a mean to pin-point a city on the global map – has become a common trait in contemporary urban planning as to create competitive advantages. Evan

¹ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

(2003) terms this ‘hard-branding’ while Sklair (2005) deploys the term ‘iconic architecture’, regardless the choice of term the purpose is to with the help of well-known top architects give buildings additional value and an international flair and by that promote the urban area and the city as a whole.

There is a very clear cut example of this in Västra Hamnen, and that is Calatrava’s award-winning 190 meter high twisting sky scraper Turning Torso. A building which has won both international praise by securing the MIPIM-award² for best residential building in the world 2005, as well as national by securing the title of ‘building of the decade in Sweden’ (Connheim, Byggnadsarbetaren 2009; Berggren KvP 2005). But also other physical urban structures of this profile building character are present in Västra Hamnen. For instance the whole area of Bo01, with its mixed architectural style (see fig. 5.1), the skate-park Stapelbädden, Malmö Högskola’s two main buildings Orkanen and soon to be finished Niagara (see fig. 5.2). Add the Court of Appeal, a planned covered market (Saluhall) and Malmö’s newest skyscraper Malmö Live (see fig. 5.3) – a concert and conference facility – all architectural constructions which strictly differentiate themselves from the rest of Malmö and thereby signal something different and modern, yet are localized in the very center core of the city and are major important urban investments in the local economy of Malmö.



Figure 5.1 Bo01 and Turning Torso (Photo made by Lloyd Raboff 2012)

² MIPIM (*Le marché international des professionnels de l'immobilier*) is an international property event hosted in Cannes yearly basis since 1989.



Figure 5.2 Malmö Höghskola’s two main buildings – Orkanen and soon to be finished Niagara (Photo made by Weidacher Hsiung 2014).



Figure 5.3 Malmö Live – Malmö’s newest skyscraper is located in Västra Hamnen too (Photo Weidacher Hsiung 2014).

Moreover, the city’s officials acts as the city’s ‘ambassadors’ through the program ‘Engagemang för Malmö’ (EMÖ) where the Malmö Municipality Offices’ 20 000 employees were assignment to mediate the ‘company’s’ values and visions (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 38). Following the earlier theoretical discussion, it is not hard to find the connection between Stigel and Frimann’s so-called customers to Florida’s creative class as well as the so-called company’s value to both Florida’s required urban platform for attracting the creative class, likewise to that of the entrepreneurial city or neoliberal

urban planning explained by Harvey. The fact that the employees of the Malmö Municipality Office were thought to act as ambassadors and promote and set the tone for the new Malmö and its investment friendly environment further correlates with the first notion of Harvey theories.

Further signs of this can be traced in the documents “*Plattform för Kunskapsstaden Malmö*” and “*Planprogram för del av bilen 4 – Pp 6006*”. One can read that a successful knowledge-city cannot only thrive on a good business climate, but likewise needs to offer attractive and stimulating urban spaces where creative people can live and work, and thus is something to thrive after (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 3; Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office 2006: 12).

Another very prominent aspect brought up in selling the ‘right’ image of Västra Hamnen and Malmö, and thereby attracting capital in different forms is the notion of sustainability. In the document “*Västra Hamnen 2013 ett hållbart och gott liv för alla*” one can read that sustainability should not be seen as a free standing concept but should permeate all development of the area (Styrgruppen Västra Hamnen 2013: 7). In the older document “*Kvalitetsprogram Dp 4537*” these same factors – i.e. sustainability and an attractive urban structure – are seen as vital. Here one can read that Västra Hamnen’s environmental profile should be of exceptional quality, and become an international leading example of dense city planning and environmental thinking, at the same time as it should be considered as Malmö’s engine in its transformation from an industrial city towards pure ecological sustainability (Dalman *et al* 2002: 5).

5.2.3 New Collaborations – The Role of Public Private Partnerships

Västra Hamnen and the housing Expo Bo01 have been vital for Malmö. They were supposed to function as a catalyst for further development, and signal a change in housing strategy. However, Malmö’s own financial struggles were further problematized through that the Swedish government resigned state subventions for building and enforced deregulation of the housing market. Moreover the economic situation of Malmö was met with a rather carefulness from regional construction firms.

According to Olsson, the former Chairman of the Urban Planning Department, this situation required urban governance activities from the Malmö Municipality Office to be able to get the housing construction going even though it was recession. Thus the Malmö Municipality Office decided to venture into EU-collaborations and became a member in EuroCities and Union of Baltic Cities where workshops were held to inspire and exchange ideas with other European cities. Other former industrial cities where specifically interesting models – such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Turin and Lyon (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 38). Parallel to this all possible stakeholders in the Malmö region were gathered up, invited and herded in a form of pedagogic process during several years before anything actual was built (Olsson, Larsson, and Rosberg 2006). Over 20 different firms were involved in the development of Bo01, most notable perhaps being Swedish architect Tham, architect and planner Erskine and of course Caltrava (Foletta 2010: 87). In this the Malmö Municipality Office role became that of a coordinator.

In an interview with Olofsson, the Head of Sigma – one of the first companies moving into new facilities in Västra Hamnen – the cooperation with the Malmö Municipality Office is highlighted

We were the first moving here. It was just a deserted landscape [...] It requires a decision where one think ahead, where one pictures the area as an attractive area to live and work in for younger people in their career [...] We discussed the plans for Västra Hamnen with the municipality. The university was started, and was located here. We saw this as the new Malmö and for us it was important to be part of the new Malmö [...] we were always convinced that this would develop positively and that it would be good for our employees. Today it is easier as there is so much here now (Olofsson interviewed in Dannestam 2009: 147).³

In another and longer interview with Olsson, made by Dannestam, Olsson also points to the importance yet complexity of the construction developer group, every one of the different actors – from developers to property owners – being competitors. Olsson further argues that none of them could invite the other to discuss common issues. That is why, according to Olsson the Malmö Municipality Office decided and also needed to hold meetings with all of the developers and property owners at once, and in a neutral locale i.e. not the City Hall. The choice of neutral ground was believed important to get the members of the construction developer group to participate, as suddenly none of them wanted to miss out possible revenue. Initially Olsson point out that the meetings went slow but that there was a sudden break through where all the companies had to share their thoughts with each other or leave the group. This soon resulted in trusting discussions where problems and issues were identified and work could be initiated. A unified market campaign was set into motion in which all the members of the group indirectly helped finance as the concept was to sell housings under the same conceptual umbrella – sustainable development (Dannestam 2009: 148).

According to Dannestam this illustrates how the Malmö Municipality Office successfully gathered a group of private actors within the construction branch and formed a coalition with equal goals. Private actors linked to the public through the narrative of something new and transformed. The symbolic value of not holding meetings at the City Hall but close to the actual area targeted for development further created a beneficial situation where hierarchical values could be avoided between the Malmö Municipality Office on one hand and various private actors on the other (2009: 148-149).

