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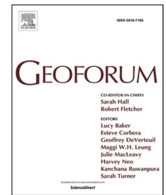

'It just didn't really happen': The lived space of entrepreneurial urbanism in Ørestad, Copenhagen

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the lived space of entrepreneurial urbanism in Ørestad, a 1990s mega-project still under development on the edge of Copenhagen. Drawing upon in-depth interviews, interactive map-making and critical discourse analysis, it shows that imaginaries of urban competition, place branding and cosmopolitanism have only superficially been internalized by residents as part of their lived space in Ørestad, even revealing contradictory everyday practices and experiences. Rather than the cosmopolitan metropole and connected city space it was conceived to become, the district is experienced as a disconnected housing satellite without much street life, as a stepping stone to something better by reducing home to exchange value, and as an area with a community based in opposition. A sense of place identity and place attachment does exist for many Ørestaders but it is born out of 'do-it-yourself mentality' and reaction to a sense of ephemerality. The lived space of entrepreneurial urbanism in Ørestad can only partly be understood by what the district is, but much more by what it is not – i.e. by what it lacks from the perspective of its residents.

1. Introduction

Urban governance is increasingly entrepreneurial, manifested in the production of mega-projects and architectural landmarks, reflected in processes of gentrification, commercialization and reimagation (Harvey, 1989; Vanolo, 2008; Rolnik, 2013; Spierings, 2013). However, there is no one entrepreneurial urbanism, as it is an expression of neoliberalization, a variegated, multi-scalar and continually evolving process (Brenner et al., 2010; Peck et al., 2013). Ørestad, a contemporary mega-project under development, is a prominent expression of the city of Copenhagen participating in a global move towards entrepreneurial urbanism, including a focus on Large Urban Developments (LUDs) (Harvey, 1989; Rolnik, 2013; Richner & Olesen 2019; Eizenberg 2019). Albeit destined to house around 25.000 people, it was not primarily imagined as a housing district. It should rather be understood as a tool to gain an upper hand in an inter-spatial competition for international capital, consumers and an educated workforce. Like other LUDs, it was seen as a means to address public deficits through foreign investments (Ioannou et al., 2019). The previously undeveloped area is today characterized by large office buildings, modern housing complexes, a mega-mall and a sports stadium. The Ørestad project is strikingly different from the rest of the city, not just in scale but also in regards to how it is financed, the styles in architecture and its political rationale (Majoor, 2015).

By virtue of its novelty in the Danish context, the project received much attention for its role in the shift towards entrepreneurial urbanism. From a planning and governance perspective, it has been scrutinized regarding its financial structure and project management (Jørgensen & Majoor, 2006; Book et al., 2010; Majoor, 2015; Bruns-Berentelg et al., 2020) and the political context that it sprung out of (Bayliss, 2007; Majoor, 2008; Knowles, 2012; Andersen & Hovgaard, 2016; Niitamo, 2020). However, the perspective of Ørestad's residents as a space to live has so far remained neglected in the debate. In general, academic studies on how residents engage with redevelopment projects and identify with related imaginaries are sparse – if available these mostly focus on the perspective of tourists or other 'outsiders' (Mazanti & Pløger, 2003; Young et al., 2006; Insch & Walters, 2017). This is all the more surprising when considering that the perspective of residents is essential for developing an understanding of, and successfully intervening in, the production and reproduction of urban space. More specifically, it is by means of a variety of practices and experiences during everyday life that people can develop place attachment and place identities (Hidalgo &

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Hernández, 2001; Devine-Wright, 2013; Sebastien, 2020). Grand redevelopment projects risk failing in living up to the plans when people move in – instead resulting in 'image-reality gaps' (Paddison, 1993) when place-person relationships contradict marketed visions.

For the analysis of place-person relationships in Ørestad, this article takes inspiration from Lalli's urban identity scale (1992) to empirically analyse and pierce into how residents make sense of space and participate in (re)producing imaginaries of urban competition, place branding and cosmopolitanism. However, this operationalization does not furnish us with the theoretical devices needed to grasp the complexity of space as a product of ideology, history and power. Additionally, therefore, the (re)production of space is understood and approached in this article through the lens of the Lefebvrian spatial trialectics (Lefebvre, 1991). This article explores how Ørestad is conceived in policy discourses of the municipality of Copenhagen and through public-private marketing of the project. Most importantly, it investigates if and to what extent these representations are internalized or rejected, partially or fully by the residents in their lived space. In so doing, the aim is to analyse the place-person relationships of 'Ørestaders', by unraveling if and how their lived space is (in)consistent with and contradicts assumptions, motives and values underlying Ørestad as a tool in the production of entrepreneurial urbanism.

