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The Theories and Politics of Entrepreneurial Cities

- a Theoretical Summing up and the Next Step Forward

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and at The 22nd Nordic Sociology Congress, Malmö August 2004

Abstract

How can theories about the entrepreneurial city contribute to our understanding of local politics? The theoretical framework of urban entrepreneurialism, as well as empirical studies thereof, occupy a rather marginal position within Swedish political science. Entrepreneurialism includes an emphasis on both the content and the organisation of local politics, highlighting how public officials adopt growth oriented policies and form partnerships with private actors to enforce them. The aim of my paper is to highlight the potential, as well as the shortcomings of the theoretical framework in mind. I will use the Swedish city of Malmö as an empirical illustration. This part of the paper will be structured around some key concepts within the perspective of organisational culture – identified as a perspective that can enrich theories of entrepreneurial cities. Central to my paper is that the entrepreneurial city must be conceptualized not as something neutral and apolitical, but as policy prioritizing specific ideas about the nature of the economy and the role of local government within. Entrepreneurialism will thus be approached as a narrative and connections will be made to the ideological dimension of globalisation, or globalism. In mapping the strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical framework under scrutiny, I will conclude that it could favourably be inspired by not only the notion of organisational culture but also discussions within contiguous traditions in urban theory. Using the concepts of narrative and globalism can be a fruitful way for further research to understand how the politics of entrepreneurialism is socialized, legitimised and implemented.

Key words: Entrepreneurial policy, entrepreneurial governance, narrative, organisational culture, globalisation

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1 Introduction

In light of the changing economic situation many Western cities have encountered since the early 1970s, a number of scholars have identified certain types of responses in the politics of local government (e.g. Savitch 1996; Andrew & Goldsmith 1998; John 2001). Examples are references to processes of decentralisation, new approaches to public administration such as New Public Management or the shift from “local government” to “local governance” (ibid.). Such processes are addressed before the backdrop of the increasing challenges that cities are facing due to internationalisation and different processes associated with globalisation.

Within the broad and inter-disciplinary field of urban studies, a number of scholars have coined the phrase of urban entrepreneurialism to highlight these recent trends in local politics (Harvey 1989; Mayer 1994; Hubbard 1996; Hubbard & Hall 1998a, 1998b; Wood 1998; Short & Kim 1999; Jessop & Sum 2001; Chapin 2002; Ward 2003). To manage political, economical and social pressures such as fiscal crises and high unemployment rates, cities have frequently responded by introducing policy changes as well as new organisational elements in local government. The use of the concept of “the entrepreneurial city” along with “entrepreneurial governance” and “urban entrepreneurialism” is a way by means of which urban theorists frame such changes. The influential urban geographer David Harvey (1989), was the first to use this conceptual framework. Following Harvey, the mapping of the entrepreneurial city has evolved into a theoretical perspective with three main elements. First, attention is drawn to the role of local government in fostering economic development – what I will refer to as the content or policy of local politics. Second, there is an emphasis on the entrance of private actors and new ways of organising public administration. This I will demote as the organisation of local politics or, simply put as entrepreneurial governance. Third, and finally, economic globalisation is usually used to explain the rise of the entrepreneurial city.

Empirical research within the field focuses almost exclusively on North-American and British cities, while studies of Scandinavian cities mostly are virtually absent.¹ One may wonder if the pattern visible in the Anglo-Saxon context also manifests itself in the Swedish case. The local level in the Swedish system is characterised by far-reaching self-government, and municipalities have traditionally been local welfare states (e.g. Bergström 1993; Hansen 1997). Urban entrepreneurialism includes a growth-oriented policy that might be all the more visible in relation to more distributional values, traditionally a defining feature for the Swedish welfare system.

¹ For a summary of cities that are highlighted in the literature see John Rennie Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim (1999:119). Some case studies of Copenhagen and Stockholm, from a contiguous perspective, do exist (Andersen 1998; Hansen 2003; see also some of the contributors in Källtorp *et al.* 1997). Despite this, my overall impression is that the research about entrepreneurial cities is somewhat neglected within Swedish political science. Phil Hubbard and Tim Hall would probably agree, stating that the literature on urban entrepreneurialism occupies an undeserved marginal position within Anglo-Saxon political science as well (1998a:3).

Swedish municipalities are still involved in delivering welfare-oriented services, but also seem to be concerned with activity of a different character.

As we will see in the following text, the City of Malmö² in the Southern part of Sweden is definitely occupied with some of the activities that characterise an entrepreneurial city. Drawing on a minor field study conducted in the spring of 2003 (Dannestam 2003), I will use Malmö as an illustrative example for this paper. Malmö is a former industrial town, known for long-gone industries such as the immense Kockums shipyard. Beginning in the 1980s, like many other industrial cities in the West, Malmö underwent processes of deindustrialisation and decline (Stigendal 1996:26-28). The general economic crisis that Sweden faced in the early 1990s affected Malmö with economic stagnation, sky-high unemployment and escalating segregation as a consequence (Billing 2000:11-21). Malmö is an interesting example because the city's administration, in the shadow of the "urban crisis" and still facing many of its problems, is engaged in a number of large-scale projects aiming at renewing the city and leaving the industrial heritage behind.

1.1 Research Question(s) and Statement of Purpose

According to Hall and Hubbard – two of the most prominent scholars within the field – the phenomenon of entrepreneurialism is somewhat undertheorised (1996:153-154). Therefore it is relevant to conduct a theoretical summary before initiating further empirical research. It is worth mentioning that the empirical trends captured by the concept of entrepreneurialism have previously been examined from the perspective of regime and regulation theory.¹ Nevertheless, it is relevant in my opinion to address the scholars who originally theorised the same problem that is more of a point of departure for contiguous traditions. The overall research question guiding this paper is thus a theoretical one: *Which potential does the theoretical perspective of entrepreneurialism have, and are there any theoretical shortcomings?* As we will see, the entrepreneurial city's organisational aspects are rather undertheorised. Using the notion of organisational culture, I will accordingly illustrate how it is possible to elaborate further on this often absent dimension. This raises another research question, one that is more empirical and secondary compared to the first: *How can we understand what is happening in the city of Malmö, viewed as an entrepreneurial city, from the perspective of organisational culture?*

I will thus give a non-comprehensive overview of the research based on the notion of entrepreneurial cities, with the aim of discussing its theoretical shortcomings and considering the next step forward. Malmö will be used as an illustrative example of a city that is influenced by entrepreneurialism – to show the

² Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden and has a population of approximately 267 000 inhabitants, a relatively large proportion of which are immigrants or persons with at least one parent born abroad (<http://www.malmo.se/> >startside>Fakta om Malmö & Politik>Statistik, 2004-06-21). Malmö has, with few exceptions over the years, been ruled by the Social Democratic Party (SAP) – and is in many ways seen as the party's "model city".

empirical potential of the theoretical perspective in mind and to give an example of the next step forward.³

1.2 Outline of the Paper and Methods Used

I will conduct a summary of the literature on entrepreneurial cities, highlighting those scholars I understand to be leading within the field. The empirical illustrations of the paper are taken from a previous minor field study where ten interviews with leading actors (chosen through the “snowball” method) were conducted in addition to official documents. My main focus was to investigate the meaning attached to projects such as Western Harbour (Västra Hamnen) and Hyllieⁱⁱ, and their connection to overall visions of the city. There is no room here to conduct a full methodological exposition of the field study, a task that might be less relevant considering the purpose of the paper. Some key concepts within the perspective of organisational culture will structure the empirical part of the paper. I will highlight that such a perspective can take us a step forward when it comes to an organisational dimension that often is absent, but also when it comes to highlighting the narrative.