As already explored some above, this was mainly achieved through branding and storytelling. The Malmö Municipality Office provided a framework in which different actors could relate and link up to. For the individual company it suddenly became important to connect their own projects to the narrative the Malmö Municipality Office had created as not to lose out of the promising economy. Through the act as a coordinator the Malmö Municipality Office also benefitted by that the private actors

³ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

talked in between each other further fueling the development and additionally invest resources in the planning of the area (Dannestam 2009: 149)

This collaborating form of work has continued, with most recently the establishment of the MINT-group (Market-Information-Business and Tourism) 2004. The groups purpose is to continue promoting Malmö locally as well as globally with representatives from the culture management, city planning, and communication departments, various business offices, and the tourism unit (Möllerström 2011: 24). Tillväxt Malmö (Growth Malmö) is another initiative, and collaboration between the Malmö Municipality Office, Malmö Höskola and Uppstart Malmö, with the goal of supporting established companies in the region to grow and help entrepreneurs with networking (Malmö Municipality Office 2012: 5).

5.2.4 A Shift in Focus of Place and Space

According to Harvey, entrepreneurialism focuses much more closely on the political economy of place rather than of the notion of traditional territory space. In Malmö's traditional trade and industry policy businesses were lured with promises of economical subventions and cheap land – as previously discussed above. In contrast to this lies the new perception of that an attractive city attracts desirable groups of people, which in turn attracts businesses and investments. In an interview – made by Dannestam – with the Chairman of the Trade and Industry Office Bergman, Bergman points out the difference between the old and the new policy perception

Today everybody offers it [subventions and cheap land], thus business today demand competence and knowledge. It is the location, the infrastructure. It is more difficult to compete. One has to compete with different values [...] it is about businesses which wants to establish themselves on attractive places [...] One has to offer right competence, one has to offer an attractive city, an environment which people – employees, customers and suppliers – will thrive in. One has to have access to exceptional infrastructure. That is not as easy as to offer land to reduced price. That is why it is more complex and one has to start to think in different terms. (Dannestam 2009: 174) ⁴

In "*Plattform för Kunskapsstaden Malmö*" one can read that the knowledge-city requires different needs than the industrial city. It is argued that the city must provide opportunities for spontaneous meetings and knowledge exchanges, promote openness, tolerance and diversity. Its population shall characterize itself by innovative culture, involving all aspects of life – the cultural, social, organizational and economical (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 7). Interpreting the documents, these spaces are not defined as geographical bound places but rather are seen as a special aura or feel of a space. In another document it is believed that a city that promotes knowledge exchange, innovation and thereby growth and welfare also promotes a well-functioning society, togetherness and social integration (Riisom and Sörensen 2009: 23). Again these

⁴ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

attributes are more connected to the thought of an abstract place rather than a traditional geographical space.

Nevertheless, I argue that even the most abstract space, is connected to an actual geographical place. In “*Byggskiten*” Reepalu describes Malmö from its convenient geographical location, that Malmö is a communication centre which connects Scania with surrounding Swedish landscapes, Denmark, and the European continent (Hellquist 2007: 29). Former Chairman of the Urban Planning Department, Olsson, argues that

Today Malmö is not an isolated point but a networking centre in a greater region. People are moving in between Malmö, Lund, Copenhagen and other places [...] In half an hour one can reach Kastrup (in Nilsson and Hansson 2007: 15).

Infrastructure, which is often highlighted as a very important aspect is also geographically bound. Citytunneln is located where it is. However, what it might bring additionally is an atmosphere or a sense of a certain place – in Malmö’s instance a big city feel and modernity.

Additional to this changed view on trade and industry policy, one can also identify Florida’s theoretical ideas of the creative class. As already discussed above, Bo01 is one of these examples, the establishment of Malmö Höskola another. By creating exclusive housings in contemporary urban places the hope has been to lure back mid-high- and high-income earners which, as noted in the historical part in this chapters beginning, fled the economic crisis Malmö suffered during the 1970’s and 1980’s. Furthermore, Florida’s close connection between creativity and universities can be traced in Malmö’s rather aggressive promotion and establishment of Malmö Höskola. Thus, the establishment of Malmö Höskola becomes a part in transforming the composition of the labor force on demands of the economy; likewise help create an image attractive to businesses choice at establishment. This choice of act, becomes quite clear in another interview made by Dannestam, this time with the deputy vice-headmaster of Malmö Höskola, Engquist

We simply needed a university as to get a different type of trade and industry in the city, in place of what had disappeared. We know today that businesses are rather dependent on educated labor, which makes it an attraction itself to have a university on location. (Dannestam 2009: 174-175)⁵

5.3 A Changed Malmö

5.3.1 An Image Rebuilt

In 2010 construction magazine RUM described Reepalu as the politician who transformed a grey labor city, Malmö, to Sweden’s hottest architecture destination, and

⁵ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

awarded Reepalu the title Sweden’s most powerful man within design and architecture 2010 (Skånskan, web 2010; Moreno, SDS, 2010). Malmö has once more become a hot spot for development. Construction cranes are visible all over the city, with urban renewal projects ongoing. According to a study made by Eurostat, Malmö is one of Europe’s fastest growing cities with an average growth of 1.15 percent a year between 1994 and 2007 making Malmö to the 9th fastest growing cities in Europe out of 400 (Salonen 2012: 13; Magnusson, SDS, 2012).

City life has been regenerated with its many students, restaurants and cafes, theaters and cinemas. Riisom and Tanimura claim that many former inhabitants of Malmö don’t recognize their city anymore (2008: 35). Malmö is compared with Berlin. Innovation and cultural values attracts young and creative people. The risky investments in Öresundsbron, Turning torso, and a university in the city center creates a narrative of Malmö as a continental and cosmopolitan city. In Sydsvenskan one can read that Malmö has become a new city, from depleted industries to displaying luxurious housing (Svensson, SDS 2011). The city has also been labeled ‘rookie of the decade’ (Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office 2011: 3) and been described as a ‘prime example of a comeback city’ (Guidoum, URBACT, 2010).

From a pure branding point of view Västra Hamnen’s development must be seen as a success, as the concept of the area been exported to China. For instance, in the city Caofeidan Västra Hamnen has been a model – almost house by house – for the residential area B-03 (Sehlin, SDS 2012). Västra Hamnen also figured in the Shanghai Expo 2010 on an exclusive list of the world’s best eco-solutions in how to transform an industrial city to a sustainable (Sehlin 2010: 5; Jönsson, Sydsvenskan, SDS 2010-06-18)

Considering Malmö’s transformation and the visions and strategies presented in the documents in relation to the theory presented above, Malmö follows the general trend of the Western World where manufacturing industry has been replaced by the service and knowledge-intense sector. This is moreover easily observed when exploring which the largest industry types are that are active in Malmö today; Law, economics, science and technology; Commerce; Culture, entertainment and recreation; Real estate activities; and Information and communication (Bergman 2012: 24). Together these branches cover close to 60 percent of Malmö’s total workplaces (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 35). Further signs of this can be observed in that for instance state-owned workplaces have decreased between 2002 and 2012 while the private sector has increased, where especially the foreign private sector has had an remarkable growth (see table 5.1). Bergman also state that at 2013 70 percent of the workforce were enrolled in the private sector respectively 30 percent in the public (2012: 24).

