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PROBLEMATISATIONS OF PROGRESS AND DIVERSITY IN VISIONARY PLANNING

The case of post-industrial Malmö

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to contribute to studies of urban renewal by taking a step back in time to the years prior to urban regeneration and investigating the problem formulations developed during the crises years in Malmö, Sweden. Drawing on Carol Bacchi's (2010) methodological tool 'What is the problem analysis', this paper explores the problem formulations proceeding Malmö's attempts of urban regeneration, with specific regard to the role of immigration. The paper highlights two problem formulations found in the visionary work. The first problem formulation concerns how the demise of the industrial city brought with it a perceived loss of a coherent identity and unity. The second problem formulation concerns the fear of certain groups not being able to 'keep up' with the anticipated progress and transition into the city of knowledge.

Keywords

Urban renewal • Visionary work • Urban planning • Multiculturalism • Problematisation

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This paper takes as its point of departure the intersection between the industrial and post-industrial city, and the image of multiculturalism in the parallel formulations of crises and progress that characterises many former industrial cities. The empirical setting is Malmö, one of Sweden's most socio-economically divided cities. In the early 1990s, the industrial and multicultural city of Malmö suffered from an 'urban crisis' resulting from rapid de-industrialisation and the decline in job opportunities in manufacturing industries. In parallel with this development, immigration and the number of refugees increased, resulting in a combination of falling revenues and rising public expenditure. From having been regarded as one of Sweden's most prosperous regions of growth the city was now left in a severe economic crisis (Jerneck 1993). With the realisation that the industrial city would not return, the local government in Malmö initiated an extensive visionary plan programme in 1995. Its ambition was to formulate plans to transform the former industrial city into a city of knowledge, with high hopes for the future, possible with the transition to the new post-industrial information and knowledge economy.

Throughout the early 2000s Malmö, in parallel with other cities, sought to reinvent itself using tools such as place marketing, water front development and investments in tourism and the events industry (Dannestam 2011). The aim was, as in many other cities, to attract investments and new inhabitants to the city. As we know from the literature on urban renewal many of these former industrial cities are characterised by growing inequalities (cf. Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Fainstein 2010; Harvey 2008), and Malmö is no exception from this (cf. Gressgård 2015; Nylund 2014; Salonen 2012). A number of case studies have analysed these processes of urban regeneration and renewal in Malmö (e.g. Holgersson 2014; Möllerström 2011). The purpose of this paper is to contribute to these studies of urban renewal by taking a step back in time to the years prior to the initiation of transitory politics and, instead, to investigate problem formulations as they were developed in the crisis years during the mid-1990s. Drawing on a broad understanding of the role of urban narratives, as well as Carol Bacchi's (2010) methodological tool 'What is the problem represented to be?' (WPR), this paper explores the problem formulations preceding the city's attempts at urban regeneration, with specific regard to the role of immigrants and immigration. The question guiding the paper is 'how was multiculturalism understood in the transition from industrialism to post-industrialism', and 'which problem formulations were highlighted during this time?' While seeing the transition from industrialism to post-industrialism as a meta-narrative, this paper highlights and concludes with two problem formulations (problematisations) found in the visionary work. The first problem formulation concerns how the demise of the industrial city brought with it a perceived loss of a coherent identity and unity. In the empirical material, this is described as a change from the coherent and stable unity of the industrial city to the unstable diversity of the society to come. The second problem formulation concerns the fear of certain groups not being able to 'keep up' with the anticipated progress and transition to the city of knowledge: in the empirical material, there is a clear division between the people leading the

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development into the post-industrial society, and those considered unable to keep up or to contribute to the future society. In the next section, the theoretical framework is outlined. In section two, the problem formulations and narratives are highlighted and analysed.