2. The entrepreneurial city, lived space and place-person relationships

2.1. The entrepreneurial city and its residents

Examples of entrepreneurial urban governance are to be found across the globe (Phelps & Miao, 2020), not least in Denmark and Copenhagen (Andersen, 2003; Jørgensen & Majoor, 2006; Andersen & Hovgaard, 2016; Richner & Olesen, 2019). Reacting to a logic of inter-urban competition for an imagined limited pool of knowledge and capital, the machinery of local government has shifted focus – from primarily servicing its population, to attracting capital, tourists and consumers (Harvey, 1989). In order to do this, cities increasingly reconfigure their efforts towards place branding practices – engaging in 'place wars' (Haider, 1992).

Place branding has become a practice beyond simply promoting cities and is now integral to contemporary urban planning and development processes with the aim to turn the city into a destination (Paddison, 1993; Boland, 2008; 2013; Lucarelli, 2018; Giovanardi et al., 2018) pinpointing an urban pattern that can be seen across the global North. Intensifying inter-urban competition pushes city branding practices to produce images and symbols that are increasingly disconnected from how space is experienced by local residents (Boland, 2013). As a result, local residents risk being reduced to "an urban service proletariat [that] helps to subsidise the production of spectacle and simulations" (Gotham, 2002, p. 1754), with the main aim to attract external investment and consumption capital. For LUDs, capital extraction is privileged "over urban planning and urban design principles, compromising the city and the wellbeing of urban citizens" (Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019, p. 44).

Despite these findings, academic studies paying serious attention to the perspective of residents and the ways in which they identify and engage with entrepreneurial ideals and images are scarce. Insch and Walters (2017) recently illuminated this lack of research by exploring the experience of citizens by highlighting the focus on tourists. Young et al. (2006) also underscored the focus on target audiences in the image-construction of cities, noting that "very little of this research has directly studied how residents consume or relate to this imagery" (p. 1692). Existing studies show that residents often play little or no role in place branding practices and related development processes. Polanska and Richard (2019), for instance, show how "lived experiences […] are systematically being excluded" from the debate on how urban space is changing under urban entrepreneurialism. In a Danish context, Mazanti and Pløger (2003) showed that the lived space and experience of residents "has been virtually ignored" (p. 326). Specifically for LUDs, Niitamo (2020) shows that citizen perspectives and their lived experiences are often ignored leaving "no space for deliberation of alternatives" – deprioritised in favour of speedy development processes (p. 14).

2.2. Lived space and place branding

Branded images, lived experiences and their physical manifestations should not be analysed independently, because they continuously influence and reproduce one another. In teasing out this complex interplay, the Lefebvre (1991) spatial trialectics is particularly useful – as it encourages us to recognize the indivisible nature of the (re)production of space where all constituent parts – i.e. the conceived, lived and perceived – are ever-present (Merrifield, 2013). Conceived space reflects ideas on how space should be used and by whom, often finding expression in policy documents, master plans and visualisations (Leary, 2009). Lived space is where inhabitants are and express themselves, space "felt more than thought" (Merrifield, 2013, p. 110). Perceived space is the world in which life takes place – everyday routines and rhythms in and of the city (Leary, 2009). This holistic understanding of the (re)production of space assists in making clear how locally embedded expressions and adaptations of entrepreneurialism urbanism influence lived experiences of residents, without theoretically isolating it from the processes of neoliberalization (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck et al., 2013).

When residents identify with representations of an imagined and branded 'ideal city,' it may affect their cognitive and emotional attitudes towards the city, strengthening a particular urban identity (Félonneau, 2004). Place branding, however, often fail to fundamentally change how the city is identified with and lived as it is comprised of shallow "highly selective and sanitised" images directed outwards to compete for international capital, tourists and consumers (Boland, 2008, p. 366; Insch & Walters, 2017). In this context, Young et al. (2006) articulated how the branding of cosmopolitan city imaginaries selectively promotes certain lifestyles and consumption behaviors – the conceived and branded cosmopolitan identity was only shallowly internalized and reproduced by residents. According to Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005), the reason for place branding often failing to affect is because it is ignorant of how people sense cities. Place branding is informed by a faulted understanding that "people encounter places through perceptions and images" (p. 507) – i.e. representations of space – whereas for branding to become successful the aim should be to create ways in which people live space - i.e. "sense, understand, use and connect to the place" (p. 509).

