Urban Design in Neighbourhood Commodification

Ana Mafalda Madureira (Ana_Mafalda.Madureira@circle.lu.se)

CIRCLE, Lund University, Sweden

and

Spatial Planning Department, Blekinge Institute of Teknology, Sweden

This is a pre-print version of a paper that has been submitted for publication to a journal

This version: September 2011

WP 2011/10
Urban Design in Neighbourhood Commodification
Ana Mafalda Madureira

ABSTRACT

The intention to promote local economic development through place marketing and urban design based interventions is linked to the commodification of the city, a trend emerging parallel to a new milieu for intercity competition. The aim with this paper is to highlight how urban design is used as a tool by the municipality to sell the city as a place to live, work and invest in. The focus is on the physical characteristics and function of two urban renewal projects and how the municipality has looked into these neighbourhoods in connection to the image that it wants to promote for the city. The analysis focuses on official plans and documentation, and on expert interviews. It distinguishes between product-oriented and process-oriented interventions. The reabilitation of the physical space is used to promote discourses on sustainability, innovation and creativity and, throught these discourses, generate an appealing image for investments. The paper aims to contribute to the discussions on the transformation of the role of the urban design and planning in contexts of entrepreneurial urban governance, place-marketing strategies, and the neoliberalization of planning

Urban Design as tool for transformation of de-industrialized neighbourhoods – Case study of reconvertion projects in Norra Sorgenfri and Bo01 industrial areas, Malmö, Sweden

URBAN DESIGN IN NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMODIFICATION[1]

Ana Mafalda Madureira

Doctoral student

Spatial Planning Department - Blekinge Institute of Teknology

SE 371 79 – Karlskrona, Sweden

Email: ana.mafalda.madureira@bth.se

URBAN DESIGN IN NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMODIFICATION

Abstract

The intention to promote local economic development through place marketing and urban design based interventions is linked to the commodification of the city, a trend emerging parallel to a new milieu for intercity competition. The aim with this paper is to highlight how urban design is used as a tool by the municipality to sell the city as a place to live, work and invest in. The focus is on the physical characteristics and function of two urban renewal projects and how the municipality has looked into these neighbourhoods in connection to the image that it wants to promote for the city. The analysis focuses on official plans and documentation, and on expert interviews. It distinguishes between product-oriented and process-oriented interventions. The reabilitation of the physical space is used to promote discourses on sustainability, innovation and creativity and, throught these discourses, generate an appealing image for investments. The paper aims to contribute to the discussions on the transformation of the role of the urban design and planning in contexts of entrepreneurial urban governance, place-marketing strategies, and the neoliberalization of planning

Introduction

The intention to promote local economic development through place marketing (Kearns and Philo, 1993, Gold and Ward, 1994, Grodach, 2009) and urban design based interventions is linked to the commodification of the city, a trend that has been emerging parallel to the emergence of a new milieu for intercity competition (Duffy, 1995. Jensen-Butler et al, 1997). The development of cultural and leisure amenities and the enhancement of the city's image through transformations in its urban landscape gain importance within policies to increase the economic attractiveness of the city. (Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004) Researchers have been developing studies of this trend in cities across Europe, namely in cities that have been undergoing local economic transformation from industrial-based to a service-based economy. In these cases, commodification means that urban design is used to refashion and better sell the image of the city to outside investors, and it can be seen in the branding of a city (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009), in the promotion of distinct cultural assets and leisure areas (Gospodini, 2006), or by developing businesses and R&D districts within the city (Gospodini, 2006). Commodification by urban design is more than just the standard urban renewal intervention focused on improving the infrastructural characteristics and quality of life in a certain neighbourhood. It is an active strategy to sell a product, the designed landscape of the city as a place to live, work and invest in (Ward 1998).

In a policy approach that invests on developing a certain urban image for competitive and marketing purposes, urban design becomes an integral aspect of urban economic policies, due to its emphasis on urban form and physical characteristics of the place. Transformations in the physical environment will lead to transformations on the perceived image of that place (Gutman, 1966). This type of reasoning has been underlying the transformation strategies pursued by policy-makers and stakeholders looking for a change in the perceived image of their city, from industrial decline towards an exciting, attractive and creative place to live and invest, with specific socio-economic and place qualities that distinguish it from other cities in the world. In this context, urban design becomes a political issue, influenced by public and private actors and initiatives, expressing broader socio-economic and political changes, and playing its part in the internal and external promotion of the city.

The aim in this paper is to highlight how urban design is used as a tool to sell an urban image, by looking into the urban renewal projects that focus on the pictorial mode of representation of two

neighbourhoods. It uses a structured, focused comparison, elaborating on a set of general questions that are then posed to each of the cases (George and Bennett, 2005), focusing on the traditional graphic representation of the space with respect to its different functions and uses present, and how the municipality has looked into that neighbourhood in connection to the image that it wants to promote for the city. The analysis used comprehensive and existing detailed plans and official documentation and was complemented by expert interviews. The urban form was analysed by looking into the buildings and their related open spaces, plots and streets. One of the cases- Bo01- illustrates the use of urban design in a **product-oriented** intervention - the housing exhibition area, meant to promote Malmö as a sustainable *City of Tomorrow*. In the second case- Norra Sorgenfri- the intervention is **process-oriented**, focusing on the use of this district by current city inhabitants and with a stronger focus on the promotion of social and spatial integration within the city of Malmö. The formalized intentions for the intervention are social and economic and less concerned with, primarily, a rehabilitation of the urban form per se. But the rehabilitation of the urban form is understood as enabling a new image to develop for the neighbourhood, to contribute to the new image of the city, and to ultimately promote improved economic activity and quality of life. The reabilitation of the physical space is used to promote discourses on sustainability, innovation and creativity and, throught these discourses, generate an appealing image for investments.

The relevance of the urban design activity in policy making is interesting to analyse further as it has been the focus of growing interest by policy-makers, practitioners and academics dealing with issues of urban policy (Madanipour, 2006). This paper also aims to contribute to the discussions on the transformation of the role of the urban design and planning in contexts of entrepreneurial urban governance, place-marketing strategies, and the neoliberalization of planning.

II- Urban design rising as a tool in local economic development

The strategies pursued in urban regeneration and transformation of the city's image often place the emphasis on transformation through changes in the urban form and ask planners to focus on aesthetic and architectural aspects of local urban environment, on local area development and neighborhood upgrading, and to explore the potentials it has to offer in a strategy that aims to promote social, cultural and economic goals. This asks urban planners to look into urban design and the characteristics of the urban form, a concept that has been a core concern of urban design (Lynch, 2008; Sitte, 1986). Changing perceptions of space and place have contributed to a shift in

planning practice to recognize places as something that adds value to economic development, resulting in an increased concern over the qualities of the place (Davoudi and Strange, 2009). This has contributed to an increased attention over the urban design characteristics of a planning proposal. Instead of referring to planning, which has a regulatory undertone, the projects focus on urban design, with a clearer link to aesthetic concerns and thus more suitable to use in strategies to promote the image of the city.