Table 5.1 Number of employees per sector in Malmö

<i>Governance</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>Change</i>	
State-owned	15 139	13 858	-1 281	-8 %
Municipal	19 860	22 507	2 647	13 %
County council	8 882	10 228	1 346	15 %
Private Swedish	60 738	70 707	9 969	16 %
Private Foreign	20 127	35 936	15 809	79 %
Total	124 746	153 236	28 490	23%

(Source: Bergman 2013: 24)

Additionally, as has been noted above, the knowledge-intensive city offers and thrives of clusters and cooperation between the public sector, trade and industry and the university. Again, there are good examples of this within Malmö and more specifically Västra Hamnen. At Medeon – 60 percent owned by the City of Malmö, and 40 percent by property company Whilborgs – 30 medicine and health business work and interact, and at the business-incubator MINC 30 knowledge-intensive companies share a common facility. Further there is Moving Media City, a growth center for motion picture, Media Evolution City, a media cluster, and Malmö Cleantech City, a cluster for clean environmental friendly technologies (Malmö Municipality Office 2012: 27). Add to these the Swedish state television (SVT) and Malmö Höskola. All of, except Medeon, are located in Västra Hamnen.

These clusters can be traced to work from the Trade and Industry Office of the Malmö Municipality Office as they got expanded resources since 1997. Their main objection is to work for and establish partnerships and functions as a service function for the trade and industry. A work that includes tasks as providing meeting places for networking or provide free competition development through the so-called 'Företagsakademin' which in turn, is a partly EU-financed and time framed collaboration project between the Malmö Municipality Office, Malmö Höskola and Malmö's different city business groups (Företagsakademin, web, 2013). The shift of focus from the Trade and Industry Office could be seen as the result of a general turn from macro-economic interventions and protectionist measurements towards supporting smaller companies and larger infrastructural urban projects (Möllerström 2011: 20). Additional the establishment of Malmö Höskola aimed to adapt the continuing workforce to better cope with the new economy's need (see e.g. Danneham 2009) by emphasizing an entrepreneurial orientation and education programs relevant to the existing labor market (MAH, web, 2013).

Today various headquarters of large international companies are stationed in Västra Hamnen who see Malmö, and Västra Hamnen as their hub for North Europe and Scandinavian operations. For instance, there is Mercedes, Still Sverige, Zhonghuan Hitech, Partnertech, Egon Zehnder International, and many more. Lillrud, the Manager Director for Subaru Nordic AB – also stationed in Västra Hamnen – explains the choice of location in following way

Everything pointed to Malmö; its geographical location, a port that is truly investing in automotive imports, access to the right skills and a great dialogue with the municipalities and the region (Malmö Municipality Office 2013a: 7)

Other interviews with city officials further indicate that the notion of the entrepreneurial city has been influential. According to the city officials, the municipality leaders depict themselves as a sort of 'company leaders' who works across borders with problem solving. The former vertical organization which provided clear boundaries

between different administration units has been replaced with a horizontal border-crossing collaboration where the different administration units help each other in different issues (Möllerström 2011: 20). Something which in theory is viewed generally positive at, as this could create a greater overall consensus and by that make it easier to enforce (the right) change (Hall and Löfgren 2006).

5.3.2 Malmö is growing again

Malmö has also succeeded in turning the negative out-migration to again have a positive population growth (see fig. 5.4). During the 1970's and 1980's Malmö's population went from first having a rather low share of elder people to depicting a very high share as a result of younger people and families with children moving out to surrounding municipalities. Between 1971 and 1991 share of senior citizens went from 13.5 percent to 21.5 percent leading to Malmö having a much higher share of old people than surrounding regions and the Swedish nation as well (see table 5.2). However, today Malmö has been able to turn this trend and the average age is now below the average of the Swedish national level – 39.1 years compared to national level of 41.1 years. The majority of the growth has consisted of in-migration rather than natural growth, only the few last year's Malmö has been showing positive natural growth numbers as well – during 2010 and 2011 approximately 2000 more people were born than passed away – which again is an indication of a rejuvenation of the city's population (Salonen 2012: 16). This picture also follows the demographic of larger educational region, which again proves the Malmö Municipality Office strategy to attract young people as successful. Every fifth person is between 18 and 29 years old and the share of old people have decreased from 21.5 percent to 15.7 percent. (Salonen 2012: 19)

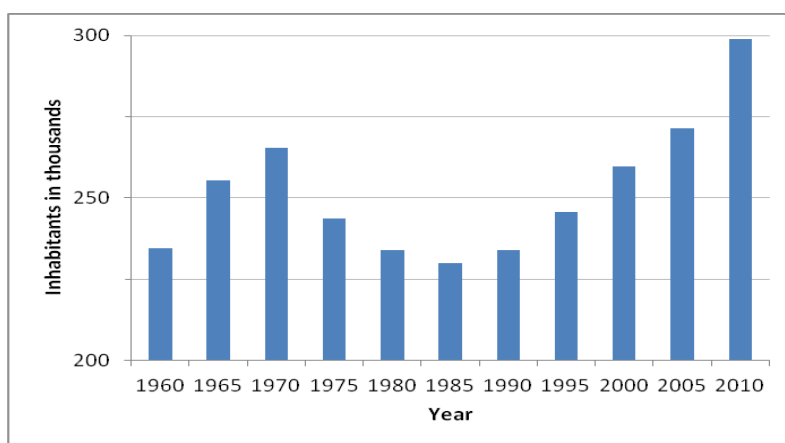


Figure 5.4 Malmö's demographic changes between 1960 and 2010 (Data Source Malmö Municipality Office; SCB).

Table 5.2 Share and Changes in age distribution in Malmö and Sweden

Age	1971			1991			2001		
	Malmö	Sweden	Dif.	Malmö	Sweden	Dif.	Malmö	Sweden	Dif.
0-17	21.1	24.7	-3.6	17.3	22	-4.7	18.6	20.2	-1.6
18-29	20.2	18.8	1.4	17.9	16.8	1.1	19.9	15.9	4

30-64	45.2	42.4	2.8	43.3	43.5	-0.2	45.8	45.4	0.4
65-	13.5	14.1	-0.6	21.5	17.7	3.8	15.7	18.5	-2.8
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100	

(Source Salonen 2012: 9)

Malmö's upturn in in-migration has long been characterized by migration from outside the Nordic countries. Between 1995 and 2012 Malmö's share of foreign born doubled, representing 170 different nations and the total share of inhabitants with foreign background now equals 41 percent of the city's inhabitants. However between 1998 and 2004 every fifth immigrant was born in a Nordic country (Malmö Municipality Office 2013b; Anderstig and Nilsson 2005: 12). More interestingly Anderstig and Nilsson also point to a change of high educated migration flow. Between 1991 and 1997 only three percent of the immigrants were high educated, but between the years 1998 and 2004 the share of high educated immigrants was 24 percent (2005: 12).