I will not work with a clearly outlined definition of entrepreneurialism (for the impossible in such a mission, see Hall & Hubbard 1998b:309-310), but rather frame the phenomenon through the aspects that the literature brings out as its defining features. These are the three elements mentioned above, existing in the literature but seldom stressed simultaneously. In other words, the discussion will be structured on the basis of entrepreneurialism as policy (section 2) and as governance (section 3-4), as well as in relation to globalisation (section 5). I will also specify, in the following section, how I intend to approach entrepreneurialism when being without an overall definition. Finally, I will conduct a summarizing reflection on the topic of my research question(s) and open up for some issues that could be guiding further research.

1.3 Theoretical Point of Departure

Considering the central position of the term *entrepreneurial* within the field, it is surprising that so few scholars discuss the ways in which entrepreneurship is exercised or whom the epithet describes. To talk in terms of entrepreneurship raises a lot of associations, such as foremost activity, power to act, innovation and risk-taking. Traditionally, the entrepreneur has been associated with the business world and an individual businessman as bearer of the qualities described above. As a result, one can imagine that the professional role of the individual civil servant or politician within local government has partly become one of entrepreneur. Elements could be to be expected to act at different political levels (towards central government, EU

³ Studies of Malmö from a contiguous perspective do exist. Focus is nevertheless somewhat different; simply put Book and Eskilssons dissertation (2001) has a more geographical planning perspective, contributions in Stenelo and Norrving *et al.*(1993) studies the question of political power and Billing & Stigendals (1994) area of interest is SAP and the Swedish model in a local context.

etc.) and to form networks with private actors. Moreover, the civil servant might not only need to satisfy economic values *within* the public service, as in New Public Management (cf. Lundquist 1998), but also to promote the economic competitiveness regarding the *whole* city.

The theorists Joe Painter (1998:259-272) and Bob Jessop (1998:83) are the only ones I have noticed that explicitly discuss the term. Painter, for example, focuses on processes of socialisation through which entrepreneurialism is institutionalised to public actors. Like Jessop, he acknowledges that entrepreneurship can be performed by individual actors. Nevertheless, both prefer to focus on entrepreneurialism as a common world of conceptions, institutionally anchored in various organisations.

As my focus is not on the role of the individual civil servant I find it most suitable, following Painter and Jessop in this regard, to view entrepreneurialism as a *narrative*. In a simple sense, narrative refers to stories about reality and aims at capturing how meaning is constructed in a social context (cf. Robertson 2003:92-93). My approach to the concept of narrative is inspired by similar concepts within the perspective of organisational culture, such as ideology. The connection to the concept of ideology is that a narrative is constructed from a certain perspective, something that frequently is naturalised (Robertson 2003 following Hall 1980). *By using narrative, I aim to capture a world of conceptions that contains specific ideas about the policy and organisation of local politics.* By viewing entrepreneurialism as a narrative, the political is highlighted in what might seem as merely strategies.

To take this theoretical point of departure is a way not to give the city *per se* a capacity to act, as is sometimes done in the literature (e.g. Jessop 1998:81; cf. Harvey 1989:5). It is rather a way to acknowledge the importance of the need for many cities to relate to entrepreneurialism in one way or another. If entrepreneurialism is seen as a narrative, the question of classification becomes less important. The story told by the narrative is interesting in itself, not whether Malmö can in all respects be described as an entrepreneurial city. This approach allows us also to avoid the rationalistic associations implicit in the epithet *entrepreneur*. One may wonder if the term assumes that entrepreneurialism is an active, conscious strategy with well-defined goals to fulfil. Painter would say that this is not necessarily the case, highlighting that entrepreneurial governance is complex and multi-faceted (1998:260-261). He continues by stating that “entrepreneurs are made, not born” (ibid:260). The conception that it is rational to construct an entrepreneurial city is what ought to be examined, following Painter. In other words, he assigns the concept of entrepreneur a different meaning compared to traditional associations.

Choosing this theoretical point of departure furthermore allows me to avoid an important theoretical trapdoor highlighted by Jessop. Theoretically (and empirically, I would say) there is a possibility of “mistaking a city’s self-image and place marketing as entrepreneurial for the presence of strong entrepreneurial activities” (1998:86). Nevertheless, even when only growth rhetoric might be the case the fact that actors choose to market the city as entrepreneurial says a lot about the desirable city worth striving for – an issue that I would say has political implications. I will thus approach entrepreneurialism as a narrative, aiming at capturing how it is manifested through

the notions of leading city actors.⁴ I will further discuss entrepreneurialism as a narrative in section 4, and exemplify what such a narrative can include through the case of Malmö.

2 The Policy of Entrepreneurial Cities

A first defining feature for local politics under the influence of entrepreneurialism is policy changes. Hubbard and Hall, for example, argue that local government not only is a provider of welfare services but also try to promote and encourage local growth and economic development (1998a: 2-13; cf. Harvey 1989; Hubbard 1996; Chapin 2002). Theorists that explicitly define the entrepreneurial city, regard different strategies for increasing the city's competitive position as an important dimension of the concept (Harvey 1989:8-10; Painter 1998:261; Jessop & Sum 2001:2-3). Manifestations of an entrepreneurial policy, as shown through various strategies, can be the expansion of the local tax-base, attracting investments, encouraging small firm growth and support companies in new branches of the economy such as knowledge intensive firms, IT-technology or event-making business (Hubbard & Hall 1998a:5; Amin & Malmberg 1994:242). To promote the city in various ways, both to an internal and external audience, is also a widely used strategy. It may seem remarkable to talk about marketing of a city, because cities are not exactly well-defined products (Gold & Ward 1994:9). A growing theoretical approach is nevertheless using the concept of place marketing to illustrate that Western cities apply marketing ideas originating from the economic sphere in the urban context (Millington *et al.* 1997; Hall 1998; cf. Kotler 1993). Finally, an entrepreneurial policy can include spectacular projects – so-called flagship development projects – such as restored waterfronts, sport arenas or consumption attractions (Harvey 1989; Ward 1998).