Urban design projects can have two distinct attitudes towards the urban renewal strategy and its reach. Product and Process are concerns present in any intervention. However, when the prime concern is placed on artistic and visual aspects of urban design, there is a greater focus on the resulting product. Here the important relationships to preserve or create are those between the visually attractive buildings (operas, city halls, museums) and the areas around them. The communication between these elements is essential to promote an intended image of the city, i.e. flagship developments (Bianchini et al. 1992) or when the city is hosting a certain world event. (Jansson, 2005. Hubbard, 1995) However the process of creating a place can be more important than the product, especially when the intended final product is less clearly defined, or when the area of intervention is less attractive for private speculation and thus requires more time to develop into an attractive area to invest in.

To the creation of the physical place and its meaning for the community that is expected to use it, these urban development strategies add the responsibility for the physical environment to revitalize the economic and social spheres. The urban design intervention is the element of grace that will achieve what clearly focused socio-economic strategies have not been able to. (Hubbard, 1995)

Gospodini (2006) refers to a change of paradigm. Major design schemes and place design, and the investment in major architectonical landmarks are seen as a way to promote economic development in the city, instead of reflecting a city that is enjoying a good economic momentum and uses urban renewal to reflect it. Hubbard (1995) and Harvey (1989) argue that there is a shift from a managerial to entrepreneurial urban governance, where in the first city governments were concerned with the provision of welfare and basic services, and in the later urban policy makers take on responsibilities in the field of local growth and economic development. One could argue that although policy-makers dedicate more attention to issues of economic growth, this does not denote a complete change in governance style. Instead, welfare and service provision remain central aspects for municipal intervention, retain the biggest share of the municipal budget and are central

concerns for inhabitants/ voters. However, in political rhetoric, the focus shifts to place- marketing strategies that will attract potential investors to the city and the Media interest. The municipality acts more as a facilitator for the meeting of different stakeholders, it adds to its managerial role- it tries to coordinate the involvement of different stakeholders within a context of urban renewal strategy.

Strategies of urban transformation tend to focus on the fabrication of physical spaces that will be associated with what are seen as the characteristics of new economic activities that want to be attracted: innovation, creativity and knowledge. (Gospodini, 2006. Hubbard, 1995) The city's authorities are confronted with the existence of physical objects that do not reflect the ambitioned socio-economic goals, simply because the factory is no longer a central element in the socio-economic life. Additionally, there is a growing literature and research that argues for the promotion of cultural and leisure activities and the provision of consumption amenities in both quantity and quality (Florida, 2002, 2005), and the promotion of more ecologically sustained cities (Kenworthy, 2006). Their message for policy-makers is to focus policies in these fields and the city will be in a more competitive position to attract the people and activities supporting the Knowledge Economy. Hubbard (1996) concludes that the image promoted by the fabricated landscape can potentially alter the image that the local citizens have of their city, by rebuilding the urban landscape to be associated with an image of success, even thought this new image does not necessarily result in increased local economic development.

The use of urban design as a tool in the commodification of the city can be seen in the two cases I turn to next. The use of urban design to convey a homogeneous idea for the development of the district is addressed, as is the importance placed on the development of the public areas, revealing a concern over the use of public space for leisure and consumption activities and to sell the image of the district itself.

III- A new image for Malmö

Malmö is a Swedish municipality that has been consciously constructing a new image for the city. There are two competing images to Malmö: one that took shape associated with industrialization, another that is emerging now, connected with the socio-economic restructuring of the city. The urban fabric reflected the symbols of the industrial era and is now being transformed: the shipyards

dominating the city during the industrialization; the Turning Torso, the new university-colleage and the Öresund Bridge reflecting a new Malmö for the XXI century. The new image is being carefully profiled towards the Knowledge Economy, with sustainability and creative urban environments as associated discourses. The discourse of the municipal planning department promotes the Knowledge city in the descriptions accompanying the advertising of its urban development projects, by using expressions such as "From Industrial city towards Knowledge city"[2] (Planering i Malmö, 2010:2. 30).

The need to strenghthen a specific profile for the city is linked with the growing intercity competition for attracting inward investment and companies, and the discussions about the visions for Malmö are driven by the question "What says more about what is unique – or can be unique- for Malmö?" (Planering i Malmö, 2010:1. 4). The sustainable city is a vision often supported by the municipality in its urban development projects in the city. Sustainability is also an overhead theme under which other discourses are built and justified, namely Innovative/ Creative Malmö, the densified city, the attractive city. The economic profiling of the city for the Knowledge Economy is linked with this sustainable city profile (Planering i Malmö, 2009:2). Municipal urban planning is presented as one of the tools to build a new profile for the city within the realms of sustainable development, innovation and the urban qualities of the city that will strengthen its attractivity for residents, visitors and investors.

The municipality has signalled the two neighbourhoods in analysis here as central to the urban renewal efforts of the municipality, but with different emphasis placed on the role that the district is to hold for the rest of the city. The emphasis on transformation is strong. In the Bo01 area in Western Harbour, the old shipyard gave way to housing areas, businesses and commerce, combined with architectural value and located in a high-value area. Placing the Turning Torso in the new urbanization adds to the symbolic value of Western Harbour- an example of a flagship development (Bianchini et al., 1992). This was a redevelopment project that promoted the city to outsiders, and continues to be used by the municipality as an illustration of its efforts to develop Malmö as a Knowledge city, with an emphasis on sustainability.

---

[2] All translations by the author

The industrial district of Norra Sorgenfri is being transformed into residential, commerce and offices area. Instead the discourse for commodification is built around the potential of this area to develop attractive urban like characteristics.
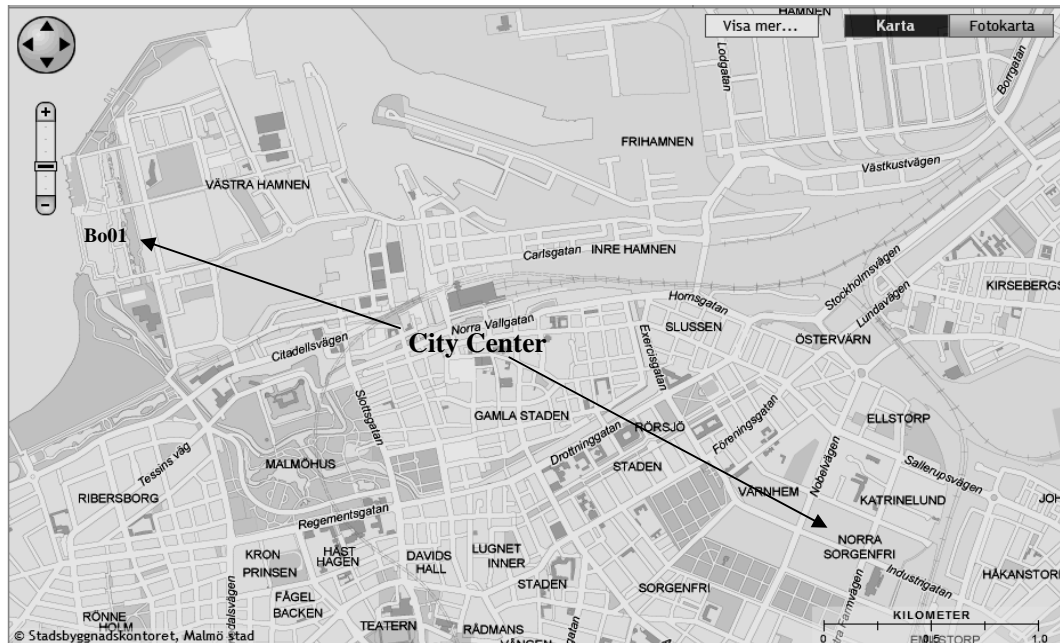