However, images packaged and used in place branding entail simplifications and when used for entrepreneurial purposes risk that lived space is being "domesticated to the point of obfuscating the most critical aspects of urban life" (Paganoni, 2012, p. 26). Producing such simplified and idealized images of the city can result in 'image-reality gaps' (Paddison, 1993) or 'misrepresentations' (Boland, 2013). This implies that residents might not identify with the branding (Compte-Pujol et al. (2018), because the representations bear little resemblance to, and may even contradict how space is experienced by residents. When cities are reimagined and redeveloped to attract affluent consumers and tourists, the projected images can strongly differ from the daily practices and experiences of residents. Moreover, the developed projects may not address their social reality and underlying problems (Häussermann & Colomb, 2003; Rabbiosi 2015). Residents may experience a decreased liveability when, for example, local stores start catering for tourists instead of providing daily goods and services. This is often accompanied by a loss in residents' sense of belonging and may culminate in resentment and protests against the place branding and development (Novy & Colomb, 2017; Paredes-Rodriguez & Spierings, 2020).

To analyse residents' lived space, and pierce into potential contradictions with and resentments against representations of space, place

identity as a conceptualization of place-person relationships is helpful. The concept can be used as a way to understand how people through their everyday practices and experiences make sense of space and the extent to which they internalize and participate in (re)producing images of it.

2.3. Place-person relationships and urban identity

Several concepts have been used to describe relationships between people and place, associated with various theoretical, epistemological and methodological approaches. These concepts include, for instance, sense of community, spatial attachment and place identity (for a more exhaustive summary see Sebastien, 2020). Place identity can be understood as (socially constructed and perpetually contested) relationships of certain habits, rules and norms related to spaces of multidimensional scales (Lefebvre, 1991; Swyngedouw, 1997; Jones, 1998). It involves a dialectical process (Hummon, 1986) where, for instance, being a 'city person' both grasps the identity of the person expressing it and simultaneously renders the city space into a canvas for the socio-cultural identity of that person. Its dynamic and often contested nature is pointed to by Devine-Wright (2013) describing place identity as a subjective expression of place ownership that can provoke local opposition, a kind of place-protective action, when neighbourhood development or demolition is imminent, thus threatening place identity (Devine-Wright, 2013). Proshansky et al. (1983) added that place identity can be seen as a prolongation of personal identity. Radical changes to place could, therefore, be psychologically experienced as a challenge for and danger to one's self-identity.

To analyse place-person relationships as socially constructed, subjective and psychological, Sebastien (2020) suggests that a pluralistic approach would be most appropriate. Our inquiry does that by taking inspiration from Lefebvre (1991) and integrating it with Marco Lalli's (1992) urban identity scale (UIS). Building on social and environmental psychological theory, the scale was developed to conceptualise "urban-related identity and identification" (Lalli, 1992, p. 285) and intended to exemplify how to construct place and scale-appropriate operationalizations when researching place identity. The structure of the UIS consists of five generally formulated thematic categories describing different aspects of processes of (re)producing and experiencing place identity – evaluation, attachment, continuity, familiarity and commitment.

External *evaluation* involves residents comparing one's place to other places, potentially perceiving uniqueness, special character but also sameness. It may include experiencing that one's neighborhood has advantages over others, for instance, in terms of evaluations of the quality of the built environment and public space but also of the quality of consumer services (Fleury-Bahi et al., 2008; Degen & Rose, 2012). General *attachment* is about a sense of belonging and home, feelings that may become more pronounced with time (Fleury-Bahi et al., 2008). It may, for instance, be expressed in notions of considering oneself 'being a Copenhagener'. *Continuity* with personal history "collects the significance of the urban environment for the sense of subjective temporal continuity" (Lalli, 1992, p. 294). It ties and intertwines personal biographies as well as people's memories and experiences of interactions with family, friends, neighbors and others, with a physical place (Iossifova, 2015). Perceived *familiarity* may follow from daily practices in and experiences with place and involves both a cognitive and an affective component (Szytniewski et al., 2017). It may be expressed in notions such as feeling knowledgeable and/or comfortable when walking through one's neighborhood. *Commitment* to stay signals residents' perceiving the importance of a place for their personal future. It involves a sense of responsibility for the future development of a place because of strong personal ties with that place (Lalli, 1992). Residents may, for instance, not want to leave their neighbourhood despite, or due to, social and physical problems in the area but rather invest in ameliorating the situation and overcoming the problems.