Is it possible to discern a pattern of growth orientation in the case of Malmö? The economic crisis generated a sense for the need to find new ways to create economic growth. Projects like constructing a bridge to Denmark – as a part of creating a transnational Øresund Region – and the establishment of Malmö University are viewed as the foundation for further investments. A common theme is also the importance of high technology and knowledge intensive firms, functioning as means to manoeuvre the economy in an innovative direction. The city administration actively works to promote such branches of the economy, for example through the creation of “Minc” – an incubator focusing on supporting knowledge-intensive

⁴ Although I refer to the narrative as constructed from a certain perspective and believe that it can be highlighted through the minds of leading actors (additional methods will be necessary in the future), I am not claiming that it is something actively and consciously created by actors with a certain goal to fulfil. The narrative of entrepreneurialism is not a simple strategy, rather it can be seen as an overall world of conceptions containing statements about the reality of cities. Still, this does not imply that actors cannot mediate it.

business with high growth potential.⁵ In addition, according to the head of the Trade and Industry Agency, to create a business friendly climate is nowadays a highly prioritised issue (interview 2003-04-28). He continues, stating that the leading administrations attitude towards growth issues is tangible and manifested through a wish to play an active part in local economic development. There also seems to be a mutual understanding among leading politicians and civil servants regarding the need to attract high income groups to the city. These groups have tended to leave the city (and a first-rate tax-base with them), and the strategy to make them want to return is to create exclusive living environments. One of the municipal commissioners⁶ from the Social Democratic Party makes the strategy clear:

Good living environment, service and high-quality housing attracts people and this in turn attracts investment. Employment opportunities are created in an opposite direction: if residential buildings in former times were a consequence of working areas, nowadays it is housing that creates employment opportunities (interview 2003-04-17).⁷

As the quote reveals, commitments to fashionable residential areas is a way to stimulate job opportunities, but also a strategy to create growth. Some of the persons interviewed regard the municipality's engagement in certain areas or projects as means to enrich the *whole* city. Such an idea rests on the notion of "trickle-down", or as the commissioner above puts it: "from our perspective it is very important that we take measures that make the overall city stronger and increase its power" (interview 2003-04-17).

2.1 What about Welfare?

Some scholars, among them Margit Mayer, argues that local government engaging in growth issues occurs at the expense of more traditional policy fields such as mainly welfare commitments (1994:317-320; cf. Leitner & Sheppard 1998:297). Others point out that an active and explicit growth policy does not necessarily mean that welfare issues are neglected. Hubbard and Hall, for example, problematise the tendency within the literature to treat growth and welfare as two opposite poles (1996:155; 1998:13-14). Instead, different undertakings can co-exist. This is important to bear in mind, and something I will return to later, not least in relation to the frequent assumption that entrepreneurialism is a new phenomenon.

Irrespective of the relationship to other policy areas, many theorists state that politicians and civil servants in North-American and West-European cities nowadays are showing more commitment to economic development issues (Amin & Malmberg 1994:242; Jessop 1994:272; Leitner & Sheppard 1998:286; Andrew & Goldsmith 1998:103; Ruppert 2000:281). In other words there is a tendency towards a changing

⁵ From Minc's website it becomes clear that Minc is the largest incubator investment in Sweden and receives seven million SEK from the municipality each year (<http://www.minc.nu/>about> Minc, 2004-06-20).

⁶ A municipal commissioner is chosen by the City Council – the municipality's top policy-making body – and is a member of the municipal executive committee.

⁷ The interviews were conducted in Swedish but are here translated to English by the author.

content of local politics, in the sense that the value of growth is given more space than before. If welfare then is de-prioritized as a consequence of entrepreneurialism, with shifting policy as a result, probably varies between cities and is dependent on many different circumstances such as the relation between central and local government.

Some of the persons interviewed talked about welfare, although less frequently than they mention the projects as a way to stimulate growth. Two patterns appear. First, more focus on welfare is coming in the *future*. An example of this intention is visible in the municipality's recently accepted, and much debated, policy plan called "Welfare for everybody".⁸ I assume that "Welfare for everybody", which can be interpreted as a clear statement from the perspective of the municipality, is a result of the understanding that attention now has to be drawn to welfare issues. Second, welfare is sometimes treated as an economic value instead of something that has a value in itself. For example, the role of Malmö University in supporting a flourishing business climate is often emphasized. To handle segregation also seems to be a question of growth:

If we can deal with this group of people they can become an enormous, if we see it from a crass economic perspective, an enormous asset (interview head of the Trade and Industry Agency 2003-04-28).

To sum up, an entrepreneurial policy does not necessarily imply that welfare issues are neglected. At the same time, more traditional distributional questions tend to be evaluated from an economic perspective.

3 Entrepreneurial Governance

The second element in descriptions of the emergence of the entrepreneurial city is changes in the organisation of local politics. Different scholars refer to these changes as an organisational shift from "managerialism" to "entrepreneurial governance" (Harvey 1989; Short & Kim 1999; Ruppert 2000). It is assumed that the character of local politics has changed; from being a local welfare state where politics is practised within the lines of the public sphere to a more fragmented arena through the appearance of new actors. Thus, some theorists mean that a displacement from public to private sector activity has been the consequence – blurring the lines between them (Painter 1998:260; Hall & Hubbard 1996:155; Chapin 2002:566-567). More common, and less drastic, is to stress the incidence of public – private partnerships (Harvey 1989:7; Leiner & Sheppard 1998:297; Ward 2003:117).

One can wonder, both concerning the policy and governance of entrepreneurial cities, whether its presence is something fundamentally new within local politics. Hall and Hubbard criticize the widespread assumption of change in this regard:

⁸ The document from the city council can be found at <http://www.malmo.se> >startsidea >arbete & integration >Välfärd för alla (2004-06-20).

Certainly, many commentators take for granted that local governance prior to the early 1970s was dominated by managerial politics, to the extent that this has attained the level of an assumed axiomatic truth among writers on the entrepreneurial city (1996:155).

To look upon entrepreneurialism as a new phenomenon results in a failure to notice that city governments always, more or less, have been involved in fostering economic growth through co-operation with private actors (*ibid.*). At the same time, Hall and Hubbard acknowledge the empirical observations made by a number of scholars, asserting that the *entrepreneurial* forms for local governments' engagement means a change in the sense of an unusually active and innovative stance towards local development (*ibid.*:153-155). Mayer takes a similar position (1994: 316-326). New institutional patterns are arising, bringing about a situation where both policy formulation and decision-making processes take place outside the structures of traditional bureaucracy. There is also a change regarding the ways local governments relate to the economy. What used to be the local arm of the welfare state, according to Mayer, is now "the catalyst of processes of innovation and cooperation" (1994:326). The reasoning of Mayer is however weakened by the fact that the question of change is not explicitly discussed. Just as the belief that entrepreneurial governance replaces rather than complements older versions of government, "managerialism" might represent a simplification. Painter would probably agree, as is clear below:

Urban politics is no longer, if it ever was a process of hierarchical government in which decisions by local politicians are translated straightforwardly by public bodies into social and economic change. Rather it involves a complex process of negotiation, coalition formation, indirect influence, multi-institution working and public – private partnership (1998:261).