Figure 1- Location of Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri in relation to Malmö's city. Source: malmo.se/karta

Creating an extended city centre in Norra Sorgenfri

When the industrial area of Norra Sorgenfri started to develop, in the late 1800's, it was located in the outskirts of the city. Nowadays, with the expansion of the city, it is a central area with the potential to serve as a transit corridor and bring together the central and the eastern parts of Malmö (Malmö Stad 2008). Originally, the area was occupied by gasworks, different manufacturing companies and used for tram depots. Today there are still some industries in the area, but manufacturing is no longer an important activity. There are many abandoned and underused buildings and plots, a situation unusual to find in such a close proximity to a city centre. Additionally, the area was never an important residential or service/ commercial area. As such, the building and infrastructure existing in the area are characteristic of a specific use and history. They transmit the image of the industrial city that Malmö was.

In 2006, the municipality organized a series of lectures related to community and city planning and the relationship between urban design and social and economic settings. The lectures highlighted the link between urban design, public space and how to promote meeting points within a city that

has been trying to deal with issues of segregation and integration of its high population of immigrants. The links between a competitive and economically successful city, a tolerant and inviting urban environment, and the richness of its urban life were discussed, closely following the ideas proposed by Florida (2002, 2005). There were two main strings of thought presented. One had a clear social focus and was concerned with the integration of inhabitants in the city, the creation of "democratic spaces" (Peter Elmlund, in Malmö Stad, 2007), and the promotion of meeting points where people from different socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds could meet and interact. The second string was mainly economic and saw the promotion of open, inclusive and mixed urban districts as contributing to the city's attraction to the Creative Class (Florida, 2002).

The result of the discussions and workshops was a *planprogram* adopted by the municipality to guide the spatial development of the neighbourhood. The function of the renewed district is defined- a place for integration, and for the promotion of small scale economic activities. This integration is understood as physical- the connection between the eastern and central parts of Malmö, and the extension of the city centre towards the eastern Malmö-, and social, a new meeting place for the city inhabitants. The potential for Norra Sorgenfri to develop into a district with "center-like characteristics", can be promoted through the use of urban design to build this "innercity character" into this semi-abandoned industrial district (Planering i Malmö, 2008:1)

The municipality commissioned an evaluation of the value of the buildings and urban morphology of the area, where it was argued that the area has an architectonical and historical value linked with its industrial history and that this feature should be explored during its reconversion. The buildings vary in style, materials used, epoch and size, granting diversity to the neighborhood and increasing the flexibility of potential uses. (Schlyter, 2006) Therefore the existing buildings will mainly be maintained and new constructions will respect certain guidelines regarding materials used so that the area can retain its original character.

The municipality defined other broad guidelines for how urban design is to be used to convey the desired innercity character, leading the private developers into a specific design for the buildings, and defining guidelines for streets and green areas. The facades are to be designed facing the existing street network that is to be maintained. The buildings should have between 3 and 5 storeys, to add the center-like density to the neighbourhood. The floor level facing the main streets is to be reserved for shops, cafés and other services to settle in (Figure 2). A wide range of developers and builders is expected to ensure that there is a great diversity of housing and commercial solutions

that will invite different forms of living, people from different ages and backgrounds, and different economic and leisure activities.

Figure 2- Proposal for a street in Norra Sorgenfri. Source: *Plan program* **Norra Sorgenfri**

Since most of the plots are currently owned by private owners, the municipality is free to act mostly on the street level. The demands over the characteristics of the public space are thus guided towards the creation of opportunities for private developers to partake of the objectives of the area plan. The municipality takes the lead, subdividing plots and opening new streets and an interconnect grid of green areas at the heart of each original block. This aims to create a network of main arteries (*Industrigatan*, *Nobelvägen* and *Östra Farmvägen*, Figure 3) that respects the original grid-plan and where shops and commerce are to be supported, a network of new, smaller streets that breaks the original street grid in smaller parcels to increase accessibility for cyclists and pedestrians to and across the neighbourhood, a network of semi-private green areas, and totally new residential areas.
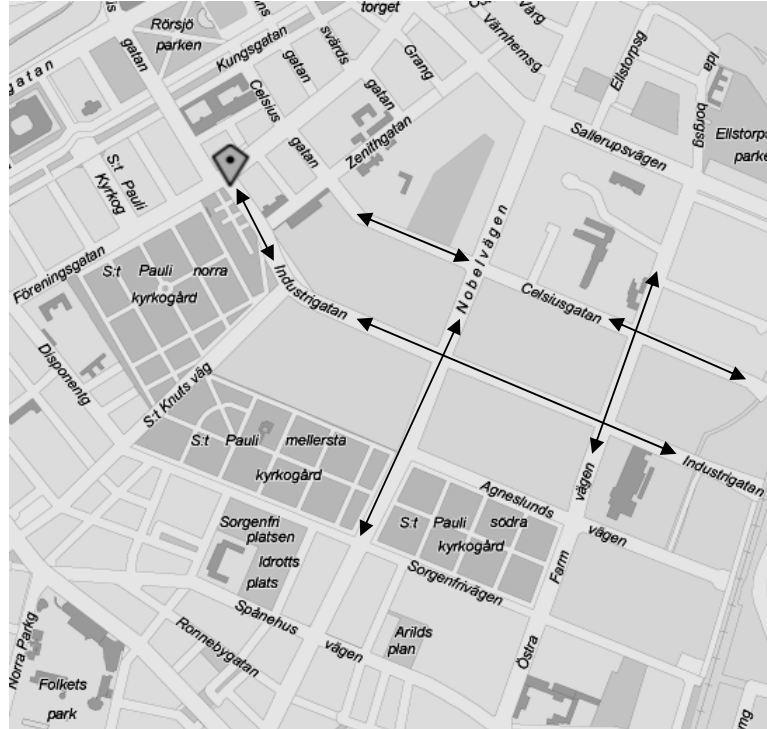
Figure 3- Main street layout. Source: malmo.se/karta

In the case of Norra Sorgenfri, the redevelopment of the district is guided by intentions to build an extension of the city center, marked by the goal of marketing the city that is an attractive place to live and invest in. To achieve this perception of an attractive urban environment, three auxiliary concepts are used that direct the interventions from the urban design proposal: *Stadsrum* (a room for the city), *stadsliv* (city life) and *nätverk* (network). The endorsement of the *Stadsrum* concept focuses on developing an area that will attract visitors from within and outside Malmö, through the promotion of the original main streets of the district as lively areas for working and leisure, in the ambition to strengthen the culture and arts scene that is blossoming already, and in the development of a network of green spaces, cycle paths and pedestrian areas that builds on the wider discourse of Malmö as a sustainable city. The *Stadsliv* concept is linked with the small-scale projects and variation, understood as contributing to a lively urban atmospheret and landscape and promoting the participation of different stakeholders at different stages of the project. Each small plot can be developed as the stakeholders directly interested in its development come to agreement. There is no single grand-scheme for the final product, other that the abstract idea of what an attractive city center looks like. The industrial heritage is used to add character to the neighbourhood. Finally the concept of *Nätverk* is built in the proposals for the creation of a totally new network of green spaces

11

and pedestrian and cycle paths, in the promotion of the existing street network as attractive areas to live, shop and invest in, and in the idea of the neighbourhood to be a corridor between the center and eastern parts of Malmö, promoting the integration of socially and geographically segregated districts.