1 Reading visionary plans – what is the problem represented to be?

In a Swedish context, a number of studies have indicated a shift in urban planning, from set goals and specific measures to longer term descriptions of 'desirable futures', including an increasing prevalence of visions for the future in plan documents (Nordström 1995: 7; cf Syssner 2012). These visionary plans often take urban attractiveness or competitiveness as a point of departure (Allmendinger and Gunder 2005: 104; Khakee 2000: 148). Visionary work is often organised in projects, and as such they include a variety of public and private actors and participators (Syssner 2012; Schønning Sørensen 2007). Malmö's vision *Vision 2015* is no exception from this. Malmö initiated its visionary project in 1995. It was initiated by the municipal executive committee, and the participants consisted of a group of civil servants working in collaboration with a number of experts in the field. In an interview with the then head of the City Hall, Inger Nilsson, the reason and background for the visionary work are described in the following way: 'In 1994 Malmö's budget deficit […] seemed insoluble […]. But when a new tax equalization system was introduced, [and resources were allocated to Malmö] we felt that we could initiate a couple of processes' (interview Inger Nilsson, head of town office).[1] The quote emphasises the mood of 'urban crisis' during this time, but also indicates how the decline of industrialism co-existed with hope for the future. The belief that negative development and uncertainty could be reversed and translated into a new vision for the future is also prevalent in the proposal by the Mayor Ilmar Reepalu to initiate Vision 2015.

> In times of rapid change and uncertainty, it is important to have an understanding of what we want the future to look like. This can be done through the outlining of different visions and subsequent measures to realize these visions (*Visions for Malmö 2000* Proposal to the Executive committee 1995-02-06).

In an appendix to the proposal, the 'problems' needed to be solved are indicated. These are (1) the economy, (2) the industry and labour market, (3) 'the social situation', associated with unemployment, residential segregation, welfare dependents and the increasing immigration, and finally (4) the 'lack of identity' (proposal 1995-02-06, appendix, pp. 1–2). As the focus in this paper is on diversity, the two last problems, the social situation and the lack of identity, will be especially highlighted in the empirical analysis.

Once it had finally been decided by the municipal executive committee in February 1995, the visionary work was initiated and conducted as a project during the years 1995–1996. The project was divided into different thematic working groups (on economy, business, education, the environment, culture, urban planning and social issues, respectively). The project was coordinated by a team consisting of two civil servants and the respective chairpersons of each working group. Further, a process consultant organised the visionary work throughout the duration of the project. Each group consisted of a number of experts such as civil servants, scholars and business representatives, and every group formulated a vision for the future in the form of a report or a plan. As it approached finalisation of the project, the local executive decided that a final report should be prepared and sent out for consultation, with results reported back to the local council (protocol, municipal executive committee, 28 August 1996). The empirical material in this paper consists of the (i) reports/visions from each of the eight working groups, (ii) the final report as well as other reports (including a consultant report) and (iii) public protocols and interviews from the decision-making process leading up to the visionary programme.

The overall aim of this paper is to scrutinise the articulation of problem formulations and thereby challenge the way policy problems are understood and formulated in the political field (cf. Dikeç 2007). In terms of methodology, the reading of the visionary plans is inspired by Bacchi's WPR framework. The purpose of Bacchi's approach is to 'read policies with an eye to discerning how the "problem" is represented within them, and to subject this problem representation to critical scrutiny' (Bacchi 2012: 21). Bacchi proposes a number of questions to apply to 'proposals of change', and in this analysis I focus on the following three questions: (1) 'What is the "problem" represented to be? (2) What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the "problem"? And, finally (3) How has this representation of the "problem" come about?' (Bacchi 2012: 21).[2] By applying this framework, it is possible to focus on how the municipality understood the problems and challenges of its time, and which problems and problem representations (in Bacchi's words, 'problematisations') were highlighted and presented in the material. Following Bacchi's argument, policies, plans or proposals in effect 'impose a particular interpretation' of an issue, and governments create particular impressions of what that 'problem' is, and how it should be understood (Bacchi 2010: 2). These processes also create specific subject positions. For Bacchi, following Foucault (1980), subject positions entail 'adopting particular ways of thinking about oneself', which can be taken up or refused by the subject at hand (Bacchi 2010: 6). To exemplify, there are different ways to problematise the unemployment among immigrants; if we see it as a problem of discrimination, the solution is different measures against discrimination, such as for example, anonymous job applications. If we instead see the problem as caused by unwillingness amongst immigrants to work and integrate, the solution of anonymous job applications seems absurd, and instead it seems more rational to reduce social benefits. In essence, problematisations create different solutions (policies) as well as different subject positions (discriminated/lazy immigrants). This also entails that the way an issue is problematised has very real effects for the groups involved (Bacchi 2012). Differences in problem representations should not necessarily be seen as a deliberate form of misrepresentation; instead the aim is to probe into 'unexamined assumptions and deep-seated conceptual logics within implicit problem representations' in order to understand their underlying logic and the power relations that permeate them (Bacchi 2012: 22).