3. Research design and methodology

The methodologies combined in this study are in-depth interviewing, interactive map-making and critical discourse analysis. In-depth interviewing was deemed to be a useful method for the purpose of gaining insight into the lived space of Ørestad, involving residents' perceptions, feelings and experiences (Hennink et al., 2010). The general content and structure of the interviews were derived from the theoretical framework of this paper combined with a critical discourse analysis of policy documents related to Ørestad.

Empirically approaching place-person relationships by building on a structure of predefined spatial boundaries of a district or neighborhood risks the reproduction of non-representative representations of space. It also ignores the fluid and multidimensional, perpetually contested and redefined, nature of such relationships (Lalli, 1992; Swyngedouw, 1997; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). This problem was confronted during the in-depth interviews by encouraging participants to themselves determine the boundaries of the space to which they identify in Ørestad. Participants were asked to draw the boundaries on a digital map with a dynamic scale. This offered them a tool to interactively define and discuss Ørestad in multi-semiotic ways and provide "conversation points for further discussion" (Gieseking, 2013, p. 716) on overlap and clash between representations of space and lived space. The maps were then analysed by using GIS software to make apparent how the participants perceive the boundaries of Ørestad and the extent to which these perceptions overlap with official representations.

Participants were recruited primarily through an invitation published in dedicated communities on Facebook, in total organizing about 7.300 of around 13.000 Ørestad residents in 2019. The invitation was published on two occasions, one in August of 2018 and one adjusted version aimed at under-represented groups in October the same year. This method recruited 14 participants and another 5, not aware of the published invitation, were recruited through the snowball technique. This method granted an influence over the composition of the participants and resulted in a diverse sample with respect to gender, age, length of residence, home ownership versus rental and occupation. Eligibility was determined on being aged 18 or over and being a resident of Ørestad when the interview took place. Of the 19 participants, 8 were men and 11 women, and the ages varied from 22 to 70 years. The length of residency spanned from 3 months to 9 years, averaging 3 years and 10 months. Six out of 19 participants rented their apartments, the rest owned theirs. Two participants were unemployed, four students and two retirees. The rest were involved in paid labor, with positions ranging from airport security personnel, journalist or assistant professor to communications consultant, lawyer or medical secretary.

The interviews and map-making were conducted in an ethically responsible manner where participation was voluntary and identities were masked. They were conducted in locations chosen by the participants to make participation easy and comfortable. Recordings from the interviews were fully transcribed and coded thematically using deductive and inductive approaches. Quotes taken from the transcripts were translated from Danish to English when applicable. The 19 in-depth interviews combined with interactive map-making were of high quality and provided us with rich and detailed insights into the lived space of entrepreneurial urbanism in Ørestad.