Malmö has with other words transformed from a rather old and ethnical homogenous population to a younger, better educated ethnical heterogeneous population. And by that could be seen as a social melting-pot offering meetings and exchange of values over cross-boundaries but also xenophobia and suspiciousness against that what is different.

Exploring demographic statistics from Västra Hamnen and comparing these with Malmö, the Malmö Municipality Office urban strategy to attract young well-off individuals seems to have worked out quite well (see fig. 5.5, table 5.3, and fig. 5.6). However, regarding the thought of an overarching social melting-pot and the socio-economical mixed city, there is still some work to do as this newly attracted group is quite firmly restricted to a given geographical space, which can be seen in the statistics.

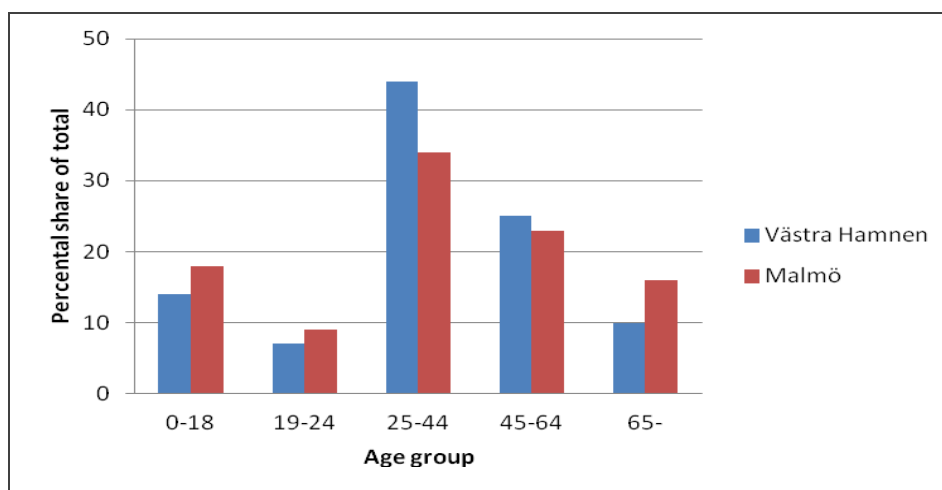


Figure 5.5 Age distribution in Västra Hamnen and Malmö (Data Source Malmö Municipality Office 2013c).

Table 5.3 Disposable income for families aged 20 years or over, in thousands

<i>Disp. Income</i>	<i>No. of families, Percent Västra Hamnen</i>		<i>No. of families, Percent Malmö</i>	
0 SEK	195	6	10697	6
1 – 119.9 SEK	358	12	28051	16

120.0 – 239.9 SEK	630	20	61356	36
240.0 – 359.9 SEK	646	21	33868	20
360.0 – 479.9 SEK	328	13	15016	9
480.0 –	852	28	22577	13
Totalt	3065	100	171565	100

(Source Malmö Municipality Office

2013c)

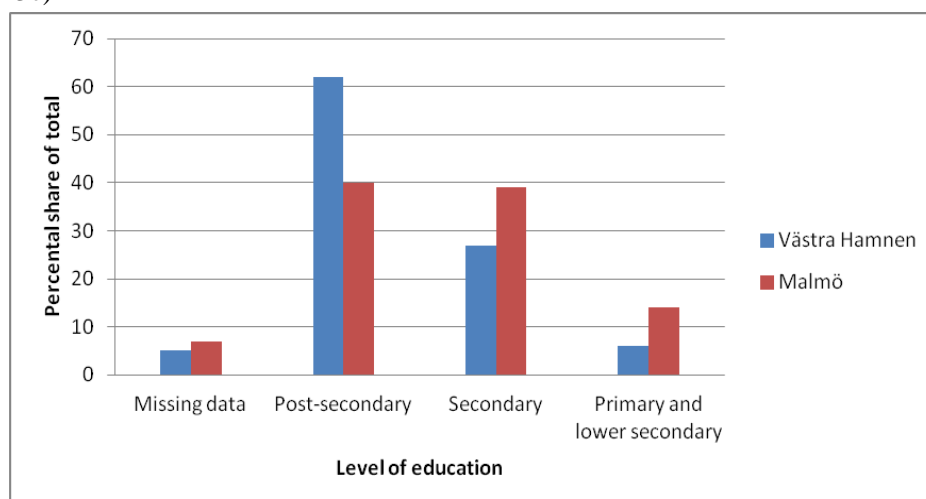


Figure 5.6 Level of education in Västra Hamnen and Malmö 2008, percentile share of total population, age range 20-64 (Data Source Department for Strategic Development, Malmö Municipality Office 2008; SCB 2008).

5.3.2 A Dual City

In the document “*Pågående stadsutveckling i Västra Hamnen*” one can read that Västra Hamnen is a city district for all of Malmö’s inhabitants. The parks, squares, and the old wharfs of Västra Hamnen are designed to invite visitors from all over the city. In these public spaces people from Malmö shall meet and interact, and there is something for everyone. For instance a skate park in Stapelbädden, a sun stair facing the ocean along Sundspromenaden, theme-playgrounds in Varvsparken and restaurants and various service at Dockan (Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office 2012: 9). In “*Västra Hamnen 2013 ett hållbart och gott liv för alla*” focus is directed towards the public spaces. But the general thought of the mixed-style city where free accessibility to the urban spaces and sense of full security anytime during the day, provided by a mix of housings and commercial facilities in various shapes and sizes, for students, seniors, new and old Swedes, rich and less so, is also highlighted as main areas of focus (Styrgruppen Västra Hamnen 2013: 11; Dalman *et al* 2002:13-14). Furthermore, in “*Kvalitetsprogram för området väster om Västra Varvsgatran, Dp 4537*” it is also argued that democracy is closely correlated with the opportunity to social contacts, and thus Västra Hamnen should be packed with meeting places providing opportunities for these contacts and interactions which long-term will benefit Malmö’s overall welfare (Dalman *et al* 2002: 16).

Sundspromenaden – Bo01’s parade side (see fig. 5.7) – which is one of these profiled public spaces and open for all of Malmö fast became a popular spot for outdoor

swimming and is during the summer, at least, a urban hot spot that resembles what Malmö has strived for; spontaneous meetings, urban life, and a highly mixed demography (Kylander, AB 2003). Nonetheless, the location for spontaneous bathing in this urban environment was initially met with heavy critique from residents living in close proximity, claiming the bathing to be unsettling and not in accordance to what they were promised when buying the apartments in the first place (Fürstenberg, SDS, 2011).



