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When conflicting interests meet -
A critical study of the collaboration and ideals in the project
BoStad2021

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Abstract: *Decision-makers in Gothenburg face major challenges in solving the housing shortage. As a response, the housing project BoStad2021 has been initiated by public and private actors with the goal of constructing 7,000 new homes before 2021. Currently, we live in an era of urban entrepreneurialism according to David Harvey, indicating that many cities are primarily driven by economic growth through, for example, public-private partnerships rather than safeguarding the welfare interests of the inhabitants. The purpose of this article is to investigate to what extent BoStad2021 can be understood through the lens of urban entrepreneurialism. I focus on collaboration, including tensions and conflicts, and the physical ideals actors work toward in the project. Apart from the theory of urban entrepreneurialism I also make use of Jane Jacobs' critique of modernist design and Daniel Aldrich's theory of the siting of controversial facilities. Accordingly, the study fills a knowledge gap since urban entrepreneurialism most often is concerned with the inner city. A critical analysis was conducted by data from interviews with involved actors such as politicians, officials, and constructors alongside documents such as BoStad2021's website, follow-up research on the project and detailed development plans. The results show that the public-private interests in BoStad2021 do not simply overlap and align, as initially appeared and is the norm in urban entrepreneurialism, but in this case the municipality outdoes the construction companies in line with its own public agenda by wanting to invest and risk more than the latter and does therefore not simply serve the economic development. However, in line with urban entrepreneurialism the actors work toward inner-city ideals such as small-scaleness, urbanity and densification in the peripheral areas as well, which in the long run risks leading to exclusion and gentrification.*

Keywords: BoStad2021; urban entrepreneurialism; public-private partnership; urban development; Gothenburg

1. Introduction

Several initiatives are taken to solve the decade-long, ever-increasing housing need in Gothenburg. Among them is the project BoStad2021, a major collaboration between the municipality in Gothenburg and a large number of constructors. The goal is to construct 7 000 new housings in ten districts in Gothenburg within seven years with start in 2014 and the last in 2021, in time for the 400th anniversary of the founding of Gothenburg. As I will discuss in this paper, BoStad2021 differs from earlier projects through the great number of actors, parallel processes, and the early dialogue with neighbors in the concerned areas - all these measures are being taken to finish in time. Despite these novel traits, the combination of public and private partners working with urban development is not new in Gothenburg. What is known as 'Göteborgsandan' ('the Gothenburg spirit'), a collaboration between the political and the economic elite, dates back 250 years (although it, at that time, concerned donations) and is characterized by a culture of consensus and the merging of work regarding urban development issues being more directed towards economic growth (Falkemark 2010:83-89). This facilitated the establishment of a new type of urban governance, namely that of urban entrepreneurialism (Franzen et al. 2016:116). The concept of urban entrepreneurialism was coined by David Harvey (1989) and promotes economic growth

through the increased influence of the private sector in decisions that were, in the previous era of managerialism, taken to benefit the welfare of the citizens'. Thus, BoStad2021 can be seen as initiated against the background of an urban entrepreneurial era and this is where this paper departs.

The social purpose of BoStad2021 (meeting a housing need of the citizens) makes it deviate from those features usually associated with urban entrepreneurialism, making it interesting to investigate whether such features exist in or govern the project and to what extent theories like Harvey's can still help us understand it. The areas of investigation in this paper are Bergsjön, Biskopsgården, Gårdsten (Angered), the immediate north of Frölunda Torg and Tynnered in Gothenburg (see Appendix A). Although central parts of Gothenburg are also part of the project, these areas have been selected since peripheral areas have not yet been studied in relation to urban entrepreneurialism in Gothenburg and, therefore, might reveal other tendencies than the inner city and, that way, contribute with a fuller understanding of urban entrepreneurialism. As housings are not merely physical constructions but also have social consequences for the people living in the areas, it is of interest to investigate the views of the actors involved in BoStad2021 and their relation to the social impact in the areas as well which is, as will be seen, also connectable to urban entrepreneurialism.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate to what extent possible tensions and conflicts in the *collaboration* and the *urban ideals* found in the data can be explained by the dimensions of public-private partnership and speculation in urban entrepreneurialism. Of course, housing projects involve many different conflicts between decision makers and the concerned residents and this study focuses particularly on one, namely the public-private relationship, since this is central to the theory of urban entrepreneurialism. To achieve the purpose involved actors are interviewed about the collaboration and the design in the aforementioned areas. Commonly, the interest of the private sector is assumed to be maximizing profit while the interest of the public sector is assumed to be the well-being of the citizens. In a society based on urban entrepreneurialism, there is a risk that the latter is subordinated to profit interests, creating a negative impact on the less resourceful groups in society as these groups are not considered profit-generating. These risks make it relevant to focus on the extent to which it is possible to find tensions and conflicts in the collaboration, whether the public interest still is defended and what social impact the actors believe the project has in areas populated by low-income earners when initiating a project with social purposes. The questions guiding the paper are:

- What are the involved actors' views of the project BoStad2021?
- Are there observable tensions in the collaboration?
- Do these potential tensions reveal any conflict of interest?
- How do the actors relate to potential social impacts in the projects?

The paper consists of seven sections (including the introduction). The second section briefly discusses a selection of earlier research concerning urban development. The third section

delves into the main theories of this paper suggesting that BoStad2021, in fact, can be understood through a number of central aspects in urban entrepreneurialism. Fourthly, attention is turned to how the study was conducted, reflecting upon the two methods used. The fifth and sixth section analyzes the material in relation to urban entrepreneurialism and is divided into two parts: the collaboration and the design of the areas. Lastly, some concluding remarks are given, touching on the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, research questions and suggestions for further research.

1.1. BoStad2021

To be able to follow the analysis later on, the collaboration of BoStad2021 will now be presented.

1.1.1. The collaboration

In 2014, a project proposal was drawn by some constructors: by making the process of planning and construction more streamlined, the housing shortage in Gothenburg would be solved faster. The process of the detailed development plan¹ would be shorter if the work was parallelized and an early deadline was set, compared to the ordinary serial way of working, allowing the constructors greater participation. Some politicians submitted a demand to the Property Management Committee, deciding that 7 000 new housings, one third tenancies and two thirds tenant-owned apartments, would be constructed. This would be enabled by a major collaboration - the Property Management Department, the Urban Planning Department, the Traffic Department along with the public utility and the business sector including Property companies, constructing architects, and landowners. The new way of working is described as characterized by three aspects: a common municipal project organization, a collaboration forum and parallel processes (Svensson et al 2019:9-10). A summary of the first two can be seen in the figure below, indicating a highly complex network. Parallel processes is presented under the headline 'The time limit as a catalyst' in the analysis section.

¹ In a detailed development plan, the municipality regulates the use of land and water and the appearance of the constructions in a specific area (Boverket 2016).