Governing requires not only a problem to be solved, it also requires its experts and its specific types of knowledge. In the case of the visionary work, the expertise comprised civil servants and 'representatives of the business community and the University of Lund' (*Vision Malmö 2015,* The final report 1996: 6). The final report also states that no politicians were involved in the working groups or in the coordination (1996). The absence of politicians also indicates that the visionary work was not really understood as a 'political' project in the sense that different visions of the future were compared and discussed. Instead, the visionary work consisted of expert groups analysing how to best achieve the post-industrial city of knowledge. In essence, it was a visionary project where the visions

(of the post-industrial city of knowledge) were already determined, and the project primarily concerned the question of how to take this next step on the development ladder (Mukhtar-Landgren 2012).

In reality, an analysis of problem formulations is never so straightforward, instead different problem formulations are related, systematised and associated to each other through interpretations by the author. The problem formulations I have chosen to highlight in this analysis (i.e. the unity that has been lost with industrialism, and the risk that some people (groups) cannot keep up with the coming changes) could therefore perhaps more accurately be seen as two analytical categories, exemplified by quotes from the visionary work. In broader theoretical terms, I understand these two bodies of problem formulations as examples of public narratives produced by the city through the visionary work. Following Margret Somers, public narratives are 'those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations', as e.g. when '[g]overnment agencies tell us 'expert' stories about unemployment' (1994: 619). These expert stories, in this case produced by the civil servants, researchers and consultants, tell us of two problems in the city of Malmö during the transition years of the mid-1990s: thereby they also set the stage for the policy solutions that are desirable and necessary in the future. In this sense, urban narratives create an 'us' that are part of the vision and they discuss 'our' common problems and possibilities (cf. Throgmorton 2005: 126–128). For Somers, public narratives are contrasted against meta-narratives (Somers 1994). Meta-narratives are the '"master narratives" in which we are embedded', e.g. narratives of progress, liberalism and post-industrialism (1994: 619). Taken together, these narratives on different levels organise how we understand the city through stories, spaces and hierarchies (cf. Simonsen 2008: 146). In this paper, the transition (progress) from industrialism to post-industrialism is seen as a meta-narrative, and a backdrop to two problematisations/public narratives on diversity in the city. The analysis is also structured accordingly. First, the meta-narrative of progress is presented based on the example from Malmö. Thereafter, the two public narratives mentioned above are described and analysed in sections 2a and 2b.

2 The meta-narrative on the knowledge city

> The 'Rural Malmö' of the 1700's became the 'the commercial city of the 1800's', which in turn became the 'industrial city of Malmö' in the 1900s'. Now the city has become the 'Service and Knowledge City of Malmö' of the 21st century, with 350,000 inhabitants (*Vision Malmö 2015, The final report* 1996: 7).

In the quote above, humanity is perceived of as constantly progressing, and it is moving according to a single line of development from one stage to another. This creates an image of a 'common trajectory along which all societies move' – from a rural society to an industrial society to a knowledge society (Sztompka 1993: 26; Koselleck 2002: 229f). In this narrative, a societal pattern appears – some countries are perceived as leading the development, and others follow or are falling behind (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1952/1999: 24; Nisbet 171, 174–77). This is inherently an Eurocentric way of understanding progress – as a force emanating from the West and spreading to the Rest (Escobar 1995). The perceived underdeveloped are, therefore, also central in understandings of progress and development, after all – in order for some countries (and groups) to be developed and civilised, others must be perceived as uncivilised and falling behind (cf. Dirlik 2002; Dussel 1993). Malmö's visionary work, and the ambitions to find a plan for the future, were initiated and understood precisely in this intersection between the 'old' industrial city and the 'new' city of knowledge. So even though the backdrop to the visionary work was the economic crisis, it is clear that the crisis was perceived as a temporary break with an ongoing process of progress. There was an image that Malmö was in a transitory phase – society was moving on to the next stage of development and the issue at hand was how to keep up with this development. Progress has often been perceived in this way in an urban context, as a largely auto dynamic and 'natural' development in cumulative stages or steps (cf. Sztompka 1999: 28; Koselleck 2002: 225). The image that a new city was about to replace the old one was consistently the point of departure in the visionary plans, and for several working groups, it also constituted the uncontested point of departure:

> In the mid-1990s there was a very lively discussion in Sweden and elsewhere about the importance of higher education: *Everyone agreed* that we were heading into a new society (*Vision Malmö 2015, The education vision* 1996: 16, italics added)

Progress in the shape of the city of knowledge was perceived to be just around the corner; it was unavoidable and necessary. In this regard, progress is not only seen as a necessity, it is also seen as an inherently auto-dynamic development, driven almost without human intervention (Koselleck 2002: 219; cf. Sztompka 1999: 28). In the material, this is described in terms of 'historical leaps' and 'the arising' of a new era (*Vision Malmö 2015, "Malmö 2015" [fictive journal]* 1996: 7). This image of progress as something that merely 'happens' in/to the city has also come to influence the modern conception of urban planning: In his account of the conceptual history of progress, Reinhart Koselleck argues that 'progress comes with a perceived need for planning' (2002: 231). In other words, when progress 'occurs' in cities, it must be managed and dealt with. As stated in the visionary work: '[m]ost people realized that the opportunities will not automatically lead to progress. It would require active measures' (*Vision Malmö 2015, 'Malmö 2015' [fictive journal]* 1996: 42). Here there has been progress and it needs to be met with planning in order to be utilised and beneficial for the city (Mukhtar-Landgren 2012).

In sum, it was within the frame of the meta-narrative of progress and a society-in-transition that the visionary work was produced. The meta-narrative was that of crisis and hope simultaneously, and therefore the mourning of a society lost (the industrial city) went hand in hand with the anticipation of the society emerging (the post-industrial city of knowledge). So how were diversity and multiculturalism understood in this context of crises, progress and urban development? In the two sections below, two public narratives (centred on problematisations) are presented.

2a. The public narrative on the unity lost in transition

> The lack of a clear and coherent identity in Malmö is striking. If any, it is very closely associated with the recession and the problems associated with the shipbuilding and industrial city (*Visions for Malmö 2000* Proposal to the Executive committee 1995-02-06, appendix, pp. 1–2).

The image of Sweden as a culturally homogenous country has traditionally characterised the debates on multiculturalism in Sweden (Eliassi 2006: 251). This is also clear in the understanding of the homogeneous industrial or working class city described in the

visionary work, where the old, strong and proud industrial city is often highlighted:

> Malmö was previously and throughout the entire 80s, proud and confident; a prosperous industrial and commercial city. Then most everything went to hell and the grief over the loss of basic industries continued until the late 90's (*Vision Malmö 2015, The urban planning vision* 1995/1996).

In their analysis of multicultural cities, Gösta Arvastson and Tim Butler note that the Scandinavian countries often understand multiculturalism in relation to a dominating culture, or 'host culture'. This is expressed in rhetorical figures such as the importance of 'welcoming them' and the importance of 'opening' (in contrast to 'closing') our doors. The same metaphor can be used to criticise the immigrants who are 'ungrateful', unwilling to 'adapt' or who are 'taking advantage of our hospitality' (2006:12). Here we find a clear narrative division between those that were here 'first' and those 'coming today and staying tomorrow', to echo Georg Simmel's definition of the 'urban stranger' (Simmel 1908/1981: 139). This narrative of the old, ethnically homogenous, industrial city is recurrent in the visionary documents, and in relation to the loss of the industrial city, a number of problem formulations are defined:

> To pin down the main characteristics of Malmö – or Malmö's soul – in just a few words, is difficult. One part of the overall objective [with the visionary work] is to give Malmö a clearer identity. Everyone living in the city should be able to proudly, and with the "same" words, describe their city (*Visions for Malmö 2000* Proposal to the Executive committee 1995-02-06 appendix, p. 2).