Figure 5.7 Popular Sundspromenaden (Photo made by Llyod Raboff 2012).

This dual view of who the urban space of Västra Hamnen is supposed to be used by follows much of the document material from Swedish media where one can sense a parallel discussion of a polarized and segregated city with newly built neighborhoods such as Västra Hamnen being primarily aimed for the already rich. For instance, in *Aftonbladet*, Engman, the Chairman of Hyresgästföreningen, is being quoted that Bo01 is “a Disneyland for the rich”⁶ (Svärdkrona, AB 2001). In an interview with real estate agent Sköld – on the subject of slow-selling apartments in Västra Hamnen – critique concerning that the initial choice of housings in Västra Hamnen purely were aimed towards the already rich is forwarded. Sköld further argues that if there might have been a more affable profile from the beginning the real estate companies might have been able to avoid empty housings. What instead happened was that prices were lowered and that many of the companies, for instance Skanska had to rebuild five of the bigger apartments to ten smaller, to better fit the actual market (Hemmingsson P4, 2005).

There has also been international media attention regarding Malmö’s overall urban transformation and said issues of segregation and polarization. Fox News, for instance, made a news-feature about Rosengård 2004 claiming it being somewhat of a war zone, where paramedics visiting the area required police escort, and CBN who interviewed

⁶ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

three Sverigedemokrater⁷ and reported about extreme religious tensions within the city (Joelsson, DiK, 2011-09). During the end of the 2010's daily reports of high unemployment, youth gang violence, successions of arsons in Rosengård also were a common feature in Swedish news media (Carlson, KvP, 2008; Löfgren and Wiman, AB, 2007).

Interestingly, this view is acknowledged even from official parts of the Malmö Municipality Office. In the document "*Plattform för kunskapsstaden Malmö*" for instance, it is noted that the city depicts signs of rising gaps of socio-economic inequality. Scholar such as Mukthar-Landgren further adds weight to this "truth" claiming that differences in living conditions between different socio-economic groups can be traced throughout the city. Groups which live by the worst conditions are most often of non-Swedish ethnical overtones, segregated and geographically bound to specific residential areas (Mukthar-Landgren 2006).

Mukthar-Landgren uses the term 'dual city' to further explain this. The dual here, intends on, for one half, the success story of Malmö's transformation from industrial city towards the knowledge-city. With urban areas such as Västra Hamnen on the cover page of public brochures from the Malmö Municipality Office, and on the other half, the urban areas with problems of high unemployment, violence and segregation, and being on the headlines of media (2006: 122). Thereby narratives of success created by Malmö City collide with the more unsettling image provided by the media.

In the documents explored there is further acknowledgement to this duality as it is claimed that these income gaps are not only negative regarding pure economical equity, but likewise impact social contradictions and social unrest, which in turn has negative consequences for the knowledge-city overall. If some social groups feels threatened by social development it can lead to xenophobia, which is direct negative in relation to openness and tolerance. Therefore, it is argued, there is a high priority to work towards social integration and welfare for everyone (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 3-4).

Innovation and creativity are positively affected by the free exchange of knowledge between people of different backgrounds. A successful knowledge-city is therefore characterized by a tolerant and open-minded attitude that promotes such meetings and exchanges of knowledge (Riisom and Tanimura 2008: 3)⁸

This policy is notable in the document "*Välfärd för alla – det dubbla åtagandet*" which was a social reform program initiated by Malmö's City Office between the years 2004 and 2008. By working on both issues of growth and segregation, it was assumed that social welfare would increase in the worst and most exposed socio-economic groups. Further it is argued that partnerships are vital to the handling of welfare questions as to get a broad attendance from all parts of Malmö's society (Malmö Municipality Office 2004). Dannestam argues that this plan was created as a response to rising social tensions due to the strong focus of large scale urban developments aimed for economic growth, in a symbolic way to assure the citizens of Malmö that they, and

⁷ Right wing national, xenophobic party.

⁸ Quote translated by the author of this thesis from Swedish to English.

that social welfare for all, are not forgotten (2009: 268). The Malmö Municipality Office has as an effect now turned their attention towards social sustainable development. The question is if this is a change of discourse or if it is another narrative to fuel the image of the knowledge-city that Malmö so long have fought for, and apparently won in Västra Hamnen.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

6.1 A Different Malmö

In the introduction to this thesis I clarified my interest of the apparent dominance of neoliberal policy on our contemporary society. Furthermore, I argued that these policies now have come to affect our cities and how they are governed. Studies have been made on foremost American cities and larger European cities which consequently made my aim to explore if said theories of neoliberalism, the entrepreneurial city and the creative class also are applicable on a Scandinavian city. The Scandinavian countries are, as has been discussed, societies which are commonly known for their strong focus on social democratic policies and the notion of the welfare state. To do this I looked closer into the case of Västra Hamnen, a transformed and rejuvenated former industrial brownfield area in the south Swedish city Malmö. By adopting a mixed-method of document analysis – exploring documents provided by the Malmö Municipality Office, Swedish newspapers, and academic written papers – and quantitative methods and sources – here I foremost turned to statistical findings from SCB and the Malmö Municipality Office – I aimed to provide the overall analyze with further depth and thus be better able to answer my research questions, of which the first was

What values and ideals are being pursued in the urban transformation of Västra Hamnen? Do the theories of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberal urban planning harmonize with that of Malmö's, and more specifically that of Västra Hamnen's actual urban development?

According to the theory, neoliberalization promotes private enterprise and entrepreneurship as key components of innovation, growth and prosperity. These values and ideals correlate well with the corresponding ideals and values oft brought up in the investigated documents. Key terms such as 'attractiveness', 'creativity', 'entrepreneurship', 'technology', 'tolerance', 'openness' and 'sustainable development' are numerous times being highlighted in the documents. The importance of providing the 'right' urban atmosphere to attract the 'right' kind of people and businesses are something which is seen as vital and the most important task as to capture capital and by that gain long-term positive urban development which will give trickle-down effects on the rest of the Malmö society.

Moreover the clearly strong focus on entrepreneurship – foremost within the IT and media, clean-tech and medical branches – requires an environment where the

entrepreneur will be able to thrive. And once again according to theory the entrepreneur needs an attractive and creative space with very liberal economical restrictions to be able to freely compete, something which the Malmö Municipality Office has strived to primarily provide in Västra Hamnen. Consequently, the city has to be governed more as a company and in lines with neoliberal theory to be able to provide this particular milieu, and respectively through transforming the individual into Foucault's 'homo economicus' and that of the neoliberal subject.