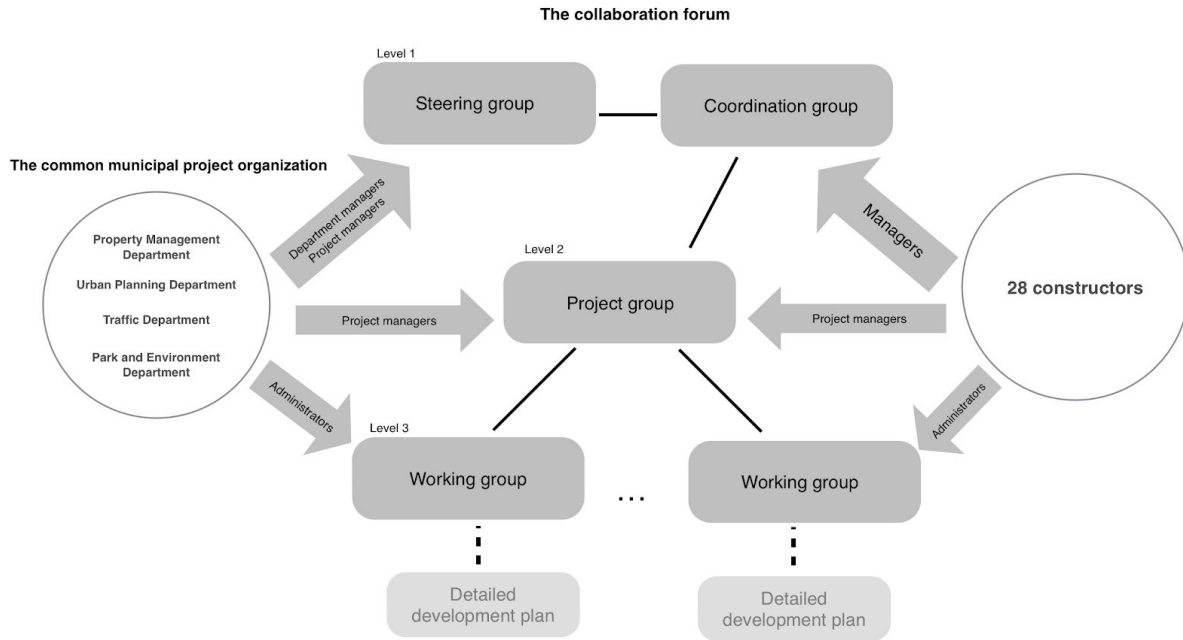


Figure 1. The collaboration of BoStad2021 (based on Tastare et al. 2019).

Apart from the collaborations mentioned above, BoStad2021 is part of the Gothenburg 400 Anniversary Jubilee, lead by the municipality-owned corporate Gothenburg & Co whose mission is to market Gothenburg as a destination, making it more attractive for tourists (Göteborg & Co n.d.; BoStad2021 n.d.). Gothenburg & Co was given a mission from the municipality to develop the plans for the Jubilee on an annual basis. The company formulates five aims with the work of the Jubilee: leaving an international footprint, being a courageous role model in sustainable development, developing Gothenburg through political and corporate collaborations, engage the city in the celebration by inviting to dialogue and lastly, strengthen the image of Gothenburg by communication and branding (Göteborg2021 n.d.).

All these mentioned actors together constitute the foundation of the project BoStad2021 and will permeate the analysis in this paper. Next, previous research is discussed.

2. Previous research

In the following section, international and national previous research regarding urban transformation is presented and related to the case of this paper. The section is divided into two overarching orientations: theorists criticising the Modernist urban ideals of cities dominating in the 1960s for causing social cleavages and inequality as well as their followers today and theorists that have been addressing similar social issues with the current neoliberal urban transformation as this study. Since this paper draws on theories belonging to the latter tradition, that second part is somewhat more elaborated on. The first part is nevertheless relevant, because their ideas are used in urban development today.

2.1. Critics of Modernist urban ideals

Internationally, Jane Jacobs (1961:4,7,14) was one of the first criticising the urban design in the 1960s for being too sterile and monotone and not adapted for people living there. Her reasoning will be used in the analysis of this paper and therefore developed further in the Theory section. Locally, Jörnmark et al. (2015:166-172) have followed in her footsteps suggesting that the industrial crisis in the mid 1970s was significantly worsened by the city planning decisions focusing on extensive expansion of Gothenburg taken in the previous decades. In their study, they address that the transaction costs (costs due to increased infrastructure) and the increased sprawl of the city worsened the industrial crisis, and enabled a more market based governance which resulted in abandoned and degraded areas in the city center. Following this, according to the authors, the city center has been neglected as more focus has been put in the peripheral areas which they mean is causing increased social cleavages and segregation. By densifying the inner city, Gothenburg would be more suited for human life.

These perspectives are fruitful in understanding the current ideals that the actors in BoStad2021 are striving towards. However, since researchers within this tradition have not been interested in issues which are central for this study (public-private partnership and gentrification) I will use the critical tradition.

2.2. Critics of neoliberal urban transformation

In connection with the critique of Modernism in the 1960s, other thoughts were developed which became central to the critique of neoliberal urbanism. Although placing him in the section of ‘critics to the neoliberal urban transformation’, the marxist Henri Lefebvre was, similar to Jacobs, also a critic of the Modernist city. He is, nevertheless, frequently referred to among theorists (see e.g. Harvey 2012:x-xviii; Mitchell 2003:5) who are criticising the neoliberal city and therefore I treat him here. Lefebvre (1991:245, 263, 267, 275, 285) was early challenging the unequal reproduction of urban space. During the emergence of capitalism, a concept which he calls ‘abstract space’ characterized by division and homogenization has become dominant. This means that the abstract space, backed by spatial and legal boundaries, is forcing people from the land dividing them into units controlled by the state with the goal of capital accumulation. The units and spaces become homogeneous, eliminating diversity in forms of subjective experiences, histories and cultures. What constitutes the abstract space, forms and maintains it, is scientific and intellectual discourses of how social reality should look like in a continuing process of justification of its logic and rationality. Thus, the abstract space permeates what Lefebvre calls ‘lived space’, the everyday life of its users; the diverse interactions and ideas between people, but not without resistance (ibid). This study is inspired by the underlying values of Lefebvre's framework; the conflicting interests of the urban space and the notion of abstract space - the actors in BoStad2021 reproducing the space and its discourses of accessibility and availability.

Although the theory is not used as a tool in this paper, it gives valuable insights in the role of capital accumulation when urban planners design and construct cities and, in this case, concerning housing production in Gothenburg.

One central dimension of the unequal development presented above is the generalization of gentrification as the geographer Neil Smith (2002) argues. Referring to Glass early definition of gentrification in the 1960s meaning that a new middle class is moving in, transforming working-class quarters, displacing the working-class from the city center, Smith points out that this process has become large-scaled thirty five years later; from being an issue of individual choices to become a business run by the government and government-corporate partnerships. Smith's theory of gentrification being a global strategy is useful in understanding similar patterns in the context of Gothenburg and more specifically BoStad2021 due to the project's government-corporate partnership. As this paper does not focus on gentrification, it will have a peripheral role in the analysis. Unlike Smith's focus on gentrification occurring in the urban center, this study departs from the urban periphery. Of course, gentrification research has continued to develop since Smith and is now also covering the periphery.

Another aspect in the field is mega-events in relation to urban redevelopment. According to Roche (2000:1), mega-events are mass-popular, large-scale, cultural/commercial/sporting-events with international significance typically organized by governmental and non-governmental organizations, national as well as international. Oftentimes they are used to marketing and selling the city (ibid). Mega-events are frequently studied in the form of Olympic Games (see Roche 2000; Short 2008; Broudehoux 2007), but seldom as housing projects, a gap which this study tends to fill. The thoughts of mega-events (in the analysis "high-risk projects") are thus developed in the case of BoStad2021 with the time limit as an important component.

David Harvey is another key theorist in the field of unequal urban development, but as his theory is the main tool in the analysis of this paper, he is discussed further in the Theory section. In addition to all these mentioned studies, there are follow up-research of the project of BoStad2021 made by a research group from Chalmers University of Technology (Svensson et al. 2019) which can not be placed below any of the headlines above, but is considered critical in that sense that it evaluates whether the work in BoStad2021 results in a more efficient planning and construction process (ibid). As the follow up-research is part of my data material, it is discussed further under the 'Method' section but nevertheless deserves to be mentioned here because it is the only known research, at the time of writing, that examines BoStad2021.