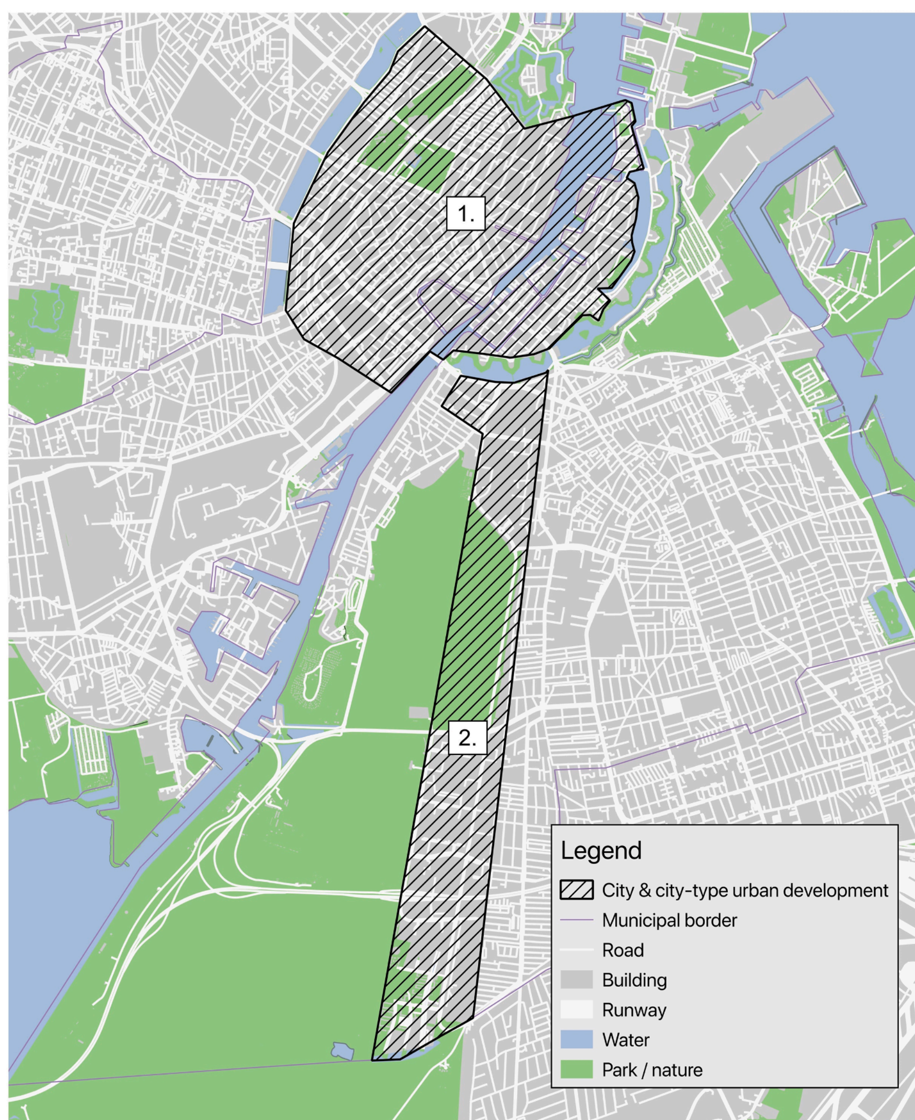
The critical discourse analysis of the representations of space of Ørestad was inspired by Fairclough (2013). In so being, we recognized a dialectical relationship between discourse and 'object', understood (but not exclusively) as "persons, power relations and institutions, which are interconnected elements in social activity or praxis" (p. 3). The primary material for this analysis was found in planning documents produced by the municipality of Copenhagen, secondarily in commercial and public advertising and to a lesser degree in secondary material found in empirical studies analyzing Ørestad. The main focus of this analysis was laid on The Municipal Plan, a multi-semiotic product published by the municipality of Copenhagen every four years. It is both an ideological

statement of direction signed by the Mayor as well as a practical planning tool outlining ongoing and upcoming projects and investments. The content of these documents gives detailed accounts of the policy aims, goals and tools of the local and national government. Quotes taken from the material were translated from Danish to English when needed. All discursive content relating to Ørestad was categorized and analyzed in relation to the material from the in-depth interviews and interactive map-making and vice versa.

4. Ørestad: Competition, detachment, financialization and community

4.1. The strongest card in the competition

Providing housing for its citizens has for the past century been a central goal of the Danish welfare state, first being actualized on a grand scale in the post-war period (Larsen & Lund Hansen, 2015). Copenhagen received its contemporary structure with the Finger Plan of 1948, which organized urban development into radial ’fingers’ extending outward from the city center along railway tracks. The plan’s intention was to make green spaces more accessible throughout the growing city, preventing urban sprawl and, guided by ideas of de-concentration, allowing for the establishment of secondary centers along the ‘fingers’. Although



Centre structure

Copenhagen historical city centre (1.) and Ørestad (2.) defined as "The "City" and city-type urban development" (Municipal Corporation, & Københavns Kommune, 1993, p. 63)

Contains data from Styrelsen for dataforsyning og effektivisering and the member-organisations of Open Data DK "Oversigtskort", Teknik- og Miljøforvaltningen, Københavns Kommune, January 2019, ‘‘Vejmidte_brudt (med vejnavne)”, January 2019, ‘‘Kommunegrænser 2007, 1:10.000”, January 2019, ‘‘FOT-Kort10”, January 2019.

Fig. 1. Ørestad as prolongation of city center Map showing Copenhagen’s historical city center as well as Ørestad, defined as city-type urban development in the municipal plan of 1993.

the plan is generally seen as a success, the external secondary centers failed to become the intended hubs for workplaces and social life, but "have mainly become shopping centres" and peripheral housing districts (Hartoft-Nielsen, 2007, p. 85).