Common for the ideals and values pursued are that they clearly have replaced something. The actual shift from industrial society towards that of the knowledge-city perhaps provides the easiest sign of this change. The physical and socio-economical space of Västra Hamnen has gone from being a symbol of the hard-working industrial manufacturing laborer toward that of the creative, educated, and young person. It has changed from being equalized with socio-economic low strata to that of high socio-economic strata. The social networks now are not confined by working units and labor unions but that of 'think-tanks' and urban elites. The old symbol – Kockumskranen – has been replaced by a new, a gracefully twisting skyscraper. Moreover, it is hard not to argue that the values connected to Florida's creative class thereby have arrived to Malmö.

Florida's three T's are identifiable in Västra Hamnen's urban space. The presence of Malmö Högskola and numerous business incubators and high-tech clusters ticks the first of Florida's T's. The second T is provided by the apparent young, well-educated and well-off economic individuals that nowadays inhabit Västra Hamnen together with the environment provided by the first. Where one can argue against Florida is the third T. Here openness, tolerance and acceptance are both present and at the same time not. The group of people associated with Västra Hamnen are partly portraying this openness and tolerance but are at the same time being exclusive and segregating as the urban space provided by the Malmö Municipality Office so clearly has been created to attract one type of person – at least considering the individuals economical capacity.

In this sense I argue that the values and ideals pursued in the urban transformation of Västra Hamnen equals those values and ideals oft represented in the neoliberalization of society, the entrepreneurial city and that of the creative class.

Regarding the question if the theories of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberal urban planning harmonize with that of Malmö's and more specifically that of Västra Hamnen, I argue that – in accordance with the empirical findings presented in this thesis – the theories from above scholars harmonize well with the chosen path of urban development taken on by the Malmö Municipality Office for Malmö as a whole, but even more particular for Västra Hamnen. As has been explored above, first of all Malmö as a city follows the pattern Harvey identifies in his theory of the entrepreneurial city. Malmö has as a city first been flourishing as an industrial city, with partly state-owned industry, characterized by a low number of very large companies of large-scale low-tech manufacturing production, but was then suddenly thrown into struggle of deindustrialization with resulting socio-economic problems – a flight of the middle class, together with a liberal refugee policy changed the demography and the socio-economic structure of the city. The path out of the crisis continues to follow Harvey's

reasoning as the Malmö Municipality Office embraced entrepreneurialism in its attempts of becoming a knowledge-city.

Additional the Malmö Municipality Office noticeably indicate a new turn when it comes to how the city is marketed. New narratives and a storytelling towards sustainable development have been smartly used as to attract capital, investments and the activity of public-private partnerships. In Malmö's version of the knowledge-city Västra Hamnen is seen as the primary area for urban development in various documents and functions as the prime example and the spear-head in the creation of the 'new Malmö'. Here urban politics have been driven yet again in harmony and in accordance to the thought of the entrepreneurial city and neoliberal policy with rather speculative and risky investments – the bridge over the sound and the skyscraper Turning Torso. The fact that the Malmö Municipality Office acted as a coordinator in a network with various private actors as to solve social problems and create a new narrative further fortifies this. The notion that city officials are seen as 'ambassadors' and the City Office as a 'company' are further signs of a change in governance towards neoliberalization and entrepreneurial ways of thinking.

6.2 The Space of Västra Hamnen

The second research question I aimed to answer was

Which actors are being mobilized in the creation of the urban space and in which ways do these affect the physical and socio-economical space of Västra Hamnen?

This question I found a bit harder to answer and I am aware of the possibility that I have only captured a few of many actors involved in the creation of the urban space of Västra Hamnen. However I do argue that I have been able to identify a number of very prominent actors involved.

First, there is the 'active citizen' or if using Florida's term, the creative class. These individuals have come to both directly and indirectly transform and affect both the socio-economic structure of Västra Hamnen as well as the physical transformation. By attracting and providing a particular urban environment for a particular segment of people, these individuals thus primarily affect directly as the Malmö Municipality Office are aiming specifically for these individuals. However I argue that the consequence of this is that when this particular segment of people are active in the area and settled in they indirectly – by their pure presence – start feeding continuing development towards said particular segment as they demand a particular set of environment. By this they indirectly create a spiral where the original attracted group, attracts others of the same socio-economic strata, who together demand continuous urban development in the same style, which in turn attracts others and so on. The individuals that are attracted by Västra Hamnen thereby indirectly help to sustain the image of the area itself. People tend to prefer to live where other with the same ideals, values and socio-economic strata lives.

By this the young creative, well-off individual indirectly feeds the neighborhood with the same ideals and values it stands for, and by that indirectly exclude other groups of the society. As Rose pointed out, subjectification is simultaneously individualizing and collectivizing.

The clear focus on attracting the creative, through means of strong focus on the university, and a trade and industry with focal point on service, IT and media, and other knowledge-intense sectors further strongly suggest that the thoughts of Florida are clearly visible in the urban policy adopted by the Malmö Municipality Office. Together these assumptions of the 'good citizen' parallel to a successful storytelling from the Malmö Municipality Office, has set the tone for which type of person that live and works in Västra Hamnen.

One clear effect of this on the physical but mainly on the socio-economical space is the choice of building constructions in the area. Newly built housing tend to have a higher rental cost per se, however the location of the neighborhood together with the narrative built up around Västra Hamnen, promotion of certain values and a lifestyle that fits the neoliberal way of thinking has led to the creation of hidden socio-economic barriers. A division of pure economical capacity excludes persons that do not have the possibility to live there. This must not be something bad per se and is also in line with the aim of the Malmö Municipality Office but still pose the question of exclusion and segregation which clearly oppose the openness and tolerance Florida argues are fulfilled by hunting down the creative class.

A second vital actor mobilized in the creation of the urban space of Västra Hamnen is the Malmö Municipality Office itself. As discussed above, the Malmö Municipality Offices has worked hard to create a new narrative and the choice to act as a coordinator during the early stages of Västra Hamnen has created a unified brand to build upon for the surrounding developers and companies. This has led to various clusters located within the boundaries of the district as they have come to identify themselves with what Västra Hamnen is supposed to stand for, i.e. creativity, innovation, and sustainability etcetera. In that sense the Malmö Municipality Office has succeeded in luring the entrepreneurs and the creative people to Västra Hamnen.

More so, it yet again highlights how branding has become a vital part of the Malmö Municipality Office's urban planning strategy. By creating a particular image of a given environment visitors are given the means to identify themselves with the space and thereby become more likely to actually visit the place. Interestingly it seems that the space must not necessarily be a geographically physical set place, but could likewise be the space of social constructions created through discourses of politics, economy and/or culture. Cities thus are not only a physical place but a space where different actors try to apply a given image. A clear and well established brand can provide a tool of identity for those who want, or already have a connection to the city. It could also be seen as a form of conduct, for those actors who decide to establish themselves in the city and thereby in extension help form the city's attractiveness. Further, the brand becomes a sign of that certain qualities are being met for its inhabitants and visitors, and if the brand is strong and trustworthy, that the expectations are fulfilled when one explores the city.