The latter part of the quote is generally referred to as "governance", and reflects a larger discussion within political science on changing forms of organising within the public sector. In the research field of local politics, it has become popular to talk about a shift from "local government" to "local governance" (e.g. Goodwin & Painter 1997; Andrew & Goldsmith 1998; Isin 2000; John 2001). "Local government" is similar to the notion of "managerialism". The concept of governance pays attention to new, more flexible and sometimes informal ways for co-operation between the public and private sector, such as networks within and between different types of organisations.

It becomes clear that the organisational dimension of theories of the entrepreneurial city aims at capturing the same changes referred to by the concept of local governance. The question is whether the idea of entrepreneurialism is just another theory of governance? My impression is that the conceptualisation of the entrepreneurial city, in contrast to other contiguous theories, also takes policy changes into account. In other words, the literature contains a potential for highlighting both the content and organisation of local politics.

3.1 From Local Governance to the Notion of Organisational Culture

Few of the theorists that discuss the entrepreneurial city, with the exception of Painter (1998), are profoundly dealing with its organisational dimension. I believe it is important to deepen the study of entrepreneurialism through an analysis of an organisational dimension that is often taken for granted. As Painter remarks:

However, much less attention has been paid to the processes through which such [entrepreneurial, author's note] regimes form. Any transformation in urban governance involves significant changes in the workings of institutions and in the ways of thinking of individuals and groups (1998:265).

From my perspective, with such a point of departure change is not naturalised and the rise of the entrepreneurial city is problematised. The question is how processes of entrepreneurialism are getting organisational life.

In this context it is fruitful to get inspiration from the part of organisation theory that uses the concept of organisational culture.⁹ An incorporation of cultural analysis to organisational research has become more common during the latest decades (Eisenberg & Riley 2001:291; cf. Bergström 2002:35-36). Although there are different approaches to and definitions of “cultural analysis”, some common denominators can be identified if one sees organisational culture as an analytical perspective instead of an organisational property (Smircich 1983; Alvesson 2001; Bergström 2002). To interpret organisational phenomenon through key concepts such as meaning, symbolism, conceptions and partly ideology and identity is a prominent feature (cf. Martin & Meyerson 1988; Kunda 1992; Alvesson 2001). In addition to that, it is not individuals that are at the centre of the analysis but different shared understandings and perceptions of reality (Alvesson 2000; 2001).

4 To Read an Entrepreneurial City from the Perspective of Organisational Culture

If we return to Malmö, in the study I conducted my focus was to make the leading city government's conceptions around the city and its development visible. More formal aspects of the municipality's organisation were not given any attention and neither the inter-organisational dimension. That is why some of the deficient themes above, such as the meaning attached to public – private partnerships or the influence of private actors, are to be viewed more as an opening for future research. Below I will instead read the activity of the city government from a cultural perspective; as a forum for the creation of meaning with consequences for city space as well as for which city, as a place, that is desirable in the future. Following Mats Alvesson, a well-known Swedish organisation theorist, a cultural analysis of organisations does not

⁹ Research summaries have been made by Smircich 1983, Martin & Meyerson 1988 and Eisenberg & Riley 2001.

need to make explicit references to culture as a concept (2000:47). Other concepts can be used instead, which is why I will structure the discussion around the concepts of meaning (part 4.1), symbolism (part 4.2) and ideology (part 4.3).

4.1 From the Meanings of the Projects to the Meaning of the City

Much is happening in the city of Malmö. It is puzzling that a city which has been so deeply affected by deindustrialisation and economic decline, suddenly carries out a substantial amount of resource-demanding projects. One can wonder whether projects such as Malmö University, the City Tunnel¹⁰, Western Harbour and Hyllie can be viewed as part of a comprehensive strategy, aiming at transforming the city in a certain direction. In my study, I focused on the re-development of the former shipyard area Western Harbour and the re-shaping of a city district called Hyllie. The city government has defined these areas as highly prioritised¹¹ and, although it usually doesn't finance them the municipality takes an active role when it comes to planning and decision-making processes.¹²

It is clear that the projects, such as Western Harbour and Hyllie, are attached with a meaning that goes beyond each individual venture. According to the persons interviewed, growth orientation stands out as the overall purpose with engagement in these areas and accordingly they can be interpreted as flagship development projects (c.f. Ward 1998; Millington *et al.* 1997). Such projects are given the meaning to be acting as catalysators for local economic development and are supposed to be functioning as "economic magnets" (Hall 1998). In the vision of Western Harbour – "the City of Tomorrow"¹³ – its potential to attract groups and activity that stimulate the economy is emphasized. The aim of Hyllie is to become a centre for events and experiences, with the whole transnational region as the target group.

Following Alvesson, the concept of *meaning* aims at catching something that is constructed, shared and manifested in different social situations (Alvesson 2001:12; Alvesson 2000:37). Physical objects can also be given a certain meaning (*ibid.*). In the case of Malmö, the projects are attached with the meaning to generate growth through the creation of an appealing living environment as well as an attractive business climate. In other words, this is a shared understanding which is expressed by the leading public actors and linked to the material object that the projects partly constitute.

At the same time, the *deeper* meaning attached to re-building docklands or creating attractions seems to be to leave the city's industrial heritage behind (cf. Harvey 1989).

¹⁰ The City Tunnel is a train tunnel that will connect the city's rail system with the bridge to Denmark, and can thus be seen as one of the steps in the construction of a transnational Øresund region (Book & Eskilsson 2001:55-56). The Tunnel was initiated by the city government and, although other actors are involved, it allocates a notable part of the city's budget (cf. Billing 2000:38). It also constitutes the main large-scale infrastructure project in Malmö.

¹¹ From the official document "Utbyggnadsstrategi för Malmö", City Planning Office, October 2001.

¹² The power of Swedish municipalities to control physical planning has somewhat loosened up, but still remaining is the function of being the top agency for decision-making (Montin 2002:48).

¹³ On the city's official webbsite we can find this slogan (<http://www.malmo.se>, tourist>City of Malmö>Western Harbour 2004-06-20).

A majority of the persons interviewed describe that the conception of Malmö as an old, dejected industrial town is dominating the view of the inhabitants. Or as one of the municipal commissioners put it:

Negatively one can say that Malmö's problem is that its people are carrying their history – we are not an industrial city anymore, but in our souls and hearts we still are. We all have this industrial logic in our luggage. It is hard and difficult to explain for old inhabitants why this is important [the projects, my comment] because they often feel run over by reality, by the changes (interview 2003-04-17).