These three concepts and the urban design interventions associated with them, are ultimately used to promote the image of the Knowledge city in Norra Sorgenfri, by elaborating on the idea of the redevelopment of a district with creativity and urbanity in its character. Building on the discourses of the tolerant and creative city and how these two aspects can contribute to local economic development, the urban design interventions are guided towards the development of an urban environment that will serve to bring forward the image of an exciting and tolerant Malmö.

The Housing Exhibition- Bo01

Western Harbour grew in size and importance parallel to the development of one of its symbols: Kochums. As Kochums grew into a world leader in shipbuilding, the harbour expanded by new infill. However, production was hit hard with the oil crises. Kochums was bought by the State in 1979 and in the late 90's the production of military ships moved to Karlskrona. Malmö retained the headquarters for Kockums, focusing on design, planning and development.

With the turn of the century and parallel to the remaining industrial activity, new industries in the IT and R&D have emerged. A university college was established in 1994/95 and the international housing exhibition Bo01 was held, in what can be seen as steps towards the reconversion of the Western Harbour into a mixed residential and services area. The area's potential for the organizers of Bo01 laid in its prime location - proximity to the sea and closely located to the centre. Additionally, the area where Bo01 grew was characterized, in the 1990s, by abandoned and empty plots, and the remnants of a past industrial golden age. Finally, Svenska Bostadsmässa and the municipality were actively engaged and willing to invest in the quick redevelopment of this area, for the occasion of Bo01, in 2001. The urban renewal was aimed at creating the *City of Tomorrow* in an allusion to its innovative, sustainable and environmental character, and to the new city that would begin to take shape.

This new city district, as labelled by the Municipality, would combine living, education and work functions, world class-architecture, leading edge-technologies in sustainable building and design and provide an international example for how to promote the long-term sustainability of buildings

and cities- a marketing area for ecological and sustainable solutions for cities around the world, while simultaneously showing visitors and the world the image of a new Malmö that was leaving behind its past of industrial decline and embracing the opportunities offered by new technologies, trends and ideologies. The guidelines for how to develop the area were stipulated in a *planprogramme* defined by the municipality and the representatives of the developers. (Bo01 Framtidesstaden. 1999)

The plans for the transformation of the area worked preferably with the natural and geographical features of the site instead of existing structures. The sea was used as a central element to the public areas, complemented by the sight of the recently inaugurated Öresund Bridge that illustrated the link to the continent, the connection to Copenhagen and the integration of the wider Öresund region. Along the sea, a promenade area was designed, aligned by new buildings in a new architectural style, contemporary and innovative. (Figure 4)

Figure 4- Sundspromenaden

Sundspromenaden and *Ankarparken* formed the basic network for the district and offered different settings. *Sundspromenaden,* running parallel to the sea, is exposed to the winds and offers an alternative beach area to the city's dwellers. At the street level, cafés and shops were meant to ensure the livability of the promenade. *Ankarparken* is more sheltered and the greenery is its distinguishing feature. The contrast that marks these two main arteries is a theme encountered

throughout the district. The buildings heights ranged from 1 to 6 storeys' high, expect for the Turning Torso, with clearly distinguishable 54 storeys. (Figure 5)

Figure 5- View of Ankarparken and Turning Torso

Developers were given a colour scheme for buildings, and the blocks were never more than 100 meters long, so as to ensure both accessibility in the area and a certain coherence of theme. However, the diversity of the architectural companies working on the area guaranteed great diversity in the architectural solutions and styles encountered. The blocks also reveal this attention to contrast. The inner facades protect the inside of the blocks and create a network of little squares and spaces for private gardens, with abundant vegetation. Life within this squares and gardens develops in-between the public and the private realm, similar to the network of new gardens and streets proposed for Norra Sorgenfri (Figure 6). The public areas were planned to strengthen the water and green environment and to ensure that the area would develop as a leisure area for the rest of the city. A network of canals was designed crossing the area, allowing inhabitants and visitors to be in constant sight of water.

Figure 6- Green areas in the interior of the plots

The urban form taking shape in Bo01 pays compliment to contemporary ideals regarding what a city of (and for) tomorrow should look like, and represents a completely different approach to urban planning and design from what had been the trend in Swedish planning in the last 30 to 40 years. The new area refers not to the history of the district in particular, but to a mixture of contemporary styles, sizes, and influences. Who can the intended target be except for the new inhabitants of a new city that municipal expectations hope are choosing Bo01 to settle in?

IV- Commodification by design

The cases analysed here provide a perspective over the close connection between the commodification of the neighbourhood promoted through design focused interventions, with the goal of creating a new image. The new image developing in Malmö is of a Knowledge City and Bo01 contributes to this city image by focusing on the sustainability discourse, while Norra Sorgenfri promotes an image of a tolerant and creative urban district.

The cases illustrated an intervention that is product-oriented - Bo01, and a case which is process-oriented - Norra Sorgenfri, to illustrate different attitudes towards the use of urban design in urban

commodification. Both cases use urban design to convey a new image for the district. However in the case of Bo01, the municipality and the investors were pressed for time to finalize the exhibition area. Bo01's geographical location, pointed to the success of investments in the area which helped to secure the interest of private investors. The image to develop was also concrete- a physical structure where new buildings and structures are reference free and appeal to the idea of the sustainable (with an emphasis on environmental solutions) *City of Tomorrow.*

In Norra Sorgenfri the intention was to rehabilitate a neighbourhood by drawing on its industrial heritage. The existing buildings and street layout are preserved as reminders of the activities that once existed in the area and are part of the shared history of the inhabitants of Malmö. The preservation of the old image is compatible with the emergence of a new role for this district, transformed into a new residential and leisure area, and promoted as a natural extension of the traditional centre. The concern is on the function of the neighbourhood for the wider city, with a thematic emphasis placed on promoting spatial and social integration of the city of today. There is still a product to be sold - the urbanity of the area, its tolerant and creative environment, are the elements that might attract investments to the area. However, Norra Sorgenfri does not have the same locational advantages of Bo01 and there is no specific event serving as a deadline for the execution of the project. Also the image to promote is less mediatic than in Bo01. This means that the urban design intervention has to be more phased in time and scale, to allow for interest in the area to grow over time and for investors to appear. The image that the renovated district will develop will likely be different from the initial intentions of the municipality. However, this case of a more organic and ad hoc image creation does not necessarily mean that the district will not be attractive for investment in 25 years' time. Also learning feed-backs can be flexibly included along with the involvement of the stakeholders and the wider public.