3. Theoretical framework

Here, the concepts and theoretical frameworks used in the analysis are presented. First, Harvey's concept 'urban entrepreneurialism' is introduced and complemented with Franzén

et al. 's use of the concept, enabling me to highlight entrepreneurial tendencies that have not yet been studied in relation to housing projects. In addition, Jane Jacobs' criticism of Modernist design is elaborated on as it enhances the understanding of the function of the design that the actors' are working towards, the aesthetic and the security feature of it. Lastly, Daniel Aldrich's arguments of the placing of uncontroversial facilities by state authorities is discussed and is used to increase the knowledge of the neighbors' possibilities to influence their areas in housing projects like these.

3.1. Urban entrepreneurialism

Since the 1970s, there has been a shift in urban governance worldwide from a managerial to an entrepreneurial approach. Back then, the local authorities in the cities provided services, benefits and facilities to the urban population. Due to the economic and fiscal crisis in the capitalist countries at that time, the general agreement among authorities was that an entrepreneurial approach would solve the economic problem, what Harvey (1989) calls 'urban entrepreneurialism'. Small firms became supported by the government, the link between the public and private sectors decreased and more effort was put on local areas to attract new business, which spurred inter-urban competition. Harvey (ibid) argues that urban entrepreneurialism follows a larger macro-economic shift from a Fordist production system characterized by mass-production of standardized products in factories to a post-Fordist form of accumulation being market-based, driven by short-termism and economic growth.

I will use two aspects of urban entrepreneurialism in the analysis; public-private partnership and speculation. In the first part of the analysis concerning the collaboration of BoStad2021, I will make use of what Harvey (1989) suggests is the main feature of the new urban entrepreneurialism: the 'public-private partnership'. He describes it as that the local government is, to a higher extent than before, collaborating with private actors to attract external sources of funding, investments, or employment sources. By collaborating, the interests of the local government (providing public service for the citizens) and the private actors (desire to gain profit) need to compromise, oftentimes leading to the government adopting the profit-driven interest usually associated with the private sector (ibid). Harvey's notion of public-private partnership is useful when understanding the collaboration in BoStad2021, its tensions and the implications it might have in cases when the municipality adopts a streamlining mindset. Accordingly, when I refer to public versus private interests in the analysis, the former is synonymous with the protection of the citizens' welfare and the latter motivated by financial incentives, indicating a disagreement between the municipality and the constructors. Franzén et al. (2016:167) apply public-private partnership in Gothenburg and Stockholm when referring to what is called 'Gothenburg spirit', the strong partnership in Gothenburg and give concrete examples of how tensions and conflicts between these two actors are hidden behind formulations and words that facilitate their collaboration. As formulations in the data material appeared that concerned the actors' work together in

BoStad2021, Franzén et al. 's were used to see beyond the explicit words. The authors study urban entrepreneurialism in the inner city, which makes it interesting to compare to the peripheral areas in this study.

The second aspect of urban entrepreneurialism is speculation. Harvey (1989) suggests that the public-private partnership is entrepreneurial because of the speculative part, making it risk-prone and sensitive for cyclical changes in the economy, compared to earlier rational development and planning. Quick fixes are used, like credit-financed investments, in spectacular projects (e.g. Olympic Games and shopping malls) to quickly accumulate capital and brand the city or region to contrast to other cities or regions. However, I argue that it is also applicable to the project of BoStad2021, as the project is seen as a type of “high-risk project” (ibid), where many resources are invested to keep the deadline. The speculation aspect is drawn one step further than in Harvey’s theory in that it does not only cover the actors’ risks in losing investments, but also the actors’ negligence of the risks that concern the citizens (although these are tightly connected, as will be shown). The connection to high-risk projects is elaborated on when discussing the actors’ strategies to reduce the number of appeals, as they manage the opinions of the neighbors in a way that minimizes the neighbors’ influence of their areas and, thereby, strengthens the argument of the project as a competitive image-project.

3.2. Jane Jacobs’ critique of Modernist design

In the second part of the analysis, Jane Jacobs is used when elaborating on the urban design. The design that post-Fordism was a counter-reaction to (i.e. Fordism) was Modernist and standardized, had low density and was function divided (Jacobs 1961:17-19). Jane Jacobs was an early opponent to this urban planning strategy, arguing that it suffered from monotony, sterility and lack of vitality while highlighting that cities should have a diversity of usings, both economically and socially to be vital. Small-scaleness, closed blocks and high density is desirable because it facilitates natural cross-connections between people in corners (ibid 7, 14, 115, 121). Thus, she was an early advocate of the design thinking dominating many large cities today, Gothenburg included. Jacobs’s reasoning of densification, small-scaleness and closed blocks are used to understand the urban planning ideals that appeared in the material concerning BoStad2021. Particularly, there are two aspects in the material when Jacobs is fruitful: the aesthetic function and the security function of the design, revealing how the actors’ reasons about their social impact in the areas since the design affect the lives of the people living there. In contrast to Jacobs who focuses on American cities, the focus of this paper is peripheral areas in Sweden which contributes to a development of the theory in a new context.

3.3. Daniel Aldrich and uncontroversial siting

Daniel Aldrich is the last major theorist used in the analysis and is suitable when discussing how the informants motivate their selection of places to construct on. Aldrich (2008:ix-xi) explores how state authorities choose locations for controversial facilities (for example nuclear power plants, dams, airports), and how to handle the local citizen opposition to such projects with focus on Japan, France and the United States. He develops two main arguments which are also central in the analysis of this paper: Firstly, that state authorities handle potential resistance by placing facilities where there is the least resistance to avoid costs like money, political power, demonstrations and deadlock. Secondly, in cases where the civil society *are* opposing, the authorities use strategies of hard social control (e.g. land expropriation, police force) when the opposition is weak and softer forms of control (like changing of minds) when the civil society's opposition is stronger (ibid: 5-10). Aldrich's theory is fruitful in understanding how state authorities and decision-makers think about siting and resistance, but in this case, in the context of urban planning.

4. Method

Attention is now turned to the methods used; texts and interviews. Since I am studying the collaboration and design of the areas, interviews with and texts by those who created the project were suitable methods. As interviews are the main method, that discussion is longer than the text material. Further below the process of the analysis is presented and, lastly, the ethical implications of carrying out the study are elaborated on, especially regarding the role of the researcher.

4.1. The text material

Three types of documents were used, firstly the follow-up research of BoStad2021 made by a research group from the Chalmers University of Technology. In a mainly dialogue-based manner, the researchers have been closely collaborating with the actors of BoStad2021 with the purpose of evaluating whether the way of working in BoStad2021 results in more effective planning and construction-process and what the consequences might be concerning time, economy, quality, and the rule of law. The material consists of interviews with the actors involved in BoStad2021, surveys, participation in meetings, and the study of documents. The follow-up project was initiated about six months after the work with BoStad2021 started and is financed by the municipality, Chalmers, and some of the construction companies (Svensson et al. 2019:11-13). Despite the fact that the researchers hardly can be considered 'neutral', their study is valuable since it shows important findings already made through research. Consequently, the researchers can highlight aspects that are considered central in BoStad2021 but perhaps not articulated by the actors themselves. Partial reports are released every year and the most recent, number three, released in 2019, is used in this study to get the last updated information regarding the project.