It is the meaning of the city that has to be re-constructed, from an old industrial working-class town to something vital, new and in progress – a “postindustrial city”. The strategy most visibly emerging from my study in this regard is place marketing. In the case of Malmö, the marketing of the city involves both external and internal elements. External target groups are companies and high-income earners, while internal place marketing is directed towards the city's inhabitants and co-workers.¹⁴ The main aim is to try to re-shape the image of the city and in this context, place marketing means to deliberately try to change people's understanding of the city (cf. Barke & Harrop 1994). The meaning of the city is something that is to be and ought to be governed. Many of the civil servants and politicians speak in terms of a transformation from an industrial town to an event-rich knowledge city. The projects are assigned a central role in this vision, as a tool for leaving old understandings of the city behind.

4.2 The Replacement of the Symbols of the Industrial City

As we have seen above, a recurrent theme is the importance of keeping distance towards the industrial city Malmö. This relationship must be manifested in the spatial organisation of the city, if it is to be evident for its inhabitants and for various external actors. Two top civil servants at the city administration and planning office are both referring to how essential it is to mediate this *journey* away from the industrial city.

This journey is real, but how are we to communicate it if we do not slowly start to tell the inhabitants of Malmö that you're not living in an industrial city anymore. [...] I would like to say that it is mainly a mental journey that characterises us at the moment. To leave the heavy industrial city behind and become a young, vigorous knowledge and event city where the university is a key factor in this mental process of change. [...] So the mental process is more important than bridges, tunnels and tall buildings but tunnels, bridges and tall buildings reinforce this journey because we get physical objects to look at. From the perspective of the surrounding world it is easier to look at these physical objects than to feel the mental movement. That is why these physical things are also important (interview Information Director at the City Planning Office 2003-04-17).

¹⁴ Channels for the last-mentioned form of marketing are for example education for the municipality's employees, information brochures and a far-reaching vision programme, with the aim to investigate how to renew the city, that was initiated in the middle of the 90's. This could be interpreted as a way to govern through conceptions and practise normative control (cf. Kunda 1992).

It is only when the wish for a change, or the so called journey, is materialised in the urban landscape that it becomes real. Hyllie and Western Harbour, as the concept of flagship project indicates, has a symbolic function. Drawing on Cohen, Alvesson defines a *symbol* as an object – a word, an act or a material phenomenon – that in an ambiguous way stands for something else or for something more than the object itself (2001:13). The point with symbols is that they communicate *meaning* (ibid.; Alvesson 2000:32). The Western Harbour area can be interpreted as a symbol for the vision of a knowledge city; Hyllie symbolises a city rich of events and experiences. The flagships are transformed into icons or landmarks in the image of a new city and signal through their existence the renewed Malmö (cf. Hall 1998:93; Ward 1998:213). It seems almost too obvious that Turning Torso is replacing the dismantled Kockums crane in the city's silhouette.¹⁵

One important thing has happened, and it was when the crane of Kockums finally was dismantled and shipped away. It was the symbol for the old industry and now it's gone and then we have to find our new symbols. We are already doing that (interview municipal commissioner 2003-04-28).

The quote shows that the leading actors themselves speak in terms of symbols – an example of a concept that can be seen as a “metaphor of the empirical field” (cf. Alvesson 2001:37). When the persons studied are using a cultural terminology, I presume that a task for research is to problematise the meaning attached to the phenomena in mind. An attempt to do this is presented in the next section.

4.3 Entrepreneurialism as an Ideological Construction of the City

In a brief research summary over the literature, Kevin Ward establishes that “attention has been drawn to the importance of discourse, imaginations, narrative and representation in the performance of entrepreneurial urbanism” (2003:117). I would say that such an attention foremost is concentrated to the study of place marketing (e.g. Hubbard 1996; Short & Kim 1998; 1999; Ward 1998). Here, entrepreneurialism is usually a point of departure while different urban representations get the energy.

Systematic investigations of the entrepreneurial city as representing a specific narrative or discourse are more rare. Despite this, some scholars do mention “entrepreneurial narratives” (Jessop 1998; Leitner & Sheppard 1998) or “entrepreneurial discourse” (Jessop 1997; Hubbard & Hall 1998a; Jessop & Sum 2001). For them, a joint position is to conceptualise entrepreneurialism as a specific set of conceptions concerning “what cities ought to do”. Such conceptions are telling us that the only way for cities to survive in a situation of urban competition, more and more intensified by globalisation, is if public and private actors together prioritise the economic development of the city (Hubbard & Hall 1998a:2). To that, add a view where cities are regarded as comparable with private companies

¹⁵ Many years after the closure of the Kockums shipyard industry, the Kockums crane that once was the world's largest gantry crane was dismantled and sold to South Korea.

competing for attention in a globalised economy (Leitner & Sheppard 1998:285-300). Jessop means that this is a dominating narrative, constructed in the light of specific conceptions about the social, economic and political changes during the after-world war period (1998:91). Entrepreneurialism as a narrative contains an all-embracing understanding of the problems cities are facing and is also the defining context for suggested solutions (ibid.:78).

The entrepreneurial city or region has been constructed through the intersection of diverse economic, political and socio-cultural narratives which seek to give meaning to current problems by construing them in terms of past failures and future possibilities (ibid.:91).

As we have seen before, it is obvious that the crisis of the 90's in the case of Malmö is a constantly present background against which the future is analysed. In such an analysis, the wish to transform Malmö into a knowledge and event city is central – a statement that instead of representing a real and substantial change can be interpreted as part of an overall narrative.¹⁶

Narrative, in this sense, is close to the concept of *ideology* in the way it is used within research on organisational culture. Alvesson and Kärreman define ideology as “an integrated sets of values, ideas and understandings about a particular part of social reality which justify certain commitments and actions” (2003:4; for similar definitions see Kunda 1992:52; Martin & Meyerson 1988:97). It is fruitful to interpret strategies to create (at least the impression of) a different town, such as flagship projects and place marketing, not as given by nature but as constructed from a specific perspective (cf. Alvesson 2000:184-189). This perspective can be said to represent the narrative and has a clear ideological dimension.

To exemplify, the meaning attached to the projects in Malmö is an expression of the “natural” in striving for economic growth and the “natural” role of the municipality within. Ventures such as Western Harbour and Hyllie are not defined as political or expressed to the public as part of an overall growth orientation by the leading actors. Many persons interviewed point out the consensus between the city's two largest parties concerning the transformation of Malmö, also with regard to the ventures. Consensus is also the situation between many politicians and civil servants. In the region's leading daily newspaper, one commissioner commented on the co-operation between the largest parties (belonging to different sides of the political spectrum) in the following terms:

The Social Democratic Party has handled long-term basic questions well, such as the Bridge, the City tunnel and the University. There is a kind of agreement on keeping these questions *outside the rhetoric of politics* [my italics] (Mats Svanberg in Sydsvenska Dagbladet 1998-05-17, quoted in Billing 2000:48).