In 1963 Ørestad was destined to be developed for social housing, plans that were scrapped following the oil crisis a decade later (Andersen & Hovgaard, 2016). Up until then the population of Copenhagen had been growing, but during the period between 1975 and 1990 characterized by industrial restructuring and suburbanization, it first stagnated, then declined. The population soon thereafter proceeded to grow in the 1990s, but 15 years of population and industrial decline laid the ground for a shift in urban governance (Hartoft-Nielsen, 2007; Andersen & Winther, 2010). The shift came with the 1989 Regional Plan and a "new style of political leadership under a new Social Democratic Lord Mayor", steering policies in the city towards urban renewal, increasing private real estate ownership aimed at the middle class, increased urban density and a focus on creating a better 'business climate' (Hartoft-Nielsen, 2007, p. 65; Andersen & Winther, 2010). The city started looking outward and urban governance became increasingly entrepreneurial, focusing on inter-urban competition. It was stated that: "It is the opinion of the Government that in the future we should see Danish regional development in an international perspective. […] so that Denmark does not end up as a "fringe area" in the international context" (Municipal Corporation & Københavns Kommune, 1993, p. 76).

Ørestad is reintroduced in 1993, this time presented as a cosmopolitan center in a future, singular urban community of "city-type urban development," offering high concentrations of services and lively shopping streets (Municipal Corporation & Københavns Kommune, 1993, p. 62). The undertaking of this mega-project, creating an international business annex to the city – mainly intended for business (60%) and to a lesser degree service (20%) and housing (20%) –, was seen as a tool in the effort to counteract economic stagnation, negative population growth and industrial decline (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995; Jørgensen & Majoor, 2006; Andersen & Hovgaard, 2016). Ørestad was imagined as a modern prolongation of the inner city space, stretching from the historical city center outward along a future metro line (see Fig. 1) (Majoor, 2008; Majoor, 2015) that was to be financed by the sale of land in the new district (Bruns-Berentelg, et al., 2020).

The project itself was described as a tool to 'restore' Copenhagen to a state of being "the major centre in a metropolis around Øresund" (Municipal Corporation & Københavns Kommune, 1993, p. 5), with Ørestad as "the strongest card that Copenhagen wields in the international competition for new investments and new workplaces" (Københavns Kommune, 1997, p. 58). In addition to this, Ørestad embodies the plan of producing space for export, building a Danish brand with the purpose of selling Denmark and goods and services labelled Danish. The Ministry of Culture could not have made this goal clearer when writing in their Architectural Policy that a good brand "will undoubtedly have substantial derived effects in the form of increased exports of other Danish construction consultancy services, Danish construction materials and Danish designs such as windows, insulation, thermostats, pumps, furniture and lighting" (Ministry of Culture, 2007, p. 40).

The central area in the developing district was named Ørestad Down Town (see Fig. 2), an Anglicism encapsulating the entrepreneurial turn and making apparent the strive for a cosmopolitan identity. This was manifestly captured in a promotional video produced by a private developer. It features images of smiling people in a dense modern environment where work and play have no borders, a space of "culture and culinary experiences as we best know them from London and New York" (NCC, n.d.). The viewer is taken through the architect Daniel Libeskind's office in New York City and is told that "the whole team behind Ørestad Downtown have been inspired both locally and globally. From the 24-hour pulsating heartbeat of New York to beautiful piazzas in Rome, the funky restaurants of Berlin to small tavernas by the Mediterranean. From the hectic Los Angeles and nightlife of California to the relaxed and hyggelige [cosy] Copenhagen" (NCC, n.d.). This discourse, that could be described as a commodified "narrow cosmopolitanism"