The second text-based material is detailed development plans of BoStad2021 of which became familiar with the physical ideals the actors worked toward to be able to answer the research question of the actor's view of their potential social impact of their projects. The design of the districts not only reveals physical, architectural trends but also says something about how the actors want these to be used by people living therein, facilitating and hindering certain types of behavior and people living their everyday life. In BoStad2021, there are a total of thirty detailed development plans, regulating areas in ten city districts (ibid:9). I read eight of these since all of them except the immediate north of Frölunda Torg are considered "vulnerable areas" by the police (Polisen 2019) and thus, are not obvious subjects of urban entrepreneurialism since it often is concerned with inner-city development (see e.g. Franzén et al. 2016; Boyle & Hughes 1994; Su et al. 2015; Kinossian 2012; Pow 2002) and will perhaps reveal other tendencies. The area north of Frölunda Torg was included due to its location close to Tynnered, which makes it reasonable to believe that the areas will affect each other. All of these areas are located in the urban periphery (see Appendix A), however, certainly there are significant differences between and within these areas as well, but as we will see in my analysis, the differences concerning the focus of this study are not major. The third text is the webpage of BoStad2021 for finding out central aspects and incentives of the project, as it consists of short presentations of the distinguishing features of it. All these three texts constitute the basis for the interviews.

4.2. The interviews²

The interviewees were selected based on criterion sampling; the informants should be involved in BoStad2021 in some way. More specifically, heterogeneous sampling was practiced, because of the actors' different roles in the collaboration (Ritchie & Lewis 2003:78-79). The constructors were tied to projects in vulnerable areas. However, because the politicians and the municipality are not connected to a particular area, the criterion of vulnerable areas was not applied in their case. To include actors from all sectors involved, there were two constructors, one communicator from a construction company, two officials, three politicians, and two representatives from Gothenburg & Co. In total, eight in-depth interviews were conducted with involved actors. Seven were held face-to-face and one over email. In one of the face-to-face interviews and the one over email, there were two informants, respectively, leaving me with a total number of ten informants. The in depth-interviews enabled me getting deeper than merely texts would allow, increasing the understanding for the meaning that one particular person ascribes to his/her everyday activities (Marshall & Rossman 2016:150).

The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that theoretically informed themes were written down and discussed around, making it more like a dialogue while facilitating follow-up questions and clarifications (Marshall & Rossman 2016:150). Inspired by Franzén

² See Appendix B. Pseudonyms are used for all interviewees to maintain confidentiality.

et al.'s book *Stad till Salu* (2016), the collaboration of BoStad2021 was a central theme early in the process. While reading the text material, I noticed the time limit was as central as the collaboration. The themes (collaboration, dialogue with neighbors, the time limit, function of the ideals, and the districts in the future) was the same for all interviews, with some modifications depending on the actor's function in BoStad2021. Since this study investigates the collaboration in BoStad2021, concerned politicians, officials, constructors, and Gothenburg & Co were asked to participate in the interviews. The officials work at the Property Management Department and the Urban Planning Department and constitute the steering group in BoStad2021 (BoStad2021 n.d.a). The constructors work as a project manager at one company and the other in a management position at another. By interviewing actors in different levels of the organizations, a more complex picture was enabled. One of the constructors was interviewed alongside a communicator from the company. Because a communicator is trained in articulating and promoting its company in a certain way, there was a risk that she would deliver ready-made answers, hindering a more spontaneous conversation. However, they being two enabled them to confirm and support each other. The communicator from Gothenburg & Co explained BoStad2021's connection to the Gothenburg 400 year anniversary, which BoStad2021 is part of. Two of the politicians are assigned to the Building Committee and one to the Property Management Committee in Gothenburg. Since these two committees are making the political decisions whether these projects will occur at all, they were crucial parts of the interviews. Gothenburg is governed by center right parties (Göteborgs Stad n.d.a), and two of the politicians belong to the left-wing. Although decisions are made based on voting, their different political belonging facilitated more nuanced data.

To acquire a sufficient amount of interview material, thirty individuals were contacted. I emailed the purpose of the study along with the participation being completely voluntary, anonymity, and that the interview material would be inaccessible for others than I and only be used for research (see e.g. Vetenskapsrådet 2002:7-14). The interviews took place at the actors' offices (one in a café nearby) and lasted for 40-60 minutes. The interviews were recorded on my mobile phone and saved on an USB-stick, thereafter transcribed and the informants quickly anonymized. The transcribing was saved on the USB-stick and the audio files removed.

4.3. The analysis

To get familiar with the project, the follow-up research and the detailed development plans were read early in the process, enabling me to become familiar with central ideals, discovering potential major deviations regarding ideals, which there were not. Certain words such as "urbanity", "densification" and "mixed-use city" recurred which became central themes in the interviews. The webpage of BoStad2021 was also part of the material, read from the actors' point of view, to capture the overall purpose of the project and the main characteristics "parallel processes", "collaboration" and "time limit". Since these aspects

were described rather shallow, they were elaborated further in the interviews. The main function of the texts was enhancing my knowledge about the project and to constitute a basis for the interviews, which themes were grounded in the empirical material and in Harvey's and Franzén et al. 's work.

The analysis was inspired by Wolcott's (1994) suggested three parts; description, analysis, and interpretation. I tried as long as possible to stick to the description-part and approach the material descriptively during the interviews, the transcribing and the close-reading afterward. Due to the critical approach, distancing the material was necessary to approach the material in a more nuanced way, noticing tensions and contradictions but also seeing the material more clearly - the information given was colored by the interests of the interviewee. As Lilleker argues (2003), a major difficulty with interviewing elites is interpreting the data because of their different perceptions of an event and trying to rewrite history, making it beneficial to them. However, as I approach the interviews as social constructions, their dictums are in focus for the analysis regardless if they are considered "reliable" or not (see e.g. Kvale & Brinkmann 2014:34-35). Before the analysis started, the earlier mentioned themes were compiled and further elaborated, structured, related, contrasted and connected during the analysis while keeping the chosen theoretical frameworks in the back of my mind. This step was fully elaborated on during the interpretation, where my own thoughts and ideas were developed. The distancing mentioned earlier was also enabled by contextualizing the data; connecting them to theory in this later stage. Although this process was not that linear while writing, the recommendation was useful when trying to sort the heavy load of material. The selected quotes in the material were translated into English.

4.4. Methodological challenges and the role of the researcher

Researchers are never totally objective when working with the material (see e.g. Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2018:4) and the power asymmetry that naturally exists in research (the researcher's possibility of controlling the outcome) concerns this study too. However, this is partly outweighed by the informants having management positions and being used to the interview situation. On several occasions, I felt inferior by "only" being a master student interviewing organizational elites which might have affected the interview situation: perhaps my position made them feel more comfortable, providing more data than they would have otherwise.

Worth mentioning is that the study analyzes data based on the views of the interviewees, leaving out voices that could have contributed further to the analysis. The study does not aspire to be generalizable to other people in the project, but in the sense that it is made connectable to earlier research focusing on the same phenomena and by that, put into a larger context. The chosen detailed development plans concerned the "vulnerable" areas, leaving out other areas. However, as the interviews and earlier research revealed, the ideals can be considered a trend, not exclusively concerning the "vulnerable" areas.

5. The process

This part of the analysis highlights the most distinctive aspects of BoStad2021. In 5.1.1., the dynamics of the collaboration is elaborated on as an example of a public-private partnership in Harvey's theory along with Franzén, Hertting and Thörn's interpretation of the concept to help reveal potential tensions and conflicts of interest in the collaboration. Below 5.1.2., BoStad2021 is discussed as a "high-risk project" in connection to the speculation aspect by Harvey to further strengthen the argument of the project's economic incentives. In 5.1.3., the time aspect of the project connects to the discussion of high-risk projects as the time limit is the primary factor making the project high-risk, and lastly, in 5.1.4., strategies the actors have formed to reduce the number of appeals³ are made understandable by Aldrich's arguments on siting strategies by state authorities as the actors in BoStad2021 reason in a similar fashion.

5.1. The collaboration

The public-private collaboration is one of the supporting elements in BoStad2021. Working toward a common goal is highlighted in, for example, the follow-up report:

Collaboration forums fill several functions: closer networking and exchange of competence through creating a common view of the processes and the problems, how the division of responsibility and work should look like, and the reviewing of separate parts to better synchronize and build a harmonic whole (Svensson et al. 2019:10).