It seems like there has not been very much discussion on the existence of Hyllie and Western Harbour – probably because they are not defined as political projects. One

¹⁶ Because of this, I would like to make a small reservation against whether Malmö can be described as transformed into an actual knowledge city. The focus of my paper is statements, not to measure whether the alleged changes are in accordance with the reality of the city.

of the municipal commissioners from the Social Democratic Party gives his view on the lively debates in the past and compares them with the current situation:

That is why I personally believed that when huge tall buildings started to rise and huge solutions arose here and there and everywhere, now it will crash again. But Malmö has changed its political culture. It is not only that the population has changed, but also the political culture. There is a totally different preparedness and understanding for large ventures in Malmö compared to before. I would like to claim that Hyllie and Western Harbour have not been discussed very much (interview 2003-04-17).

In this context, I mean political in the sense that these ventures tell us something about visions of the city. To separate these ventures from the political sphere is to make the meaning attached to them and the entrepreneurial ideology behind them invisible. When something is defined as apolitical it is easier, as the narrative becomes naturalised, to legitimate ventures that otherwise could be seen as controversial.

The vision tells us “whose city” and “which city” is desirable to construct. For example, to give priority to certain housing areas or re-development projects can be interpreted as a prioritization of specific social groups and partly answers the question of *whose* city. When the central metaphor of the narrative is one of a journey, one can wonder if all different groups within the city will be present at the final destination of a knowledge city. In addition to that, when the persons interviewed speak about their vision of a new Malmö alternative narratives are seldom expressed. In the image of the city as mediated through place marketing, elements that are defined as not suitable are excluded. “The city is written from a particular perspective for a particular audience” (Short & Kim 1998:74). Interesting is what is left out – telling us *which* city should be created – where segregation and values related to welfare are seldom expressed. The impression of a conflict free city is also mediated (ibid.). If welfare or segregation are mentioned at all, the interviewees tend to treat these issues as a question of how to enhance the overall attractiveness of the city. An overall picture emerges where certain aspects of the city are emphasized and certain groups and activities are defined as attractive. To sum up, this picture can tell us a lot about whose and which city the leading actors are striving for. Because of that, as I have tried to show above, I believe it is relevant to talk about an ideological construction of the city from the perspective of an overall entrepreneurial narrative.

5 The Entrepreneurial City and Globalisation

To put the entrepreneurial city in a context of larger societal changes is the third element in research on urban entrepreneurialism. The entrepreneurial city is usually viewed as a reaction to inter-urban competition where different cities are competing for the attention of the globalising economy (e.g. Hubbard 1996:1443; Leitner & Sheppard 1998:296; Short & Kim 1998:57). Inter-urban competition is a key phenomenon which in turn is interpreted as a consequence of increasing mobility of

production, capital and information (Harvey 1989:10). In a situation characterised by economic decline and deindustrialisation, the only thing left for cities to do is to increase their economic competitiveness through an active growth policy (Fainstein 1996: 171-180). This view is common among policy-makers (Leitner & Sheppard 1998; Amin & Malmberg 1994), although some scholars give a more balanced account of the relationship between economic globalisation and the entrepreneurial city. Examples are references to differences in the effect on cities or the statement that mobility of capital is a threat rather than a fact with general correspondence (Hubbard & Hall 1998a: 1-18; Short & Kim 1999:117-118).

5.1 To Take Globalisation for Granted

Nevertheless, I would like to claim that some theorists sometimes take globalisation for granted as a key explanatory factor. An example of this is to leave references to globalisation without any comments (e.g. Fainstein 1996; Borja 1996). To assume that entrepreneurialism is the only possible approach to globalisation is problematic because it results in a deterministic view of cities and their development. A second example of shortcomings in this regard is the assumption that globalisation results in increasing power for the local level and decreasing power for the nation-state. In this analysis, entrepreneurialism leads to a shift in the pursuit of economic policy from the central state to local government (Amin & Malmberg 1994:242-245; Jessop 1994:271-273). Some theorists are of a different opinion, such as Kevin Ward, who asserts that “the state continues to involve itself in the performance of entrepreneurial urbanism” (2003:117-118). In any case, a more sensitive approach to the relationship between central government, sub-national levels and a globalising economy is desirable. Here, the literature on entrepreneurialism could be inspired by scholars within contiguous traditions that theorise these relations (e.g. Brenner 1999a; 1999b; Keil 2003; Swyngedouw 1997).

A third example of conceptualisations of the relationship to globalisation is the discussion on whether homogenization or heterogenization of entrepreneurial strategies in the West is the case. According to Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell entrepreneurialism is widely accepted and implemented (1994:281), but the authors do not discuss the fact that studies of Anglo-Saxon cases dominate the literature (see Short & Kim 1999:119). To take homogenisation as a point of departure is to overlook whether the empirical trends are valid in other contexts than the ones originally formulated. Thus I believe it is important to be cautious when applying the theoretical framework empirically and to be aware of e.g. different relations between local and central government in various countries (cf. Leitner & Sheppard 1998:297-301).¹⁷ This raises the question of whether “theories can travel” (cf. Judge *et al.* 1995:11-12) and before further research on Swedish cases is initiated careful

¹⁷ For a discussion on institutional differences between USA and EU see Leitner and Sheppard (1998) and Millington *et al.* (1997) when it comes to comparing Great Britain with other European countries.

considerations on this theme are necessary.¹⁸ With such differences in mind, scholars still establish that there is a widespread interest for urban entrepreneurialism and that at least the philosophy is not without resemblance among cities (e.g. Leitner & Sheppard 1998:297-301; Amin & Malmberg 1994:243). On the other hand, further discussion on the subject of the entrepreneurial city in relation to homogenization/heterogenization is desirable – a topic also found in the more specific literature on globalisation (e.g. Bauman 1998; Featherstone 2000).

A last theme that ought to be addressed when studying the entrepreneurial city is the question of the local's power and capacity to act. This reflects a larger discussion regarding the relation between the economy and the political sphere in general and more specific the power of local politics vis-à-vis macroeconomic processes (e.g. Logan & Molotch 1987; Kantor & Savitch 2002). One way to approach this discussion could be to address those scholars who try to locate globalisation in the city and thereby give local politics the capacity to act instead of solely react (Brenner 1999b; Cox 1997; Sassen 2000). Saskia Sassen can be mentioned, one of the most influential theorists within the field of urban theory. She makes a distinction between the *possibilities* for the economy to be supra-territorial on the one hand, and on the other that it takes “points of physical concentration” or certain material conditions to fulfil this potential (1994:1-4; 2000:149). The second part of the distinction, according to Sassen, is put into practise in so called global cities, “where the work of globalization gets done” (2000:149). The problem with Sassen is that she has not presented any clear criterion for categorization (Haila 1997), and we can assume in our context that not all entrepreneurial cities are huge ‘world or global cities’. In other words, her theory might not be suitable for another context although it provides us with some stimulating thoughts. Still one may wonder if entrepreneurialism is about making changes in the content and organisation of local politics to make it easier for ‘the work of globalization to be done’.