> Malmö's identity has become unclear. It was easier when Malmö was an industrial city. We have to accept that there is no new, strong and dominant identity. Malmö is a city in transition. Many different tendencies of change exist in parallel here. Malmö has become parti-coloured instead of its old industrial grey tones (*Vision Malmö 2015, the urban planning vision* 1995/1996: 9).

Here two different understandings are outlined: on the one hand, the importance of trying to regain a homogenous ('the same') identity and the other is the notion of lack of clarity. Instead of seeing the multicultural city as a new identity, it is seen as a lack of identity. Further, immigration is perceived of causing a lack of unity not only by its form, but also by its presence, as indicated in the *social vision* where '[i]mmigration contributes to the on-going fragmentation of the city' (*Vision Malmö 2015, Malmö – a social vision* 1996: 30).

But this image of multicultural Malmö is not uncontested; in the vision from the working group on culture, the authors state that the identity of the city is somehow still the same, despite recent challenges and changes.

> In it [the multicultural] lie great opportunities. Malmö is Malmö, everyone that has ever set foot in the city knows that. The identity is not threatened. Despite the gathering of about 160 nationalities and 60 languages, the city's appearance and tempo strangely enough remain the same (*Vision Malmö 2015, The culture vision* 1996: 66).

This opens up for very different interpretations of what multicultural diversity is and what it does to the city. The two quotes below, from the visionary work, further illustrate the difference:

> How do the people of Malmö feel about their city […] Malmö is a diverse and open city, and many have pointed out that there is room for different lifestyles and ideals here. There is not one dominating group, instead a lot of different opinions, cultural expressions and styles fit in here (*Vision Malmö 2015, the urban planning vision* 1995/1996: 8).

> The questions are important because we can never create a completely new identity for Malmö. No, we can only develop and reinforce the character traits that are already there (*Vision Malmö 2015, Urban planning vision* 1995/1996: 8).

The first quotation indicates a heterogeneous city without a dominating group, in which all urbanites are essentially different from each other. This is a classical understanding of the city as a place where all are different from one another, or in the words of Aristotle '[a] city is composed of different kind of men' (cited in Badersten 2002: 174). The second quote points to a limit, the city is not completely heterogeneous, the inhabitants of Malmö do have some common traits, and these characteristics cannot change. According to Simmel, there is a distinction here. Everyone in the city are strangers to each other, but some are stranger than others. For Simmer, the urban stranger is not a traveller (that 'comes today and leaves tomorrow'). Instead he is a person that 'comes today and stays tomorrow' (Simmel 1908/1981: 139). This means that his position is determined by the fact that he was not there from the start, and consequently he is in possession of qualities that do not originate from here (1908/1981: 139). This opens up for another type of stranger, one who is perceived not only as an individual, but also as a stranger of a particular (group specific) type (Simmel 1908: 144). Today, we recognise this notion of diversity in the narrative of immigrants being able to add something specific and unique to the city, a narrative also prevalent in the visionary work, as indicated in the material: 'Malmö has the opportunity to become the Nordic city that best utilizes the unique skills and knowledge that immigrants possess' (municipal executive committee, meeting in June 1995).

> In 2010, multicultural Malmö is the city that best takes advantage of immigrants' special skills and competencies, and releases all the energy and creativity that immigrants possess (*Vision Malmö 2015, Malmö – city of development [The business vision]* 1995/1996: 10).

In the quotations above, people are considered to be different from each other in particular and specific ways. The community members have certain skills, and those that come from outside the community have other 'unique' skills. Each 'group' has something unique to contribute with; and their characteristics can be converted into something valuable, something that is different from that which is already there (cf. Pripp 2006). But it important to note that, regardless of whether multiculturalism and diversity is framed as a threat or an opportunity, the narrative of the immigrant-as-asset places the immigrant outside the city – as it is precisely the position outside that gives the immigrant his/her 'unique' traits and makes possible his/her contribution. As we can see, problem formulations or problematisations did not necessarily concern diversity per se, but rather it was the perceived loss of unity that was seen as problematic:

> It is not just that the former unifying forces have largely disappeared; the forces that individualize the population are

> probably dominating the city instead (*Vision Malmö 2015, Malmö – a social vision* 1996: 30).