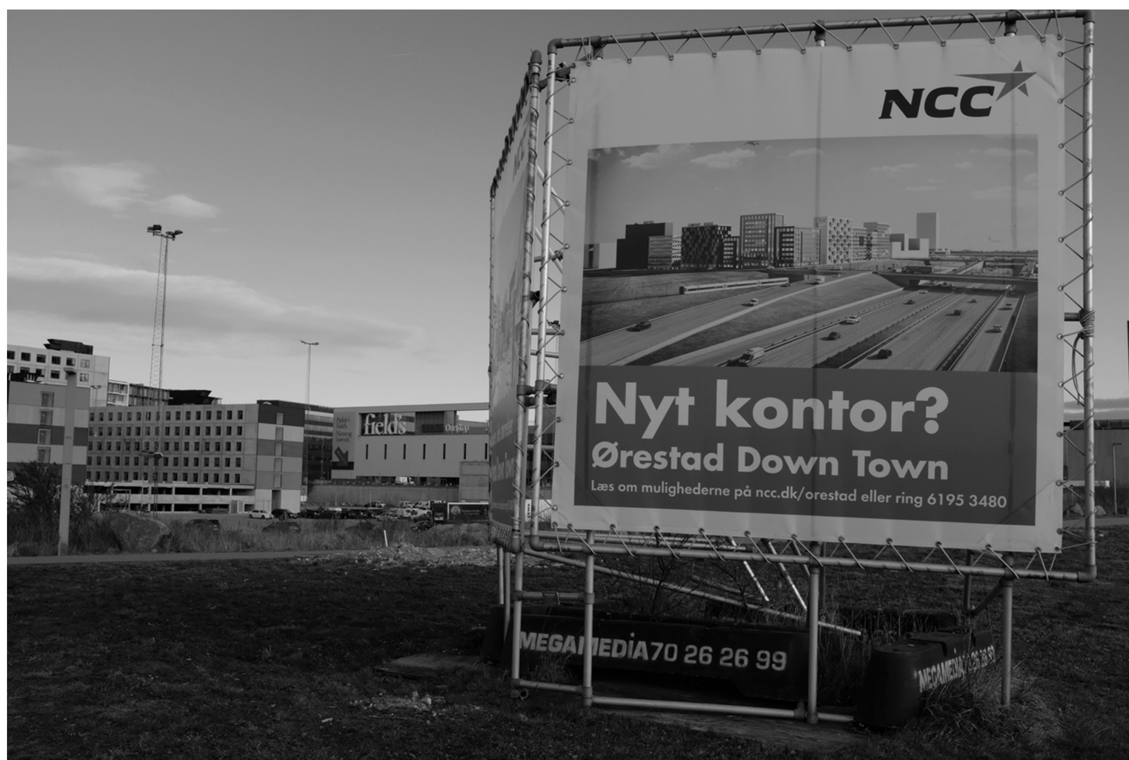


Fig. 2. Advertisement for offices in 'Ørestad Down Town' in fall 2018, photography by the author Photograph rendered in black and white showing a billboard advertising new offices in 'Ørestad Down Town'

where a selective, commercially promising set of city characteristics are promoted as "cosmopolitan" (Young, et al., 2006, p. 1698), is not restricted to private sector advertisement, but frames and runs through the municipal rhetoric dating as far back as 1993. This not only illuminates the role of place branding as an advertising tool for developers but also how it has become a practice central to contemporary planning and development by municipalities – blurring the lines between public and private (Paddison, 1993; Boland, 2008; Lucarelli, 2018; Giovanardi et al., 2018).

Libeskind's prominence in the Ørestad project faded as Denmark's own starchitect Bjarke Ingels' office BIG designed three landmark buildings early on in the development. The VM Houses were finished in 2006, the Mountain Dwellings in 2008 and the 8 House in 2010 – all standing out in Copenhagen for their 'international style' (Majoor, 2008). When the last of these buildings was completed, it was heralded as the "largest private development ever undertaken" and described by its architects as a "three-dimensional neighborhood rather than an architectural object" (Minner, 2010). The large 8 House was awarded the World Architecture Festival's 'housing winner awards' a year after being finished by a jury motivating their decision by describing the building as "…an exemplar project. It combines retail, commercial row houses and apartments in untraditional ways, and its elevated street provides a new level of social engagement" (World Architecture Festival, 2011). Beyond the unusual architecture in the district, other features make it stand out. The district now boasts the mega-mall Field's and a sports stadium and instead of street level parking which is standard in the city, the development company By & Havn have constructed underground garages all across Ørestad. This has resulted in parking fees being ten times higher there than in the rest of the city, all the while a larger share of the inhabitants of Ørestad have a car – 39 percent as compared to 29 for Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune, 2016; TV2 Lorry, 2017). Since 2004 the population of Ørestad swelled from 100 to 7.418 in 2012 and 21.400 in 2020 (By & Havn, n.d.).

4.2. Internalization and detachment

Residents of Ørestad who participated in this study expressed little overall awareness of either the way their district is imagined in the municipal plans, or how it is being branded, but some residents did mention concepts such as 'entrepreneurial' and 'cosmopolitan'. One, for instance, said that "the residents are replaced pretty fast out here. It's kinda cosmopolitan out here I think. There are a lot of nationalities" (man, 57–6 months). Residents sometimes parrot entrepreneurial ideals as being part of what it means to be living in Ørestad but are simultaneously not able to connect these to what they experience and how they live their day-to-day lives. One said that despite the way it is being branded, Ørestad is "not very mixed at all […] people are very homogeneous" (woman, 61–7 years). Another resident made the observation that "it's built to be a residential area and a business area […] definitely not [for] someone who cares about having lots of specialty stores coffee places and lively streets […] It's not like in Paris where everything is the same. It's a bit boring because it's not so lively here" (man, 57–6 months).