5.2 Entrepreneurialism and Globalism

To sum up, the connection between globalisation and cities in general and when it comes to the entrepreneurial city specifically will need further theoretical and empirical clarifications. My aim with the discussion above has been to show the shortcomings in this regard. I have specified some discussions that can be elaborated on, and tried to – not fully satisfactory – establish the relationship between urban entrepreneurialism and economic globalisation with the help of Sassen. Finally, I will propose the next step forward on this theme, suitable when entrepreneurialism as a narrative is the point of departure.

As implied above, whether entrepreneurial cities are a consequence of economic globalisation or not is hard to establish due to difficulties in the operationalisation of such a widely discussed and variously defined concept. Nevertheless I believe it can be fruitful to focus on the dimension of globalisation usually referred to as globalism

¹⁸ I will not broaden this discussion by including Malmö, because Malmö is here used as more of an empirical example to illustrate the potential of the proposed theoretical framework.

or proposed by “globalists” (cf. Scholte 2000; Cameron & Palan 2003). Globalism can be defined as an ideological lens through which processes associated with globalisation are interpreted (cf. Keil 2003 for the ideological dimension of globalisation). Following Jan Aart Scholte (2000: chapter 12), a set of specific conceptions are connected to the present form of globalisation. This world of conceptions contains a specific view on the character of the political sphere and the economy. The ideological dimension of globalisation, here referred to as globalism, “usually appears in the guise of neo-liberal ‘theories’ that treat globalization as a natural constraint rooted in the market” (Keil 2003:279). Agnus Cameron and Ronen Palan call this dimension ideological discourse(s) of globalisation and discuss the politics of “necessary adaptation” (2003:165-168) where institutional structures are created to “accommodate the needs of the offshore economy to attract and protect investment” (2003:176).

There is a growing and apparently unshakeable consensus amongst political and business elites (not to mention many academic social scientists) that the state and business corporations must *adapt* [italics in original] to ‘globalisation’ and the ‘borderless world’ (ibid.:166).

To exemplify from Malmö, within the minds of almost everyone interviewed, the notion of inter-urban competition is clearly present.¹⁹ Competition for investments and companies is treated as something necessary.

That we are now part of the Øresund Region, which has an international profile and wants to have it, we want to work externally, want to co-operate and be a part of the struggle for capital and companies with other larger regions in Northern Europe (interview Head of Development at the City Office 2003-05-12).

The municipal commissioner of the opposition sees it as a fact that external threats have arisen and as a response, according to the leading actors, survival is dependant on cooperation with Copenhagen.

I belong to those who don’t believe that Malmö can survive on its own or be able to play in the same league as Copenhagen and other big cities. Malmö is rather...we have everything to gain from being a mere appendix to Copenhagen. Copenhagen is so famous, so filled with positive associations and an established name (interview 2003-05-12).

Although inter-urban competition is not explicitly related to globalisation, it is clear how the phenomenon becomes a naturalised fact and that measures must be taken. Globalism can thus be seen as indirectly present through the notion of an inevitable competition among cities.

To use globalism as a way to approach globalisation resembles the way the concept of entrepreneurialism is used in this paper. Globalisation might be present in relation to the entrepreneurial city as globalism, constituting a sort of background or framework for the formulation of urban entrepreneurialism. The effect of

¹⁹ Time for a clarification: inter-urban competition might be a fact but interesting in this context is rather that it is used to legitimate the need for cities to become entrepreneurial.

globalisation on cities is thus not perceived as something to be measured in a more traditional sense; focus can instead shift to how globalisation in the politics of entrepreneurialism is *conceptualised* by politicians and civil servants (c.f. Hellström 2003:6-7). In other words, interest can be directed towards if and how globalism is used in the “rhetoric of the field” to motivate and legitimise entrepreneurialism. A task for future research, then, is to find similarities between globalism and entrepreneurialism as a narrative and search for answers to the question of why it is *entrepreneurial* changes of local politics that are influential.

6 A Concluding Discussion

Below, I intend to conduct a summary of the shortcomings within the research field of urban entrepreneurialism and give some examples of how these can be managed. I have tried to show the potential of the proposed theoretical framework, and it is here this concluding discussion shall begin. Empirically it is important to study whether the trends identified foremost in the Anglo-Saxon context are also valid in other countries. From the perspective of the (changing) Swedish welfare state, one may wonder if entrepreneurialism leads to a shift in the values steering public administration. A struggle for which values should be trendsetting in the public sphere might be the case, a struggle that is probably all the more visible in a context traditionally defined as a local welfare state or in the concrete implementation of entrepreneurial policies. However it is important to bear in mind that the illustrations I have drawn from the context of Malmö say nothing about entrepreneurialism in a larger Swedish context. Whether entrepreneurialism is the case for Scandinavian cities is a question for further research.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework of entrepreneurialism evokes some principal issues. Conceptualisations around notions such as private/public, local/global, agency/structure and the city as passive/active are all interesting themes with high relevance for social science in general and political science in particular. Appealing is also a framework that captures *both* the content and organisation of local politics, that is both entrepreneurial policy and forms of governing. Reading the literature, one reflection is that it is difficult to draw clear lines of demarcation between the necessary conditions for and the effects of the rise of the entrepreneurial city. For example, public-private partnerships can be interpreted as a basic condition for the pursuit of a more active growth policy, but they can also constitute a result of such a policy. The interplay between local politics’ content and organisation thus needs to be examined in the future.

Systematic studies of entrepreneurialism as a specific world of conceptions are relatively rare. Some of the scholars referred to above do mention, and in some cases also deal with the more discursive dimension. Nevertheless, I believe that more interest can be directed towards how these conceptions of reality are coming to life organisationally and what entrepreneurialism – as a narrative – includes exactly.

Entrepreneurialism as a narrative has been my approach to the concept. This narrative tells us about the nature of the economy and the role of local government within. To be more specific: in the case of Malmö we could see that a globalised economy in the sense of free movement of capital and production was used as a backdrop to give *meaning* to the need to attract such movements. Also the notion of inter-urban competition was central. The narrative furthermore tells us that city governments must *act* in order to survive, and act in a *specific* way where growth policy and co-operation with private actors is central. To be as attractive as possible, the city of Malmö (or at least its image) has to change. In this process, place marketing and interference in flagship development projects appears essential. Ventures such as Hyllie and Western Harbour receive several meanings, in the eyes of some of the leading actors within the city. One is to be local growth machines, vitalising the city as a whole. They also have a *symbolic* dimension: through their mere existence they materialise, via the urban landscape, the wish to transform Malmö from an industrial city to an eventful knowledge city. They are a way to make the journey come true, both symbolically and with regard to attempts at generating growth, to refer back to one of the persons interviewed.