The synchronization of two different views, one of the municipality and of the actors, is apparent here and aligns with Harvey's (1989) arguments that the public-private partnership is significant for the age of urban entrepreneurialism. The aim of the collaboration is to create a 'harmonic whole' melting together the two interests, the municipality representing the rights of the citizens and the corporate's desire to make a profit, hiding this conflict and making them appear as a unified force. This is also in line with Franzén et al.'s (2016:167) arguments that certain formulations and words about the partnership suppresses inner tensions and conflicts and are a part of an entrepreneurial way of thinking, simplifying working together. However, the mentioned 'harmonic whole' coexists with a different reality. One official explains:

Perhaps, someone will be run over in some matters because the schedules are more important than the principles [...], some can experience it negatively. [...] I also think it [the collaboration forum] is positive due to that, I have worked here for almost 13 years, and to sit in meetings with 26 constructions to discuss progress issues and all that, you have never been near that before. On the one hand, you

³ An appeal is a request sent to the relevant authority to change an already published decision to award a building permit ("Appeal" n.d.).

may not have needed that because you have never worked with such a big project before (...) (Sofia).

The official shows how the time limit has created a stressful work environment, something that increases the risk of hasty decisions made with lesser regard for quality than usual; some interests might be neglected, reasonably ones which require resources like time and money, due to the time limit is considered more important than principles although the essential role of the municipality is to be responsible for balancing these interests (Franzén et al. 2016:193). Although the example illustrates the inter-municipal collaboration, it can be seen as an example of the approach to disagreements in the overall project. In addition to being in the hands of the politicians, municipality, and constructors, the Gothenburg & Co representative confirms that BoStad2021 is influenced by the values of the Gothenburg 400 anniversary Jubilee led by Gothenburg & Co. The combination of Gothenburg & Co being responsible for city development and making the city marketable, marks the way for BoStad2021 functioning as a high risk, showcase project rather than an initiative meeting the housing needs for 'regular' citizens. This is explored below.

5.2. BoStad2021 as a high-risk project

The tendency of risk-taking is another central element in the era of urban entrepreneurialism, as Harvey (1989) points out. This is often demonstrated through the speculation of real estates to quickly accumulate capital but as in this case, the whole project can be regarded as, what Harvey (ibid.) calls, a high-risk project. He exemplifies with shopping malls, sports arenas, and other spectacular events highlighting their sensitivity for cyclical changes which become evident in BoStad2021 as well. The time limit, and the many actors involved, makes BoStad2021 a risky project; a lot has to work for the process to finish in time. In the interviews and in the follow-up research, it is obvious that the partnership was not free from friction. An official says:

And a project room where everybody [officials] sat together. [...] We do not see that the constructors have a similar reorganization [...] now I will complain about them a little but one is obviously unwilling to risk (Lisa).

One politician confirmed this as well, adding that the cause was the change in the market that might result in the houses not being sold. As illustrated, the municipality wanted more effort from the constructors indicating agency from the municipality conforming under the tight deadline suggesting that the passivity of the constructors hazarded the whole project. What the official is referencing can be seen as an example of the municipality's incorporation of what is often associated with features of corporate's; risk-taking. However, the politicians do not adopt the goals and values of the corporates' (profit-maximizing) but instead present a bureaucratic goal (7 000 housings until 2021) and, this way, outdo the constructors' risk-taking which is illustrated by the webpage of BoStad2021:

The real estate industry representatives thought that 5 000 homes were a possible goal. But the politicians wanted to construct more and it was decided that 7 000 extra homes would be constructed in seven years (BoStad2021 n.d.a).

As it is mentioned on the project's website, it is reasonable to believe that this is something they want people to know and be impressed by. The speculative aspect in formulating the project makes it reasonable to believe that, despite the fact that one of the purposes of the project is meeting the growing housing needs, there are also aspects of investing and making it attractive; dimensions advocated by the politicians and the municipality. The time limit reinforces this speculative risk aspect more, which we will turn to now.

5.3. The time limit as a catalyst

The time limit is of paramount importance in BoStad2021. The very reason for the extensive collaboration is to finish the project in time - by December the 31st 2021, the housings should be ready for occupancy. Additionally, the planning -and implementation process is compressed. In the ordinary process, a building permit⁴ is awaited before investigations concerning housings and streets are made, but in BoStad2021, this occurs simultaneously to have all planning ready before the detailed development plan gains legal force⁵. One year of construction time would be saved; a process which normally takes 6-8 years. (BoStad2021 n.d.a.; BoStad2021 n.d.b.; Tastare et al. 2019). By working with parallel processes, the constructors are engaged earlier in the exploitation⁶ process:

What has been different [from the usual planning process] is that the construction companies have been, that they are involved at a very early stage but due to the time pressure, one probably has been closer to their first idea. You may not have kneaded it as much, but that is my guess of how it has been (Lars).

The politician points out that the actors might have followed the constructors' path to a higher degree than in ordinary processes due to the constructors' early involvement which signals an increased influence by the constructors, benefiting their interest in the process. Another consequence of the parallel process is that the chance of influencing the detailed development plan might decrease when the building permits and land surveying⁷ are being handled before the detailed development plan is accepted by the building committee. If the building permit is handled in parallel to the official consultation there are risks of not letting

⁴ A building permit is an official permit made by the municipality to construct on land or to make changes to a building ("Building permit" n.d.; Göteborgs Stad n.d.b).

⁵ The legal force is when the detailed development plan starts to apply in cases when no one has appealed or if the appeal has been rejected (Göteborgs Stad n.d.d)

⁶ Exploitation is, in this case, the use of land for the construction of buildings for profit ("Exploitation" n.d.)

⁷ Land surveying concerns the division of property in Sweden for which the Land Surveying Authority is responsible (Göteborgs Stad n.d.c).

opinions of outsiders influence the plan which, in turn, questions the trustworthiness of the detailed development plan as a democratic process.

Due to the stressful approach, the housings appear secondary; as long as there is something to display in 2021. For example, the Urban Planning Department says:

What has been a prerequisite for this to work at all, is that everyone has understood that by this date, everything should be finished. (...) Like, there are no alternatives to delay things and I like that because I think we are often allowed to have too many opinions (...) Then there is a downside to it, of course, that it goes fast. Yes, what does that mean for what the finished product will be for the Gothenburg citizen who will live in the residential area and the apartment, what does it mean for the Gothenburg citizens and the public who have the right to have opinions about constructing within an area at all? (...) (Sofia).

The official is pleased running the race and working under time constraints since they do not need to consider the opinions of everyone involved, but also admits that there are downsides to that reasoning, showing awareness that it might affect the citizens. However, the official is not considering whether the effect of the approach is justified or not and leaves the question open.

The time limit reinforces the urban entrepreneurial tendency of BoStad2021, making it fit the description of a hybrid of a housing initiative and a high-risk project similar to the arguments made by Harvey (1989) and Franzén et al. (2016:26) regarding spectacular events being a part of the repertoire of urban entrepreneurialism. There is, however, a slight mismatch due to politicians overdoing the constructors in the willingness to take risks. The risk aspect in Harvey's reasoning points to that actors' invested capital might be lost due to the short-termism of the projects, and in the examples mentioned, risks that might affect the citizens get ignored by the actors due to economic incentives. It is, however, reasonable to believe that investments might be endangered indirectly by neglecting the risks of the citizens since, after all, the project is dependent on citizens' proneness to buy the housings. One further decision that has been made based on the time limit is giving the constructors increased responsibility for dialoguing with neighbors early in the process which is elaborated below.