Regarding this aspect the Malmö Municipality Office has been present in another vital way – through the establishment of Malmö Högskola. The university's presence does not only affect the physical urban environment with its two major buildings Orkanen and Niagara but also offers a long-term stability in providing a stable stream of young people, thus, affecting the socio-economic space by adding students with their youthfulness and creativity. Further it also functions as a link, or human bridge between the residential areas in the north and west, and the commercial areas of the east and south.

Other pure physical urban effects in Västra Hamnen due to the Malmö Municipality Offices changed urban policy are for instance Bo01. This sub-district has the most striking architecture and design in Västra Hamnen, with no house like the other. Here construction firms and architects were given rather large freedom, as long as they stayed within the concept of innovation and sustainability. Much critique has been leveled against this arguing of a neighborhood with no unified design, and building for the already wealthy. But again must this really be something bad? Bo01 being the first phase of the neighborhood as a whole, had a deserted and lonely feel to it in its early stages but has since become a livelier district. It's easily forgotten that when evaluating a neighborhoods success or failure one has to give it time to set. It takes time for people to find and understand the structure of a new urban area, and urban planners and architects original ideas might not turn out to be used as originally planned. Further even though Bo01 through its particular construction and thereby higher rental levels is a rather homogeneous district when it comes to socio-economic statistics it still offers diversity as an urban architectural space to a city which otherwise is rather homogenous when it comes to that particular matter.

However, continuing on the matter of socio-economic effects, even though the catchwords for Västra Hamnen have been openness, tolerance and inclusion – which lies in line with Florida's arguments of technology, talent and tolerance – the neighborhood has shown signs of becoming a segregated socio-economic district. However, as I just argued, the area is still young and under development. Stapelbäddsparken for instance offers an environment that Västra Hamnen, and Malmö as a whole has missed, and thereby invites groups of the society to the neighborhood that might otherwise be excluded. Scaniabadet, which long met resistance from residents living in close proximity, is today one of Malmö's most popular outdoor baths, becoming a social melting pot of all of Malmö's inhabitants during hot summer days. This could also be argued to be a positive sign of what the Malmö Municipality Office wanted to create – a long-term cultural meeting place and social melting pot – even though it might not first have been planned to be in this form or in that place. Still this also fortifies the argument that an urban area needs time to settle in the minds and usage of the city's inhabitants.

Other vital actors mobilized are of course the building companies, architects and various governmental organs that have worked under the created narrative and herding guidance of the Malmö Municipality Office. I do recognize the impact a famous name – Calatrava – has on adding some international flair and luring urban architect tourism into the area, but this would never had happened if not for the Malmö Municipality

Office. The same goes for the meetings started by the Malmö Municipality Office where they brought together various construction firms. However, this said the Malmö Municipality Office perhaps needed these companies much more, than they might have needed the Malmö Municipality Office.

6.3 Broader Socio-geographical Effects

The new Malmö with its strong emphasizes on the knowledge-city promises welfare and opportunities for all. At the same time a parallel development with segregation and polarization has been ongoing. Geographical, Malmö is a densely populated city and can boast with exhibiting 170 different nationalities which in theory correlates with the tolerance and openness sought after in neoliberalism and Florida's creative class. Nonetheless people tend to choose to live in neighborhoods which are similar to one self's values and ideals, socio-economical as well as birth. The share of mixed neighborhoods have decreased the last decades in favor of neighborhoods characterized by resource poverty and high share of foreign born households.

Furthermore the narrative of a successful knowledge-city also depicts a back side, with signs of growing poverty, alienation and exclusion, and tension between socio-economic groups. Add to this an image created by media of a lawless city where the government has lost control in favor of youth gangs. With open street killings and cold-blooded serial killers aiming for foreign-born.

This problematic situation brings me to the last of my research question that I aimed to answer in this thesis, namely

What are the broader socio-geographical effects of this regarding the urban space of Malmö?

As has been explored above, not all of Malmö's inhabitants take part of the development initiated by the development of Västra Hamnen. Welfare is unequal shared and the old division between a well off north and north-western Malmö, and a poorer south and south-eastern Malmö has been accentuated in some neighborhoods. This comes especially true in neighborhoods with high foreign immigrant rates and further copes well with Harvey's claim that urban entrepreneurialism consequently contributes to increasing disparities in wealth and income as well as to increase urban impoverishment.

Globalization has in one way brought us towards homogeneity but also forced us to find new ways of attracting capital. Nonetheless cities are competing with the same utility instead of trying to find something new and unique. This further fuels the urge of entrepreneurialism to an even higher rate of competition where economic profit is the sole purpose, together with the assumption to be able to show off the 'good' city. An image that today consist of a combination of top modern architecture, a wealthy, if possible white middle class, with good economic resources, fancy bars and restaurants, exclusive shopping malls, water front development etcetera.

So much work is put into marketing the positive sides of the city that it almost seems that the less fortunate neighborhoods are forgotten by policy makers in our cities. The risk lies in that if Malmö continues this development, aiming explicitly for a wealthy middle class, and hoping that this will bring long-term trickle-down effects, the poor will become poorer, the excluded more excluded and the gaps between a well-off Malmö and a less so will increase. This said segregation and polarization is not solely a question of taking the weaker side in 'we' and 'them', 'rich' and 'poor' 'Swedish' and 'foreigner'. Blame is oft laid upon a thought of a 'dangerous' and 'anti-integration' part of the population, which sadly is highly enforced by media. However, what is oft forgotten is that segregation and polarization is as big a consequence from whatever 'side' one is from. The white middleclass in the more well-off communities of Malmö are as big part in the polarized picture of Malmö as the not so well-off inhabitants of say for instance Rosengård. Focus should be put on the young and the children, sound values regarding integration and inclusion is bred here first, and can be used as to counteract future socio-economic problems and conflicts.

The transformation of the urban policy affecting Malmö has thereby come to affect social relations on a broader geographical scale. New class alliances and new urban policies together with new ideas about who the new citizen of Malmö should be are dialectically related to larger economic structures. This development must not be something bad per se however I do argue that there is a need to further investigate in these matters as I do believe that social justice and equality is somewhat lost or disregarded in the neoliberalization of the today's societies.

Nonetheless, Västra Hamnen clearly has qualities as a residential area to be able to attract high-educated people who might not have chosen to move to Malmö had Västra Hamnen not existed. In turn these people constitute the labor force that is a prerequisite for the overall business expansion plans of Malmö municipality. A prime location in the Öresunds region further fuels the economy, and hopefully will create an economy beneficial for Malmö's economics as a whole, and hopefully this will be expressed in the ongoing work on social sustainability that aims to knit Malmö's inhabitants together.