By not defining the entrepreneurial policy as political, the *ideological* character of the narrative can be interpreted as being naturalised. The leading actors do not define the ventures as something political. Rather they are seen as part of a necessary and almost natural adaptation to inter-urban competition and to a situation where economic restructuring due to an earlier “urban crisis” is required.

This narrative of entrepreneurialism can be viewed in the light of the ideological dimension of globalisation, or simply put globalism. In relation to cities, a specific view of (economic) globalisation is advanced. In this view, city governments must adapt to globalisation through entrepreneurial policies with the aim of making it easier for the work of globalisation to be done. I claim that conceptualising globalisation like this is a way to avoid some of the shortcomings on this theme inherent in the literature on entrepreneurial cities. There is also a need to enrich the analysis with discussions in contiguous traditions dealing with globalisation in relation to cities.

Another shortcoming in the literature on entrepreneurial cities is the neglect of the organisational dimension. To take the next step forward in this regard, I have proposed that we can draw inspiration from the notion of organisational culture. Although not highlighting for example the role of public-private partnerships in entrepreneurial governance – a theme for future research – I believe that this perspective can give us some fruitful insights and be a way to highlight the narrative of entrepreneurialism. By using some central concepts within the tradition of organisational culture, the meaning of the projects easily becomes the meaning of the city. We can also see that the narrative of entrepreneurialism in Malmö contains both symbolic and ideological dimensions – implying its political articulations.

As we have come this far, I will now articulate some reservations. My focus has been on the narrative as expressed by politicians and civil servants in the city’s leading organisational context, which means that I cannot say anything about other

segments of the municipality. Neither resistance to entrepreneurialism, contrasting narratives or recipients of place marketing have been highlighted. My study is thereby somewhat restricted. On the other hand, I believe it can constitute a starting point for further research. In relation to the perspective of organisational culture, one may wonder if entrepreneurialism is a *shared* understanding within an organisation or if it is merely a top management phenomenon. Or can we talk about different actors, at different levels, constructing their professional identity in relation to the dominating narrative where some are acting as “entrepreneurial agents” (cf. Kunda 1992)? Is it rather more ambiguous and fragmented than the research within the field tells us?

There is also a need not to overestimate the theories of entrepreneurial cities’ potential to capture all changes of local politics. There is a risk that the concept becomes a buzz-word for everything that has to do with the economy on the local level. In the words of Donald McNeill: “Dramatic new buildings are one thing, shifts in governance or power are another” (1996:242). That so few theorists explicitly discuss the term entrepreneur gives an impression of the fact that entrepreneurship can only exist in an economic sense. However, one may imagine other types of entrepreneurship, such as in a political or administrative sense. It is probably more fruitful to view entrepreneurship as something characterised by a capacity to act and to think innovatively, rather than letting economic aspects be the defining feature for the concept. Nevertheless, I believe that this can be valid for entrepreneurial governance, but when it comes to entrepreneurial *policies*, the point is that it is a policy aiming at fulfilling economic values. This is interesting in a broader perspective. The relationship between entrepreneurialism and private interests on the one hand and between economy and politics on the other raises important questions of power.

To bring this summarising discussion to an end; although I have emphasised the importance of narrative such a task must not forget the material practise of politics. Symbolism and ideology matter in the case of Malmö, but it is also a question of political activity prioritising the aspiration for another kind of city. The challenge might be to examine the interplay between entrepreneurialism as a narrative and as concrete politics. Doing that, we can ask questions about the way entrepreneurialism as a narrative is socialised, legitimised and implemented, and also consider the consequences for local governments and the inhabitants of cities.

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Eva Engquist, Director of Innovations at the Trade and Industry Agency and Minc, 2003-04-25.

Ingrid Gustavsson, Head of the Planning section at Malmö University, 2003-04-25.

Sven Håkansson, Director of the Trade and Industry Agency, 2003-04-28.

Thorbjörn Lindhqvist, municipal commissioner for the Moderate (Conservative) Party, 2003-04-28.

Inger Nilsson, Head of the City Office (the municipality's top civil servant), 2003-05-05.

Christer Persson, Head of Development at the City Office, 2003-05-12.

Göran Rosberg, Head of Information at the City Planning Office, 2003-04-02, 2003-04-24.

Anders Rubin, municipal commissioner for the Social Democratic Party, Housing and Urban Environment Directorate, 2003-04-17.

Mikael Stämpling, Information Director, City Planning office, 2003-04-17.

ⁱ Regime theory emphasises coalitions or local regimes, consisting of other actors than just politicians and civil servants and the non-traditional forms of cooperation resulting from this (e.g. Stone 1989; Stoker 1995; for some critical remarks see e.g. Lauria 1997). Compared to the theoretical framework of entrepreneurialism, regime theory does not seem to be interested in the results of regime forming such as for example policy changes. Regulation theory is, to simplify, occupied with overall shifts in the organisation of capitalism through notions such as “post-fordism”, “modes of regulation” and “regimes of accumulation” – and the role of cities within (e.g. Amin 1994; Painter 1995). Although some of the theorists I use maybe would define themselves as belonging to this school of thought, to explore how this perspective could contribute to the study of entrepreneurialism is another project.

ⁱⁱ Sweden’s first international housing exhibition, Bo01, was held in the Western Harbour district. Alongside new residential projects in the Bo01 area, the main part of the university is supposed to be located in the district with the construction of new university buildings as a consequence (http://www.malmo.se/_start>tourist>City of Malmö>Western Harbour, 2004-06-20). Overall, Western Harbour is a scene for a lot of projects, an abundance of plans are created and many private as well as public actors are involved. Further examples are the much debated building Turning Torso – a cubic 189 meters tall creation made by the famous architect Santiago Calatrava (skyscrapers are very rare in Sweden) (“Planering i Malmö”, no 2, 2002. City Planning Office). Also additional projects, such as a new city quarter with exclusive housing, the construction of a business park and office as well as hotel complexes are worth mentioning (JM *et al.* 1 & 2). Hyllie is somewhat different, because the planning is starting from an existent city district. One of the stations of the City Tunnel is to be located in Hyllie, and a new centre for the district will be created. In connection to this, a large-scale sport-arena, an event facility and a large-scale shopping mall are planned (“Planering i Malmö”, no 2, 2002. City Planning Office). Far-reaching plans for the construction of the tallest building in Scandinavia, called Scandinavian Tower, have nowadays collapsed but will change into something similar, but less spectacular.