5.4. Two strategies to reduce appeals

Two overall strategies to reduce the number of appeals have emerged in the material. The first concerns the dialogue with neighbors and the second the selection of areas for construction. The dialogue differs from that of ordinary construction processes. In BoStad2021, the constructors have an extended role in informing neighbors and gathering their opinions of the projects early in the process, making the neighbors feel more involved which reduces the risk of appeals. Workshops and interviews were conducted (BoStad2021 n.d.a). Meanwhile, the municipality collects opinions by having consultation, where the

proposed detailed development plan is open for response as in ordinary processes (Svensson et al. 2019:5, 103).

One official says:

We wanted the constructors to have a dialogue alongside it, and gladly get started as early as possible, for this to go out for consultation then the project may have lived for a year already. [...] with the aim of reducing the risk of the plans being appealed, which is very common for them to become (Sofia).

Informing to reduce the risk of appeals is not unique for BoStad2021, but can be considered yet more necessary in this project due to the time limit. By stressing the minimizing of appeals as a reason to inform, the interest in listening to and including opinions from the neighbors appears insincere and simply focused on the process going smoothly without costly delays. There are two acts of measures taken by the municipality to streamline the process and thereby diminish resistance from neighbors: first, giving the responsibility of the dialogue to the constructors and second, starting the dialogue earlier which seem paradoxical to the project's social purpose: to utilize the interests of the citizens' and letting them be a part of the neighborhood in which they are going to live. These acts of measures increase the urban entrepreneurial tendency of streamlining the process and strengthens the argument of BoStad2021 as a spectacular flagship event as in Harvey's framework rather than a housing project meeting the needs of the citizens.

One of the politicians clarifies the need for early dialogue and how it relates to being a professional constructor:

Every day you stand still costs money. So that the actors who are professional and who have been working for a while, they usually start [...] contacting and sending out and explaining and telling and informing and inviting to meetings so if you get support from the neighbors and that they see the positive effects of this, you almost never get any appeals (Maria).

One constructor agrees:

We gather for an information meeting and then we inform and absorb the views we get from those who are there. Both at the meeting, before and after. To see, is this something we need to work on because we are interested in improving the neighborhood and when we say so then it is actually to avoid appeals (...) (Erik).

As the constructors are constructing the houses and selling them, it is reasonable to assume that the dialogue is not a priority and will thus not be invested in by them, as the cost of resources becomes too high; the time plan must be kept. In the material, it is mentioned that not getting appeals means that the dialogue has gone well. However, few appeals can indicate that the people concerned have not received the information and are unaware of their rights to appeal. Furthermore, the politician emphasizes that the constructors who are 'professional' are

those who manage to get the support of the surrounding residents. This reinforces the impression of the houses as something to be sold and persuaded about rather than a genuine aspiration to engage in the neighbors' views about the design of their areas. In this case, the selling does not therefore necessarily have to reflect what will actually be constructed, as the description of it might be aestheticized. Sales techniques like these can create a power imbalance between the constructors and the residents as the constructors are used to negotiations, possibly resulting in persuasion.

Now moving on to discuss the second strategy to reduce appeals; selection of areas for construction. On questions regarding appeals, several of the interviewees said that the number of appeals tends to be low in the selected areas which are also confirmed by Klingberg (2006:76). One constructor says:

It is a trend, that in the Northeast especially, there is not so much interest to participate in this. It is rare that there are appeals there, the efforts there depend on the area we are in and how we manage to create interest in the meetings. There might be language barriers that prevent you from reaching out with the message correctly or other issues (Erik).

There seems to be awareness around language barriers and the constructors' responsibility in making information available, although calling it a trend can be interpreted as an act of passivity. By giving the constructors increased responsibility for the dialogue, these interests are controlling the neighbors' influence. Engaging in dialogue in an earlier stage strengthens this fact, as the reason was to reduce the risk of appeals. The constructor above describes the inactivity by the neighbors in the areas as a passive process. However, the actors are not as passive when motivating the siting of the projects. One politician states:

One has chosen to construct in places where you can get something pretty fast, saying that yes because we are going to try to construct quickly in this project, we do not take the most controversial plots in the city. [...] to construct on Skanstorget, but there was definitely no place that was suitable for this project just because it is so controversial (Peter).

Another politician clarifies what easily constructed plots mean:

The areas one chose for this 2021-project, one of the criteria was that it would be quite easily constructed plots. Where it was not too complex traffic structures, where the risk of appeal would be quite low (Maria).

The aspiration is to construct on places that provide the least resistance which is in line with Aldrich's (2008:8-9) argument about how state authorities place controversial facilities in places where the resistance is weak, using a hard form of social control. Because the actors in Bostad2021 do not place projects on, for instance, Skansberget, the chance of finishing on time increases. It also signals that

they have invested in these areas for outsiders and for people already living there without the latter necessarily being able to use the apartments:

It can also be important to show that you actually believe in and invest in an area, to construct new just for that reason. That although none of those who live in the area today might choose to move to the newly constructed house because it is usually much more expensive than what they live in today or they may enjoy where they live today, but they see that something is happening (Sofia).

The consequence is that, to a greater extent than before, the houses are constructed primarily for sale, not for people in these areas to be able to thrive and afford them. The dialogue becomes a necessary evil and the location of housings a strategy to minimize appeals and resistance to reach the final goal; get the constructions finished as quickly as possible, in line with an urban entrepreneurial ideal. Notably, the municipality was the initiator of the early dialogue, as the very first quote reveals. The paradox thus becomes as clear here as in the earlier examples; the representatives of the public good represent the private interests.

6. Ideals

We now move on to the ideals that the actors work toward and what consequences they might have. In 2.1., the aesthetic part of urbanity and densification concerning areas and housings is understood in the light of Jane Jacobs's theory to see how the actors want the areas to be used and by whom. Below 2.2., the function of security and control of the design is discussed in relation to exclusion and aspects central in Harvey's and Jacobs's theory, as these will strengthen the arguments of the design benefiting one group of people in front of another. These arguments lead to the last point, 2.3., the risk of gentrification as a result of the design, connecting it to Neil Smith.

6.1. Urbanity and densification

The ideal of urbanity is frequently highlighted in the interviews, the follow-up research and the detailed development plans. In the follow-up research (Svensson et al. 2019:66), representatives from BoStad2021 suggest that urbanity is about increasing density, a mix of functions such as housing, service, and workplaces, strengthening of local businesses and promoting of rental rights, but also a diversity of property owners and an easily navigable orientation and connection with the surroundings (ibid). Densification is closely linked to urbanity and is one of the strategies for Gothenburg's extension planning as well, taking place mainly in the 'middle city'⁸ where public transport connections already exist to benefit from places where investments have already been made and supplementing with what is needed for residents to be close to, for example, trade, service, and public transport to save resources. I will return to and elaborate on these aspects below.

⁸ In Swedish: mellanstaden.

As stated in the detailed development plan for Zenitgatan and Kosmosgatan in Bergsjön, urbanity and densification fill an aesthetic function:

The Urban Planning Department believes that an attractive housing environment can be achieved with good access to service in public transport adjacent location by densifying the constructions in the area in question (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2017a:6).

With a denser city, more residents can get close to the grocery store, the school, the bus stop - all that makes everyday life a little easier. This way, the city also wants to create more attractive places for business start-ups (ibid:20)

Making the middle city more similar to the inner city through urbanity and densification is central to Gothenburg's extension strategy and therefore also concerns BoStad2021. It is reasonable to believe that by making these areas more urban-like, the actors want to attract residents other than the people living there today due to increased housing costs. The second quote reveals the desire to attract companies which can be considered as more stable tenants renting out to than private individuals which, in turn, attracts other companies with similar clientele.