Norra Sorgenfri can also be seen as a case of reflexive learning, a reaction to the critiques to Bo01, accused of being an enclave for the better-off minority in Malmö, of not responding to the pressing needs of the city for new housing, and of trying to attract new inhabitants to the city without concern for the existing inhabitants and the increase segregation between the more affluent western part of the city and its eastern neighbours.

One might question why Bo01 grew in an area with no usable remains from the industrial era while Norra Sorgenfri is marketing its industrial past. Norra Sorgenfri is closer to a poorer and working class area. There is an ambition to create an ethnic and cultural district, shown by the intentions to

use of the old tram depot as a cultural and leisure center, and the urban design characteristics adopted for the main streets. The intervention makes use of the industrial heritage to create an environment that links back to the inhabitants of Malmö. On the other hand, Bo01 is closer to wealthier areas (the west and the city center) and has higher environmental and scenic value. The urban design intervention was used to attract wealthy tax payers that had moved from the city precisely during the industrial heydays.

Finally, this paper set out to discuss the role of urban design seen by public and private investors as a tool to fabricate an image that will help to sell the location to investors, generate the ambitioned economic reconstruction of a city hit by industrial decline, and to help local populations overcome the sentiment of decline brought forward by rising numbers of unemployment, generating a sort of social lifting.

Urban design as a concept has a closer connection with creativity and innovation, while urban planning is associated with regulatory frameworks and legislation. The importance of urban design on these urban renewal projects could be seen as contradictory, since by arguing for less regulation in policy-making and a more market-oriented planning, it would be expected that urban planning and design would subside. This appears to not be the case due to three main reasons: 1) Commodification of the city – urban design is used as a tool in the marketing of an experience of a city and to shape the landscape that developers and policy-makers want to sell. 2) Urban design is used to promote the integration between different developments occurring throughout the city, to add spatial coherence and a sense of meaning and identification to the whole. 3) The municipality can use urban design interventions in the public realm to define areas for private developers to invest. By creating or upgrading streets, parks and squares, public actors identify the next focus of potential development and help to visually guide investments towards a specific area in the city.

Urban design is another tool to add to the a different managerial style adopted by the municipality, in its quest to sell the city to investors, attract the public and the media's attention to the city, and secure public-private partnerships, essential to secure the success of the city's projects.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ana Madureira is a doctoral student at the Department of Spatial Planning at the Blekinge Institute of Technology, in Sweden. Her research is centered on the role of urban planning in contexts of entrepreneurial urban governance and neoliberalization of planning.

References:

Ashworth G, Kavaratzis M (2009) Beyond the logo: Brand management for cities. *Journal of Brand Management*. 16**,** pp- 520–531.

Beriatos E, Gospodini A (2004) Glocalizing urban landscapes- Athens and the 2004 Olympics. *Cities* 21(3), pp- 187-202.

Bianchini F, Dawson J, Evans R (1992) Flagship projects in urban regeneration. In *Rebuilding the city: Property-led urban regeneration*, P. Healy, S. Davoudi, M. O'Toole, S. Tavsanoglu, and D. Usher eds. London: E&FN Spon.

Bo01 Framtidesstaden (1999) *Quality Programme Bo01 1999-03-31*. Malmö Stad.

Davoudi S, Strange I (eds) (2009) *Conceptions of Space and Place in Strategic Spatial Planning*, London: Routledge (RTPI Library Series)

Duffy H (1995) *Competitive Cities: Succeeding in the Global Economy*. London: Spon.

Florida R (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

Florida R (2005) *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York: Routledge.

George A L, Bennett A (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. MIT Press.

Gold J R, Ward S V (1994) *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to sell Towns and Regions*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Gospodini A (2006) Portraying, classifying and understanding the emerging landscapes in the post-industrial city. *Cities* 23(5), pp- 311-330.

Gutman R (1966) Site Planning and Social Behaviour. *Journal of Social issues*. XXII (4), pp. 103-115.

Harvey D (1989) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler* 71B:3-17

Hubbard P (1995) Urban design and local economic development : A case study in Birmingham. *Cities*. 12 (4), pp. 243-251.

Hubbard P (1996) Urban Design and City Regeneration: Social Representations of Entrepreneurial Landscapes. *Urban Studies*, 33 (8) pp. 1441 – 1462.

Jansson A (2005) Re-encoding the spectacle: Urban Fatefulness and mediated stigmatization in the ´City of Tomorrow`. *Urban Studies*, 42 (10), pp.1671- 1691.

Jensen-Butler C, Shachar A, van Weesep J (eds.) (1997) *European Cities in Competition*. Aldershot: Avebury

Kearns G, Philo C (1993) *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. Oxford: Pergamon,

Kenworthy J (2006) The eco-city: ten key transport and planning dimensions for sustainable city development. *Environment and Urbanization*, 18 (1), pp. 67-85.

Lynch K (2008) *A Imagem da Cidade*. Translated from English by M. C. Afonso. Arquitectura e Urbanismo. Lisboa: Edicões 70.

Madanipour A (2006) Roles and Challenges of Urban Design. *Journal of Urban Design*. 11 (2), 173– 193.

Malmö Stad 2008. *Planprogram Norra Sorgenfri.* Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor. Informationsenheten [Online] Available at: http://malmo.se/Medborgare/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Utbyggnadsomraden/Norra-Sorgenfri/pagefiles/Norra-Sorgenfri-planprogram_reviderat_skarm.pdf [Accessed 25 March 2010]

Planering i Malmö (2008:1) Informations från Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor. Malmö: Malmö Stad

Planering i Malmö (2009:2) Informations från Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor. Malmö: Malmö Stad

Planering i Malmö (2010:2) Informations från Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor. Malmö: Malmö Stad

Schlyter O (2006) *Norra Sorgenfri – kulturhistoriskt underlag inför planprogram. Byggnadsantikvarisk utredning.* Malmö stad. Skåne län. Enheten för Kulturmiljövård Rapport 2006:026.

Sitte C (1986) *City planning according to artistic principles*. New York: Rizzoli