Albeit, in this case, specifically related to multiculturalism and the post-industrial city, these problematisations are actually, in the words of Manuel Castells (2007) 'one of the oldest debates in urban sociology' and concern the perceived loss of community in the face of rapid changes (2007: 73). Early urban scholars such as such as Georg Simmel (1903) and Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) described increasing individualism and lack of unity as a core characteristic of the growing industrial cities some hundred years ago. For Leonie Sandercock (1998), this way of understanding the urban brought with it the sentiment that cities were lacking something fundamental. For her, this image of the industrial city as a 'community lost' has been fundamental for cities and for planning theory, and as a result, the quest to re-establish the sense of community and unity has gained almost a 'semi-religious aura' in planning theory (Sandercock 1998: 190; cf. Sennett 1970: 32). Today the loss of community is related to the decline of industrialism as well as the growing immigration to the city: In a chain of associations, it is no longer industrialism but instead immigration that has led to 'fragmentation', a lack of 'unifying forces' and the problems facing the city in economic terms: where the old Malmö was unified, proud and prosperous, the new Malmö is heterogeneous, fragmented and in crisis. But there is a perception that this can be solved, either by the formulation of a new identity (or re-affirmation of the old), or by utilising the immigrants' unique skills to boost the economy. In planning practice, this can be described as two different narratives on the multicultural city: on the one hand, the pursuit of 'cultural unity' with various methods to preserve identities and assimilate immigrants, and, on the other hand, a city based on an ideal of 'social and cultural complexity' (cf. Pripp 2006: 214).

2b *The public narrative on the importance of keeping up with the development (and the failure of some groups to do so)*

> The high levels of unemployment have become permanent. Eastern Malmö is a slum town. It is also there, in the rambling maze of railroads and highway ramps, that we find most of the people that the 'development' does not need (*Vision Malmö 2015, "Malmö 2015" [fictive journal]* 1996: 4).

As mentioned above, the visionary work was conducted in the intersection between the industrial crisis and the rise of the knowledge city. It reflects despair in relation to the society lost, as well as a strong belief in the future. As indicated, the image of the society to come was relatively clear; it was framed and understood as a knowledge society, with an emphasis on the creative industries. The city needed to adapt to this new society, and to keep up in order not to be left behind. In the visionary documents, hope was placed in the people that could contribute to progress in this regard, described in the *business vision* as 'groups of creative people that work with events and experiences' and 'gifted entrepreneurs within the experience industry' (1995/1996: 7). But at the same time as the hope for the future was strong, there was a belief that these processes of progress were not going to be all-encompassing. A number of problematisations, similar to the one found under the heading (2b) above, concerned the people who were unable to keep up with the development and with the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. In several instances, the concern is specifically related to immigrants and their inabilities in this regard:

> But the transition to the new labour market also has a downside. Some people will be excluded simply because they do not have time to acquire new knowledge. Others, such as e.g. immigrants, are excluded because they may never enter the labour force. The risk is that these two groups will be separated and isolated from society (*Signs, trends – and a new era? Consultant report* 1995: 2).

As the quotes above indicate, changes during this time take on both a spatial and a temporal expression. And in this sense, the descriptions of Malmö draw on broader narratives of post-industrial cities as 'dual cities' during the mid-1990s. The narrative of the dual city is perhaps one of the most classical themes in urban history – even Plato talked of 'two cities', one for the rich and one for the poor (Hamnet 2001:162). Today the gaps between urban residents can on take different expressions, but they generally refer to economic disparity in incomes and life choices with a growing gap between the well-educated middle class, and a diverse group of marginalised residents, which not only includes refugees and immigrants, but also the long-term sick, the long-term unemployed, the homeless and those who fall outside the social safety net (Andersen and van Kempen 2003: 78; cf. Johansson and Khakee 2005: 41). In the problem formulations presented in the visionary work, differences are quite often formulated in temporal metaphors, e.g. in the *Culture vision:* '[m]ore and more people are excluded, because they cannot keep up with the development' (1996: 11). Here attention is directed towards the urbanites whom the 'development does not need'. These temporal metaphors relate to the nature of the post-industrial city as rapidly progressing and developing from one stage to another. But as mentioned earlier, differences between the developed and the undeveloped did not only take on temporal expressions: they were also translated in differences between peoples and groups. Here the post-colonial literature has illustrated how concepts such as not only 'developed' but also 'civilised' are created in relation to the non-Western during industrialism, where spatial and temporal narratives of progress reinforced each other (see e.g. McEachrane 2001: 96). Where the Europeans were described as leading the development forward, they were simultaneously being contrasted against the image of the primitive and uncivilised non-Europeans that had to follow in their footsteps, and would eventually 'catch up' (Lander 2002: 246; Sibley 1999: chap. 4). Even if this narrative of leaders and followers is prevalent as a problematisation in the visionary work, the dominating public narrative, as indicated not only above but also in the quote below, is that immigrants might experience difficulties in 'catching up':