The detailed development plan of Merkuriusgatan in Bergsjön clarifies the concept of urbanity by stressing what does *not* fit in the image of it:

Despite the fact that a noise barrier could have increased the number of housings in the area, there will not be any such construction along Bergsjövägen. A noise barrier would have had to be relatively high due to the large level differences and thus, costly. Nor is the shielding effect of a noise barrier considered favorable from a cityscape point of view (...) (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2017b:7).

Although the noise barrier would have enabled more people to live in the area, the actors will not use one since it is expensive and contrasts against what they consider is compatible with urbanity, one central aspect in post Fordist design. The quote thus illustrates the incorporation of post-Fordist values by the desire to leave the Fordism design characterized by large-scaleness and function-division behind, in which the noise barrier can be seen as a part of, an idea equivalent to that of Jacobs (1961:17-19). The post-Fordist design does not exclusively concern the areas, but the housings as well. One official contrasts the new housings against the older:

It is like the Soviet Union against how one wants it to look. (...) But I think most people are super happy and if one enjoys it there anyway and it looks so much nicer, I am absolutely convinced that they will love their area then (...). I think it will be really nice complementaries in areas where most people think it looks really, really boring today (Sofia).

By comparing the older and unrenovated houses to the Soviet Union, the quote sheds light on the municipality as carriers of post-Fordist values, in which they are contrasting against when

referring to Soviets, i.e. boring functionalism. This idea aligns with Jacobs's (1961:121) criticism against Fordism design, which she called "The Great Blight of Dullness", considered it too monotone.

6.2. Neighborhood ties and security

The aspects of small-scaleness and closed blocks are advocated by many of the informants who believe it fulfills several functions. On the one hand, the possibility of creating close social ties with neighbors is emphasized, but there is also a security aspect:

I think it is the courtyard qualities that are the most important. [...] when people talk about having these half-closed [...] then I think they have completely lost the need of the more intertwined social capital that arises between neighbors which also need arenas to be able to [...] exist while this more shallow social capital between people who don't know each other, it belongs more to the street or the park [...] so that you have your place out in the courtyard (Lars).

Closing the neighborhood increases the sense of belonging for those who live there and exclude people who do not. The politician mentions the advantage of the streets in regard to more superficial contacts between strangers, which is similar to Jacobs's reasoning but moves beyond Jacobs when emphasizing the strengthening impacts closed blocks have on closer social bonds.

One politician is pointing to the feeling of insecurity as a result of large-scale areas, darkness, and the absence of life and movement. One official stresses security as an important aspect of urbanity as such:

How to get security? Well, through activities on the streets and that entrances and so are facing the street so that the street becomes safe to use. Many eyes. There is a little bit of social control there. That there are stores, I can go somewhere if I feel insecure. That feels important (Lisa).

Closed blocks seem to fulfill several functions. Closing the neighborhood creates a stronger neighborhood, increasing the sense of belonging and reduces insecurity for some but can also lead to exclusion, manifested in two ways: by the spatial structure and by social control. The barriers might increase instead of decrease as the boundaries in a closed block make it obvious who belongs to the neighborhood and who does not, excluding the latter. A stronger neighborhood is more likely going together keeping unwanted activity and people who are not a part of it away from the area by more eyes watching. As a form of social control, this can be connected to the regulation of the public space as a part of urban entrepreneurialism, in line with Franzén et al's (2016:40) arguments. The regulation is often managed through subtle mechanisms, closing a space which at first glance can be considered open. Neighborhood watch, as in this context, can be seen as an example of such a subtle mechanism; the spaces are held 'clean' just by people watching, or by the mere fact that

someone *could* be watching and is also emphasized by Jacobs (1961) as she highlights security as an important aspect of closed blocks. Some groups are thus excluded from using the public space since they are not 'suitable' for what is considered an 'attractive' area. These measures can be regarded as ways of regulating public space.

As urban entrepreneurialism is closely connected to the availability of the public space, the ideals of small-scaleness, densification, urbanity and security become relevant. As Franzén et al. (2016:99) argue, constructing in small-scale is symptomatic of urban entrepreneurialism in Gothenburg, making BoStad2021 not an exception. In this case, the ideals can be understood as means to regulate the public space outside the blocks. The actors attract people and corporations with higher symbolic capital which in turn increases the values of the real estates and areas. This is captured by Franzén et al. (ibid: 89) who states that a 'good' tenant is not only permanent and solvent but also raises the status of the property through its symbolic capital, also known as gentrification, leading us to the last section.

6.3. The gentrification aspect

One component of urbanity is the variety of housings and tenure statuses, confirmed by several of the informants. Since Tynnered, the immediate north of Frölunda Torg, Angered, Bergsjön, and Biskopsgården are dominated by rental apartments, the aim is constructing tenant-owned apartments and housings, which most of the interviewees highlighted. By constructing new housings that will differ noticeably in price from the existing ones, what is called 'housing career' is enabled. One official says:

It does not matter if you are a Swede going back ten generations or no generation, many start their [...] housing career in a rental apartment, but maybe love their area but want a different type of housing, then it is nice if you can stay here, but I can get a tenant-owned apartment because I want to own my accommodation because it is more profitable in the long term [...] (Sofia).

The actors seem to want to attract people already living in the area which are currently people earning less than people in Gothenburg on average (Göteborgs Stadsledningskontor 2019). Despite that, the belief is that the residents are able to afford the new housings. The quote gives the impression that the municipality meets a missing need; the right to own one's accommodation. Calling it a 'housing career' implies that there is a 'natural' advancement towards something 'better' which discerns the opposite; those who 'choose' to 'stay' stagnate. Nonetheless, the informants who believe in 'housing carriers' by current residents concurrently desire a 'mix' of people, meaning new people moving in. One constructor says:

If you buy your own accommodation you are more careful of the local environment, usually one or both have permanent jobs that then provide a basis for service in the immediate area so there will be a positive spiral as a result (Erik).

The purpose seems to be attracting more resourceful people from outside the neighborhood into the area, having them lift the area through a “positive spiral”. According to one constructor, this seems synonymous with profitability:

It is to be an engine and show that it is possible to make some profitability even in projects in vulnerable areas (Erik).

To gain profit in vulnerable areas by attracting a wealthy middle-class is closely connected to the notion of gentrification, similar to Smith’s (2005) reasoning about the “new urban frontier”, pointing to the risk of these areas changing cultural, material and social meaning when new residents move in. The potential of profitability in these areas can be understood through this theory as well, with the actors upgrading the degraded housings by reinvesting capital. This often occurs with words such as “upgrading”, “improvement” and “revitalization” (ibid:28-30) or as one of the official says: “No, we want to revitalize, as I have often used” (Lisa). The housings and the areas are made attractive for more resourceful groups of people to settle in and increase the profitability which in turn, increases the entire area’s reputation making it a ‘desirable’ one, consistent with the speculation aspect in Harvey's theory where the investment results in further accumulation. The detailed development plan for Merkuriusgatan in Bergsjön specifies the new group:

Within the district, it has been noted that nature-loving 30-year-olds with Swedish ethnic backgrounds have started to find this part of Bergsjön more attractive. Thus, additional buildings can [...] contribute to a greater mix of people (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2017b:51).

Informants and documents highlight the need for a ‘mix’ of people in the areas, indirectly suggesting that these areas are homogenous. However, statistics show that there are people with a multiplicity of ethnicities⁹ already living in the areas which the actors disregard. “Mixing” thus hides an underlying interest of attracting a certain kind of people with whiteness in general, and “Swedish ethnic background” in particular, as their main characteristic.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that BoStad2021 is highly influenced by features of urban entrepreneurialism: public-private partnership, speculation and high-risk project tendencies as well as the exclusionary design of the areas. The major collaboration between the municipality and the constructors enables the project to take place at all. This type of partnership was discussed by Harvey in 1989, assessed in the context of Gothenburg by Franzén, Hertting and Thörn in 2016 and is at the time of writing this paper in 2020, still highly alive, if not taken to a step further due to the size of the project.