Ward S (1998) *Selling places: The marketing and promotion of towns and cities, 1850-2000.* London: E & FN Spon
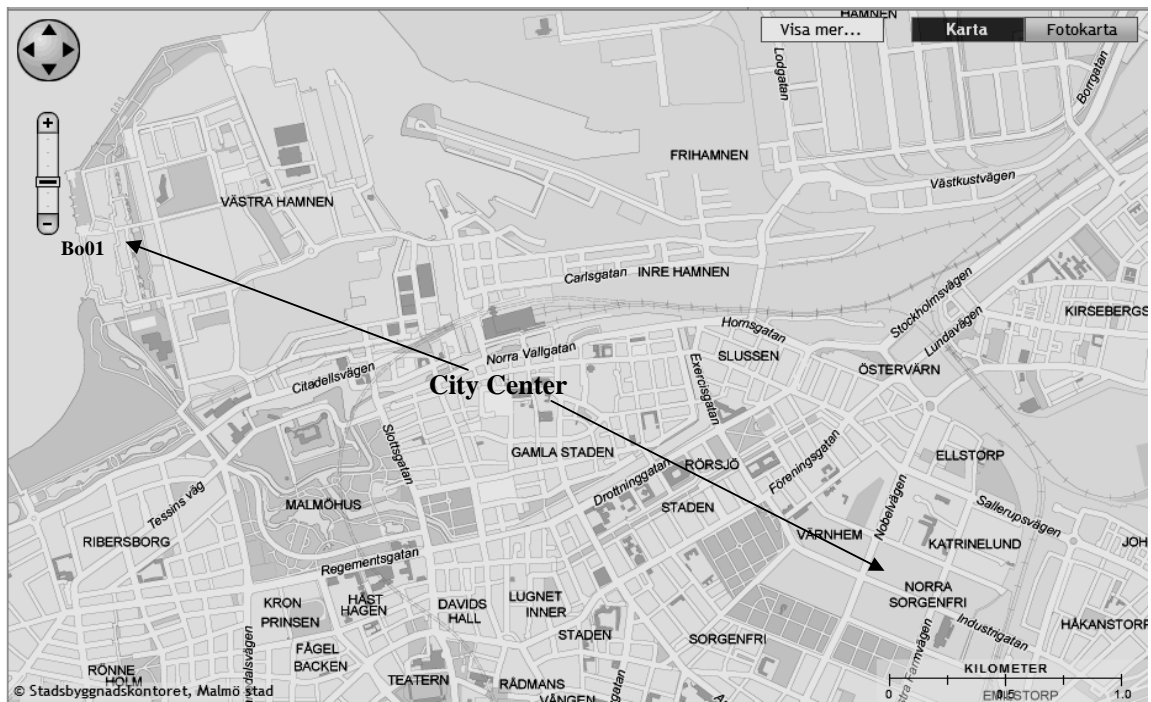
Figure 7- Location of Bo01 and Norra Sorgenfri in relation to Malmö's city. Source: malmo.se/karta

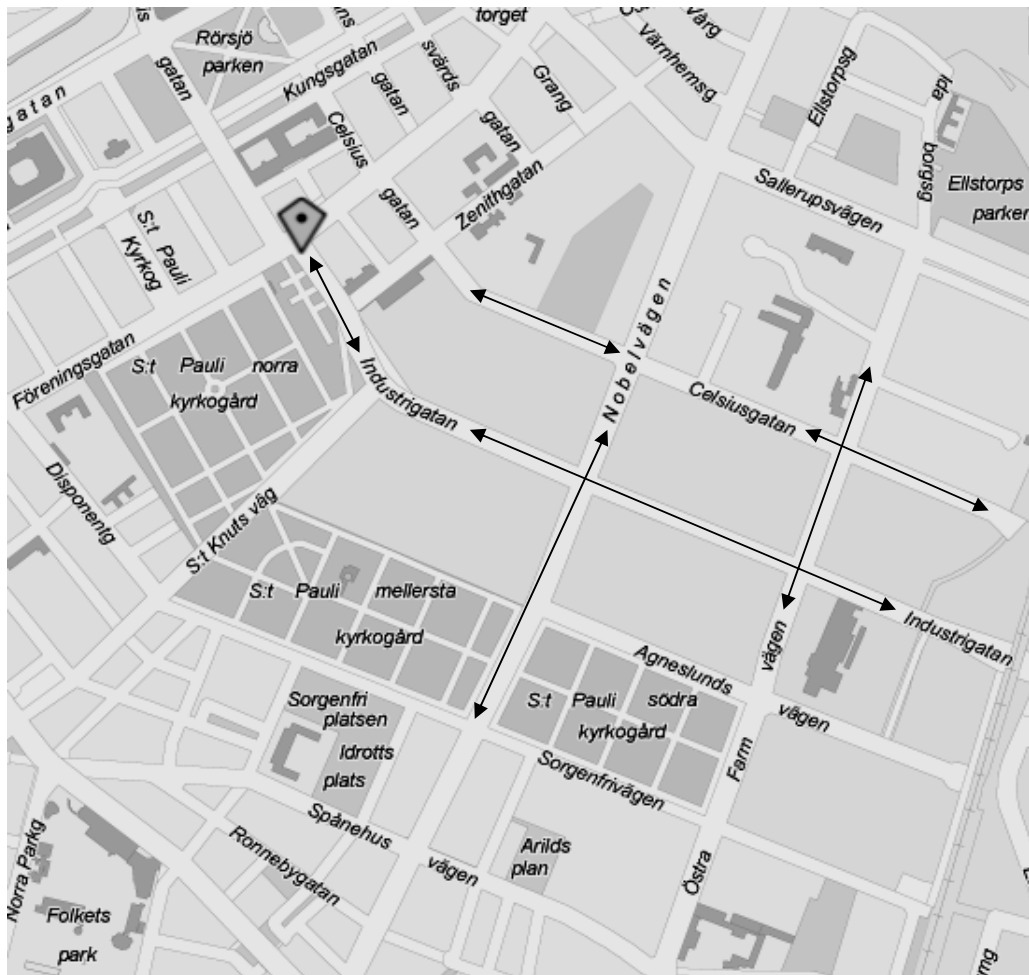**Figure 8- Proposal for a street in Norra Sorgenfri. Source: *Plan program* Norra Sorgenfri**

Figure 9- Main street layout. Source: malmo.se/karta

Figure 10- Sundspromenaden

Figure 11- View of Ankarparken and Turning Torso

Figure 12- Green areas in the interior of the plots

CIRCLE ELECTRONIC WORKING PAPERS SERIES (EWP)

CIRCLE (Centre for Innovation, Research and Competence in the Learning Economy) is a multidisciplinary research centre set off by several faculties at Lund University and Blekinge Institute of Technology. CIRCLE has a mandate to conduct multidisciplinary research and education on the following issues: Long-term perspectives on innovation, structural change and economic growth, Entrepreneurship and venture capital formation with a special focus on new ventures, The dynamics of R&D systems and technological systems, including their impact on entrepreneurship and growth, Regional innovation systems in different national and international contexts and International comparative analyses of national innovation systems. Special emphasis is done on innovation policies and research policies. 10 nationalities and 14 disciplines are represented among the CIRCLE staff.

The CIRCLE Electronic Working Paper Series are intended to be an instrument for early dissemination of the research undertaken by CIRCLE researchers, associates and visiting scholars and stimulate discussion and critical comment.

The working papers present research results that in whole or in part are suitable for submission to a refereed journal or to the editor of a book or have already been submitted and/or accepted for publication.