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- Figure 4.2, Map compiled by Weidacher Hsiung, R. (2013), Data source: Lund University.
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Appendix I

Contradictions of the neoliberal state

Contradictions of the neoliberal state *Specific contradictions*

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|--|--|
| 1. Redistribution of state and power responsibilities | –Power relations grows asymmetrically between individuals and corporations;
–State withdraws from welfare provision, and social security becomes a personal responsibility;
–Neoliberalism does not make the state or its institutions irrelevant; instead, state institutions and practices are reconfigured. |
| 2. New roles of and relations between the state and private sector | –The boundary between state and corporate power becomes permeable;
–Neoliberalizing state relies on PPPs (public private partnership) for the provision of key welfare services, while the partner private sector firms diminish transaction costs by minimizing costs attributed to their externalized liabilities;
–In collaborating with the state organizations, private sector businesses and corporations also acquire a strong role in the writing of legislation, determination of public policies and setting of regulatory frameworks;
–The state takes up most of the risk, while the private sector takes most of the profit. |
| 3. Increasing entrepreneurialism, individualism and competition | –Competition is expected to be the driver of the economy, although a few centralized multi-national corporations that share oligopolistic and transnational power create unfair basis for it;
–Technological change relies on competition to drive the search for new products, production methods and entrepreneurial organizations; but technological innovations also create new products and ways of doing thing that yet have no market;
–Competition triggers technological dynamism, but also increased individualism, chronic instability and the dissolution of social solidarities;
–Increasing entrepreneurialism brings about the treatment of labor and environment as commodities that will turn against the individual or environment in the event of conflict;
–International free trade requires global rules of the game and calls for global governance (WTO), which affects the local modes of governance. |
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<p>4. Market freedom versus individual freedom and collective democracy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Neoliberalism promotes free trade markets, unfettered by state interference, yet strongly encourages state intervention for the sake of the market rule and managing the contradictions of marketization (Peck <i>et al.</i> 2009, 51); -Neoliberal ideology implies that self-regulating markets allocate investments and resources in the best possible way, while neoliberal politics engender persistent market failures, different forms of social polarization, uneven spatial development and encroach upon established modes of governance (Peck <i>et al.</i> 2009, 51); -The more neoliberalism generates authoritarianism in market enforcement, the harder it is to maintain its legitimacy with respect to individual freedoms; -The neoliberal state is expected to step out and set the stage for market functions, while it is also supposed to create a good business climate and behave as a competitive entity; -The state has to work as a collective corporation, which makes it difficult to guarantee public loyalty; -Nationalism is required for the state to function effectively as a corporate and competitive identity in the world market, but it also gets in the way of market freedoms; -While the neoliberal state ensures a global corporate identity by taking part in global corporate networks, its national identity gets in the way of markets freedoms.
<p>5. Collective identity and democratic governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Contradictions are generated in politics when the goals of possessive individualism clash with the desire for a meaningful collective; -Individuals are free to choose, though rather than building collective institutions (like trade unions), are supposed to build weak voluntary associations (like charitable organizations); -Putting limits on democratic governance and on undemocratic and unaccountable institutions (like IMF) creates a paradox: intense state intervention and government by elites and experts, even though the state is not supposed to be interventionist; -Faced with social movements that seek collective intervention, the neoliberal state is forced to intervene, denying the very freedoms it is supposed to uphold; -The neoliberal state is hostile to all forms of social solidarity that put restraints on capital accumulation, leading to lower wages, increased job insecurity, and loss of benefits and job protection.

Source: Harvey (2005), unless otherwise indicated. Table summarized by Taşan-Kok (2012, 13-14).

Appendix II

List of documents used

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Type of Document</i>	<i>Category of data</i>
Anderstig and Nilson	Bo Noll Ett – samhällsekonomiskt sett	Public brochure	overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Bergman, Trade and Industry Office, Malmö Municipality Office	Malmö Snapshot – Facts and figures on trade and industry in Malmö	Public brochure	overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Carlsson, Kvällsposten	Rosengård brinner	Tabloid	socio-economic legitimacy
Dalman <i>et al</i> on behalf of Malmö Municipality Office	Kvalitetsprogram för området väster om Västra Varvsgatran, Dp 4537	Public brochure	signs of turn in policies, private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies
Fürstenberg, Sydsvenskan	Nytt bad i Västra Hamnen	Daily newspaper	socio-economic legitimacy
Joelsson, DiK	Malmö – En stad med utmaningar	Web article, worker union	socio-economic legitimacy
Jönsson, Sydsvenskan	Malmö visas upp i Shanghai	Daily newspaper	private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies,
Kyander, Aftonbladet	Sista doppet	Tabloid	socio-economic legitimacy
Löfgren and Wiman, Aftonbladet	Rosengård brinner igen	Tabloid	socio-economic legitimacy
Magnusson, Sydsvenskan	Urbaniseras snabbast i EU	Daily newspaper	Signs of turn in policies, overall visions and strategies
Malmö Municipality Office	Young Malmö Sweden	Public brochure	Signs of turn in policies, Private public collaborations, overall vision and strategies
Malmö Municipality Office	Malmöbor med utländsk bakgrund	Public brochure	Overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy

Malmö Municipality Office	Västra Hamnen i siffror/in figures 2013	Public brochure	Overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Malmö Municipality Office	Välfärd för alla – Det dubbla åtagandet	Public brochure	Overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Moreno, Sydsvenskan	Illmar Reepalu mäktigast i Sverige	Daily newspaper	Overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Riisom and Sörensen, on behalf of Malmö Municipality Office	Det 4e stadsrummet	Public brochure	signs of turn in policies, private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies
Riisom and Tanimura, on behalf of Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office	Plattform för Kunskapsstaden Malmö	Public brochure	signs of turn in policies, private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies, and socio-economic legitimacy
Salonen, on behalf of Kommissionen för socialt hållbart Malmö	Befolkningsrörelser, försörjningsvillkor och bostadssegregation – En sociodynamisk analys av Malmö	Public brochure	socio-economic legitimacy
Skånskan	Reepalu i designtoppen	Daily newspaper	Overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Styrgruppen Västra Hamnen, on behalf of Malmö Municipality Office	Västra Hamnen 2013 ett hållbart och gott liv för alla	Public brochure	overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Svärdkrona, Aftonbladet	Skrota lyxmässorna	Daily newspaper	socio-economic legitimacy
Svensson, Sydsvenskan	En dröm byggd på nederlagets mark	Daily newspaper	socio-economic legitimacy
Urban Planning Department, on behalf of Malmö Municipality Office	Pågående stadsutveckling i Västra Hamnen	Public brochure	overall visions and strategies, socio-economic legitimacy
Urban Planning Department, on behalf of Malmö Municipality Office	Planering I Malmö	Public brochure	Overall visions and strategies
Urban Planning Department, Malmö Municipality Office	Planprogram för del av bilen 4 – Pp 6006	Public brochure	signs of turn in policies, private-public collaborations, overall visions and strategies