⁹ Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Syria, Finland, Yugoslavia, Poland, Turkey, India among others (Göteborgs Stadsledningskontor 2019)

Heading back to the research questions at the beginning of the paper, the answer to the first question of the actors' view of the project initially reveals goal-orientedness through alignment of visions. As the time limit is of greatest importance, "principles" and "interests" are not taken into consideration to the same extent as usual, which is considered mainly positive by the informants. Reasonably, more nuanced answers would have come from actors that are not part of the organizational top as a stressful working environment might affect these more due to their lesser ability to influence the decisions. The positive attitude does not remain to the same extent regarding the collaboration, leading us over to research question number two; if there are any observable tensions in the collaboration. Although some formulations highlighted the harmonic "creating of a common view", the informants confirmed what the follow-up researchers had already found; the frustration the politicians and the municipality felt towards the constructors' reluctance to risk. That points to a conflict of interests where the constructors look after their private interests whereas the municipality wants the project to develop as fast as possible, a conflict that is not exactly similar to the core in urban entrepreneurialism, namely that the societal development should serve the economic development. This conflict is the main tension between the two parties that appeared in the material, disturbing the harmonic facade formulated earlier. Of course, this is not the only conflict in and around BoStad2021, but due to time and space limit I could not dig deeper into other conflicts which makes an interesting departure for further research on the subject. As different phases in the construction process reasonably give rise to different types of conflicts, some of these would also be interesting to compare.

The impact made by the actors in the areas is not just physical but also social. By implementing a particular design, a certain type of behavior is enabled in the neighborhoods. The design did not differ considerably between the selected areas - most of them strive towards increased urbanity, densification, closed blocks and small-scaleness. The aspiration of making the areas more urban-like and dense points to the wish of making them attractive for, as was later shown, a more resourceful group of people. By closing the blocks, the informants reasoned, the social ties would be strengthened between the neighbors, leading to an increased feeling of security. However, that effect would concern the people *living* in the closed blocks. For others, exclusion would be the result, both through the social control that would be practiced by the neighbors but also by the very spatial structure of the block, as the analysis shows. In addition to the exclusionary effect of some groups, the new housings are expensive and the majority of them tenant-owned apartments which, in turn, increases the risk for gentrification in the areas. So, concerning the relation to the social impact, the actors seem to construct for a wealthy, white middle class and, accordingly, BoStad2021 risks being remembered as simply a high-risk project with severe implications of increasing, instead of decreasing, the social cleavages in the housing market in Gothenburg as these implications might be the result of the urban entrepreneurial influence.

Of theoretical and empirical significance, this paper shows how urban entrepreneurialism shapes not only inner city politics but peripheral districts as well and is, accordingly, fruitful

as a model in those areas too. Going beyond the focus on the inner city in Franzén et al, this finding contributes to the research field on urban entrepreneurialism in particular and urban studies in general. According to Harvey (1989), the profit interests usually associated with the private actors and the welfare protecting interests connected to the public actors overlap in the era of urban entrepreneurialism, but unlike Harvey I also highlight possible conflicts between the municipality and the constructors, e.g. regarding the willingness to take risks. Another difference from Harvey concerns the speculation aspect which is more indirect in BoStad2021, meaning that capital accumulation depends on residents actually moving in rather than simply selling it to another investor. As this paper focuses on the organizational top governing the urban planning, further research might be needed to complement these studies by studying the neighbors' experiences of BoStad2021 and interviewing more actors in the lower end of the collaboration-chain, as these might nuance the positive approach to this entrepreneurial project.

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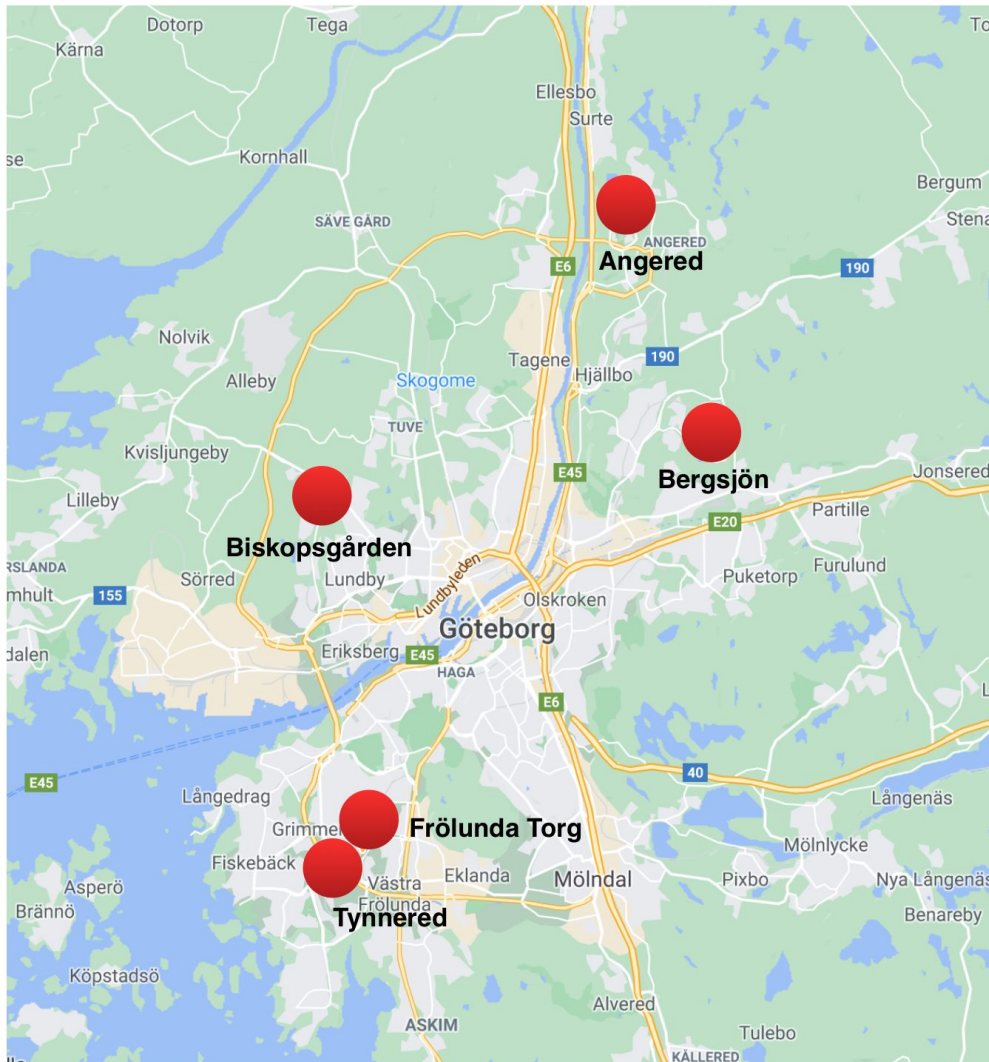
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Appendix A

Map¹⁰ of the selected areas.



¹⁰ Based on Google Maps, retrieved 2020-09-20.

Appendix B

Interviews (pseudonyms are used)

Politicians

1. Maria, 21st of February, 2020, the Building Committee.
2. Peter, 18th of February, 2020, the Building Committee.
3. Lars, 17th of February, 2020, the Property Management Committee.

Officials

1. Sofia, 27th of February, 2020, the Property Management Department.
2. Lisa, 19th of February, 2020, the Urban Planning Department.

Constructors

1. Erik, 12th of February, 2020, working at a municipality owned construction company.