CIRCLE EWPs are available on-line at: http://www.circle.lu.se/publications

Available papers:

2011

WP 2011/01
SMEs' absorptive capacities and large firms' knowledge spillovers: Micro evidence from Mexico
Claudia de Fuentes and Gabriela Dutrénit

WP 2011/02
Comparing knowledge bases: on the organisation and geography of knowledge flows in the regional innovation system of Scania, southern Sweden
Roman Martin and Jerker Moodysson

WP 2011/03
Organizational paths of commercializing patented inventions: The effects of transaction costs, firm capabilities, and collaborative ties
Taehyun Jung and John P. Walsh

WP 2011/04
Global Innovation Networks: what are they and where can we find them? (Conceptual and Empirical issues)
Helena Barnard and Cristina Chaminade

WP 2011/05
Swedish Business R&D and its Export Dependence
Karin Bergman and Olof Ejermo

WP 2011/06
Innovation Policy Design: Identification of Systemic Problems
Charles Edquist

WP 2011/07
Regional Institutional Environment and Its Impact on Intra-firm and Inter-organisational Innovation Networks: A Comparative Case Study in China and Switzerland
Ju LIU

WP 2011/08
Entrepreneurship: Exploring the Knowledge Base
Hans Landström, Gouya Harirchi and Fredrik Åström

WP 2011/09
Policy coordination in systems of innovation: A structural-functional analysis of regional industry support in Sweden
Magnus Nilsson and Jerker Moodysson

WP 2011/10
Urban Design in Neighbourhood Commodification
Ana Mafalda Madureira

2010

WP 2010/01
Innovation policies for development: towards a systemic experimentation based approach
Cristina Chaminade, Bengt-Ake Lundvall, Jan Vang-Lauridsen and KJ Joseph

WP 2010/02
From Basic Research to Innovation: Entrepreneurial Intermediaries for Research Commercialization at Swedish 'Strong Research Environments'
Fumi Kitagawa and Caroline Wigren

WP 2010/03 Different competences, different modes in the globalization of innovation?
A comparative study of the Pune and Beijing regions
Monica Plechero and Cristina Chaminade

WP 2010/04 Technological Capability Building in Informal Firms in the Agricultural
Subsistence Sector In Tanzania: Assessing the Role of Gatsby Clubs
Astrid Szogs and Kelefa Mwantima

WP 2010/05
The Swedish Paradox – Unexploited Opportunities!
Charles Edquist

WP 2010/06
A three-stage model of the Academy-Industry linking process: the perspective of both agents
Claudia De Fuentes and Gabriela Dutrénit

WP 2010/07
Innovation in symbolic industries: the geography and organisation of knowledge sourcing
Roman Martin and Jerker Moodysson

WP 2010/08
Towards a spatial perspective on sustainability transitions
Lars Coenen, Paul Benneworth and Bernhard Truffer

WP 2010/09
The Swedish national innovation system and its relevance for the emergence of global innovation networks
Cristina Chaminade, Jon Mikel Zabala and Adele Treccani

WP 2010/10
Who leads Research Productivity Change? Guidelines for R&D policy makers
Fernando Jiménez-Sáez, Jon Mikel Zabala and José L- Zofío

WP 2010/11
Research councils facing new science and technology
Frank van der Most and Barend van der Meulen

WP 2010/12
From new to the firm to new to the world. Effect of geographical proximity and technological capabilities on the degree of novelty in emerging economies
Monica Plechero and Cristina Chaminade

WP 2010/13
Are knowledge-bases enough? A comparative study of the geography of knowledge sources in China (Great Beijing) and India (Pune)
Cristina Chaminade

WP 2010/14
Regional Innovation Policy beyond 'Best Practice': Lessons from Sweden
Roman Martin, Jerker Moodysson and Elena Zukauskaite

WP 2010/15
Innovation in cultural industries: The role of university links
Elena Zukauskaite

WP 2010/16
Use and non-use of research evaluation. A literature review
Frank van der Most

WP 2010/17
Upscaling emerging niche technologies in sustainable energy: an international comparison of policy approaches
Lars Coenen, Roald Suurs and Emma van Sandick

2009

WP 2009/01
Building systems of innovation in less developed countries: The role of intermediate organizations.
Szogs, Astrid; Cummings, Andrew and Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2009/02
The Widening and Deepening of Innovation Policy: What Conditions Provide for Effective Governance?
Borrás, Susana

WP 2009/03
Managerial learning and development in small firms: implications based on observations of managerial work
Gabrielsson, Jonas and Tell, Joakim

WP 2009/04
University professors and research commercialization: An empirical test of the "knowledge corridor" thesis
Gabrielsson, Jonas, Politis, Diamanto and Tell, Joakim

WP 2009/05
On the concept of global innovation networks
Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2009/06

Technological Waves and Economic Growth - Sweden in an International Perspective 1850-2005
Schön, Lennart

WP 2009/07
Public Procurement of Innovation Diffusion: Exploring the Role of Institutions and Institutional Coordination
Rolfstam, Max; Phillips, Wendy and Bakker, Elmer

WP 2009/08
Local niche experimentation in energy transitions: a theoretical and empirical exploration of proximity advantages and disadvantages
Lars Coenen, Rob Raven, Geert Verbong

WP 2009/9
Product Development Decisions: An empirical approach to Krishnan and Ulrich
Jon Mikel Zabala, Tina Hannemann

WP 2009/10
Dynamics of a Technological Innovator Network and its impact on technological performance
Ju Liu, Cristina Chaminade

WP 2009/11
The Role of Local Universities in Improving Traditional SMEs Innovative Performances: The Veneto Region Case
Monica Plechero

WP 2009/12
Comparing systems approaches to innovation and technological change for sustainable and competitive economies: an explorative study into conceptual commonalities, differences and complementarities
Coenen, Lars and Díaz López, Fernando J.

WP 2009/13
Public Procurement for Innovation (PPI) – a Pilot Study
Charles Edquist

WP 2009/14
Outputs of innovation systems: a European perspective
Charles Edquist and Jon Mikel Zabala

2008

WP 2008/01
R&D and financial systems: the determinants of R&D expenditures in the Swedish pharmaceutical industry
Malmberg, Claes

WP 2008/02
The Development of a New Swedish Innovation Policy. A Historical Institutional Approach
Persson, Bo

WP 2008/03
The Effects of R&D on Regional Invention and Innovation
Olof Ejermo and Urban Gråsjö

WP 2008/04
Clusters in Time and Space: Understanding the Growth and Transformation of Life Science in Scania
Moodysson, Jerker; Nilsson, Magnus; Svensson Henning, Martin

WP 2008/05
Building absorptive capacity in less developed countries
The case of Tanzania
Szogs, Astrid; Chaminade, Cristina and Azatyan, Ruzana

WP 2008/06
Design of Innovation Policy through Diagnostic Analysis:
Identification of Systemic Problems (or Failures)
Edquist, Charles

WP 2008/07
The Swedish Paradox arises in Fast-Growing Sectors
Ejermo, Olof; Kander, Astrid and Svensson Henning, Martin

WP 2008/08
Policy Reforms, New University-Industry Links and Implications for Regional Development in Japan
Kitagawa, Fumi

WP 2008/09
The Challenges of Globalisation: Strategic Choices for Innovation Policy
Borrás, Susana; Chaminade, Cristina and Edquist, Charles

WP 2008/10
Comparing national systems of innovation in Asia and Europe: theory and comparative framework
Edquist, Charles and Hommen, Leif

WP 2008/11
Putting Constructed Regional Advantage into Swedish Practice? The case of the VINNVÄXT initiative 'Food Innovation at Interfaces'
Coenen, Lars; Moodysson, Jerker

WP 2008/12
Energy transitions in Europe: 1600-2000
Kander, Astrid; Malanima, Paolo and Warde, Paul