> Unemployment among certain groups, particularly immigrants, is higher than amongst the general population. Some of these will not even enter the work force but are for ever excluded from an established and orderly social life (*Vision Malmö 2015: The final report* 1996: 20).

In these particular problematisations or public narratives, immigrants are separated from narratives of progress and post-industrialism. While the 'creative class' is associated with progress and development, immigrants are associated with problems.

3 Conclusions: Discourses of progress and problems in the post-industrial city

> Malmö of today is the growth centre of an urban region, a university city, a city with many cultures, a city which attracts. But Malmö is also a city in which many feel insecure and where inhabitants take a sceptical attitude towards the future. At the same time as the large and 'safe' industries disappeared, large groups of immigrants moved into the city and the number of unemployed increased. Malmö is threatened by increasing social gaps, increased exclusion and open antagonism between different social and ethnic groups (*City of Malmö – a diversity of encounters and opportunities within Europe* 2003: 7).

The quote above is from 2003 and is part of an information brochure produced by the municipality. This paper starts eight years earlier, in the intersection between crisis and progress that was the mid-1990s in Malmö. Based on the argument that problem formulations are a form of governing that enables or constrains politics and subject positions, I have analysed how this narrative of progress has affected problematisations on diversity during this time.

Two problematisations were formulated in public narratives in relation to diversity. On the one hand, the demise of the perceived homogeneity and unity of the old industrial city. Here a very clear subject position was created and used as a point of departure: the proud working class or industrial worker of the former industrial city. This person, and the homogeneity and unity that (he) stood for, were lost with the demise of industrialism. As a result, the problem was formulated as a lack, something that had characterised the city, but that was now lost. But this is not the only subject position and problematisation created. Heterogeneity and immigration were also seen as part of the de-stabilising factors in the city, and therefore immigrants had the subject position of a threat against unity: not because of something that they did, but because of something that they were. Understanding the urban as something that used-to-be united opens up to and legitimises claims of returning to the former prosperous homogeneous city to the past. It also makes it easy to associate homogeneity with prosperity, and even to see homogeneity as a prerequisite for the former success of the industrial city (regardless of the truth of the claim that such a homogenous city had formerly existed). The policy solutions made possible by such problematisations go beyond the scope of this paper, but problem formulations open up for a range of seemingly 'reasonable' solutions ranging from measures aiming at preventing heterogeneity by limiting immigration, to a range of different planning endeavours in order to 'cope with' diversity in the city.

The second public narrative described in the paper concerns the people unable to keep up with the rapid pace of development. In this narrative, groups are differentiated through temporal metaphors where some (the creative class?) are leading the development, and others are falling behind or unable to contribute or even keep up. The subject positions created here are, on the one hand, the progressive, creative and contributing subject, and, on the other hand, the subject that cannot keep up, associated with problems and backwardness. In a wider perspective, not included in this paper, one can see how the juxtaposition of temporal and spatial metaphors create an image of the 'civilised' and developed groups that develop the city, whereas the 'uncivilised', immoral and unemployed are considered unable to contribute. In this aspect, the exclusion of immigrants is two-fold: (i) by not being included in articulations of progress (either in the past or in the future), and (ii) by being associated with articulations of problems such as exclusion and unemployment. In short, the separate discourses of progress and problems reinforce and strengthen each other, as well as cement and fix the duality of the city.

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Notes

1. Original language: Swedish (unless otherwise stated, all quotes are translated from Swedish to English by the author).
2. Bacchi's framework consists of three additional questions not applied here: (4) What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought of differently? (5) What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'? (6) How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced? (Bacchi 2012: 21).

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