WP 2008/13
RIS and Developing Countries: Linking firm technological capabilities to regional systems of innovation
Padilla, Ramon; Vang, Jan and Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2008/14
The paradox of high R&D input and low innovation output: Sweden
Bitarre, Pierre; Edquist, Charles; Hommen, Leif and Ricke, Annika

WP 2008/15
Two Sides of the Same Coin? Local and Global Knowledge Flows in Medicon Valley
Moodysson, Jerker; Coenen, Lars and Asheim, Bjørn

WP 2008/16
Electrification and energy productivity
Enflo, Kerstin; Kander, Astrid and Schön, Lennart

WP 2008/17
Concluding Chapter: Globalisation and Innovation Policy
Hommen, Leif and Edquist, Charles

WP 2008/18
Regional innovation systems and the global location of innovation activities: Lessons from China
Yun-Chung, Chen; Vang, Jan and Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2008/19
The Role of mediator organisations in the making of innovation systems in least developed countries. Evidence from Tanzania
Szogs, Astrid

WP 2008/20
Globalisation of Knowledge Production and Regional Innovation Policy: Supporting Specialized Hubs in the Bangalore Software Industry
Chaminade, Cristina and Vang, Jan

WP 2008/21
Upgrading in Asian clusters: Rethinking the importance of interactive-learning
Chaminade, Cristina and Vang, Jan

2007

WP 2007/01
Path-following or Leapfrogging in Catching-up: the Case of Chinese Telecommunication Equipment Industry
Liu, Xielin

WP 2007/02
The effects of institutional change on innovation and productivity growth in the Swedish pharmaceutical industry
Malmberg, Claes

WP 2007/03
Global-local linkages, Spillovers and Cultural Clusters: Theoretical and Empirical insights from an exploratory study of Toronto's Film Cluster
Vang, Jan; Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2007/04
Learning from the Bangalore Experience: The Role of Universities in an Emerging Regional Innovation System
Vang, Jan; Chaminade, Cristina.; Coenen, Lars.

WP 2007/05
Industrial dynamics and innovative pressure on energy -Sweden with European and Global outlooks
Schön, Lennart; Kander, Astrid.

WP 2007/06
In defence of electricity as a general purpose technology
Kander, Astrid; Enflo, Kerstin; Schön, Lennart

WP 2007/07
Swedish business research productivity – improvements against international trends
Ejermo, Olof; Kander, Astrid

WP 2007/08
Regional innovation measured by patent data – does quality matter?
Ejermo, Olof

WP 2007/09
Innovation System Policies in Less Successful Developing countries: The case of Thailand
Intarakumnerd, Patarapong; Chaminade, Cristina

2006

WP 2006/01
The Swedish Paradox
Ejermo, Olof; Kander, Astrid

WP 2006/02
Building RIS in Developing Countries: Policy Lessons from Bangalore, India
Vang, Jan; Chaminade, Cristina

WP 2006/03
Innovation Policy for Asian SMEs: Exploring cluster differences
Chaminade, Cristina; Vang, Jan.

WP 2006/04
Rationales for public intervention from a system of innovation approach: the case of VINNOVA.
Chaminade, Cristina; Edquist, Charles

WP 2006/05
Technology and Trade: an analysis of technology specialization and export flows
Andersson, Martin; Ejermo, Olof

WP 2006/06
A Knowledge-based Categorization of Research-based Spin-off Creation
Gabrielsson, Jonas; Landström, Hans; Brunsnes, E. Thomas

WP 2006/07
Board control and corporate innovation: an empirical study of small technology-based firms
Gabrielsson, Jonas; Politis, Diamanto

WP 2006/08
On and Off the Beaten Path:
Transferring Knowledge through Formal and Informal Networks
Rick Aalbers; Otto Koppius; Wilfred Dolfsma

WP 2006/09
Trends in R&D, innovation and productivity in Sweden 1985-2002
Ejermo, Olof; Kander, Astrid

WP 2006/10
Development Blocks and the Second Industrial Revolution, Sweden 1900-1974
Enflo, Kerstin; Kander, Astrid; Schön, Lennart

WP 2006/11
The uneven and selective nature of cluster knowledge networks: evidence from the wine industry
Giuliani, Elisa

WP 2006/12
Informal investors and value added: The contribution of investors' experientially acquired resources in the entrepreneurial process
Politis, Diamanto; Gabrielsson, Jonas

WP 2006/13
Informal investors and value added: What do we know and where do we go?
Politis, Diamanto; Gabrielsson, Jonas

WP 2006/14
Inventive and innovative activity over time and geographical space: the case of Sweden
Ejermo, Olof

2005

WP 2005/1
Constructing Regional Advantage at the Northern Edge
Coenen, Lars; Asheim, Bjørn

WP 2005/02
From Theory to Practice: The Use of the Systems of Innovation Approach for Innovation Policy
Chaminade, Cristina; Edquist, Charles

WP 2005/03
The Role of Regional Innovation Systems in a Globalising Economy: Comparing Knowledge Bases and Institutional Frameworks in Nordic Clusters

Asheim, Bjørn; Coenen, Lars

WP 2005/04
How does Accessibility to Knowledge Sources Affect the Innovativeness of Corporations? Evidence from Sweden
Andersson, Martin; Ejermo, Olof

WP 2005/05
Contextualizing Regional Innovation Systems in a Globalizing Learning Economy: On Knowledge Bases and Institutional Frameworks
Asheim, Bjørn; Coenen, Lars

WP 2005/06
Innovation Policies for Asian SMEs: An Innovation Systems Perspective
Chaminade, Cristina; Vang, Jan

WP 2005/07
Re-norming the Science-Society Relation
Jacob, Merle

WP 2005/08
Corporate innovation and competitive environment
Huse, Morten; Neubaum, Donald O.; Gabrielsson, Jonas

WP 2005/09
Knowledge and accountability: Outside directors' contribution in the corporate value chain
Huse, Morten, Gabrielsson, Jonas; Minichilli, Alessandro

WP 2005/10
Rethinking the Spatial Organization of Creative Industries
Vang, Jan

WP 2005/11
Interregional Inventor Networks as Studied by Patent Co-inventorships
Ejermo, Olof; Karlsson, Charlie

WP 2005/12
Knowledge Bases and Spatial Patterns of Collaboration: Comparing the Pharma and Agro-Food Bioregions Scania and Saskatoon
Coenen, Lars; Moodysson, Jerker; Ryan, Camille; Asheim, Bjørn; Phillips, Peter

WP 2005/13
Regional Innovation System Policy: a Knowledge-based Approach
Asheim, Bjørn; Coenen, Lars; Moodysson, Jerker; Vang, Jan

WP 2005/14
Face-to-Face, Buzz and Knowledge Bases: Socio-spatial implications for learning and innovation policy
Asheim, Bjørn; Coenen, Lars, Vang, Jan

WP 2005/15
The Creative Class and Regional Growth: Towards a Knowledge Based Approach
Kalsø Hansen, Høgni; Vang, Jan; Bjørn T. Asheim

WP 2005/16
Emergence and Growth of Mjärdevi Science Park in Linköping, Sweden
Hommen, Leif; Doloreux, David; Larsson, Emma

WP 2005/17
Trademark Statistics as Innovation Indicators? – A Micro Study
Malmberg, Claes