Some residents show a willingness to embrace and internalize the entrepreneurial concepts, but when doing so it results in a "narrow cosmopolitanism" (Young, et al., 2006). For example, the relation between cosmopolitanism and Ørestad is most often formulated in referral to office workers of various nationalities going between hotel, office and airport, Italian engineers associated with the metro-construction or eastern European construction workers. This 'cosmopolitanism,' as experienced by residents, obviously does not carry the same meanings and values as the earlier-mentioned promotional video, with its idealized concept of a borderless, globalized, consumption-centered set of aesthetics and lifestyle. This could be interpreted as residents trying to merge the representations of the district with what they experience in their everyday life. However, it involves an image-reality gap due to the narrow perception of cosmopolitanism.

To highlight contradictions inherent to the entrepreneurial cosmopolitan city and the actual embracing of difference and the cultural other, Young et al. (2006) quote Keohane (2002) in saying that "city centres have been reproduced as safe zones for tourism and downtown lifestyles […] they are homogenized spaces, sanitized gilded cages […] from which possibility of encounter with other forms of life has been all but eliminated" (Keohane, 2002, in Young et al., 2006). They proceed with arguing that the homogenization of space for the outside onlooker - e.g. international investors, tourists or 'rivalling' local governments - is what the cosmopolitan outlooking entrepreneurial city is, a homogenization of spatial practices branded as suitable for international capital and 'knowledge workers' in a narrative of competitiveness. Some residents do recognize this in Ørestad, acknowledging the regular tours of visiting architects, politicians and students from around the world. While residents themselves often perceive clashes between their expectations and the actual lived experiences of the district, the supposed awe of 'policy tourists' (Ward, 2011) creates a sense of confusion for some. The supposed positive view held by the 'outside onlookers' are in these cases sometimes called upon as authoritative, complicating residents' experiences. When asked about the quality of the architecture in the district, for instance, one resident said that "the construction work that is going on right now, […] it's pure junk […] I want to remove half of the buildings". As the first sign of confusion, he continued by saying that "we have a lot of tourists out here staring […] I'd ask them what they think". Taking into account the perception of onlookers, including of 'experts' that have "come from Japan and China to see it" (man, 70–8 years), the resident questions his own assessment. In doing so, he reveals the feeling that Ørestad was developed for people to visit it, rather than for residents to live in it - indicating an image-reality gap. The real audience are the outsiders, and it is their experience of the space that seems to matter.

Another contradiction between the district as represented and its lived experience is revealed when residents are prompted to define the borders and scale of Ørestad on a map (see Fig. 3). Not only is Ørestad experienced as detached from the rest of the city, manifesting the failed attempt of creating a unified 'center' integrated as a cosmopolitan heart of the Copenhagen metropolis, but many resident definitions also include only a small part of the built-up area, outweighed by including parts of the surrounding nature area. This shows how predefined representations of space, including its spatial demarcation, risks obscuring space as it is lived and identified with by residents. It substantiates the claim by Lalli (1992) that place identity seldom is formed in relation to space as represented in municipal plans. Moreover, it supports the argument by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) that definitions of place identity need to focus less on predefined spatial categories, such as neighbourhood, and focus more on social attachment and individual variations. Nevertheless, some residents do still express identification with the entirety of Ørestad - indicated by the overlap between the two maps in Fig. 3. Developing such identification with an 'ideal space', as represented in the discourse of the municipality and developers, may increase acceptance of contradictions between the representations of space and the lived space of the resident (Félonneau, 2004).

The inconsistency in the image of Ørestad with the way that it is lived and experienced by inhabitants become most evident when looking at its external evaluation (Lalli, 1992) - i.e. how the character of the district is described by comparing with other places or spatial identities as categories. Almost all inhabitants characterize the district as something in between countryside and city. The term suburb [forstad] is used by some and different versions of 'small town' or 'village' are also usual metaphors uttered during the interviews. Explaining how life there is experienced as a detached suburb, one resident said that "you get home from work, now I'm off, and if you want something I go out and I find that someplace else […]. Living. Working. Time off. Segmented or fragmented" (man, 57 years – 5 months). Some have a harder time characterizing Ørestad by saying that "it is kind of a province, a bit outside of

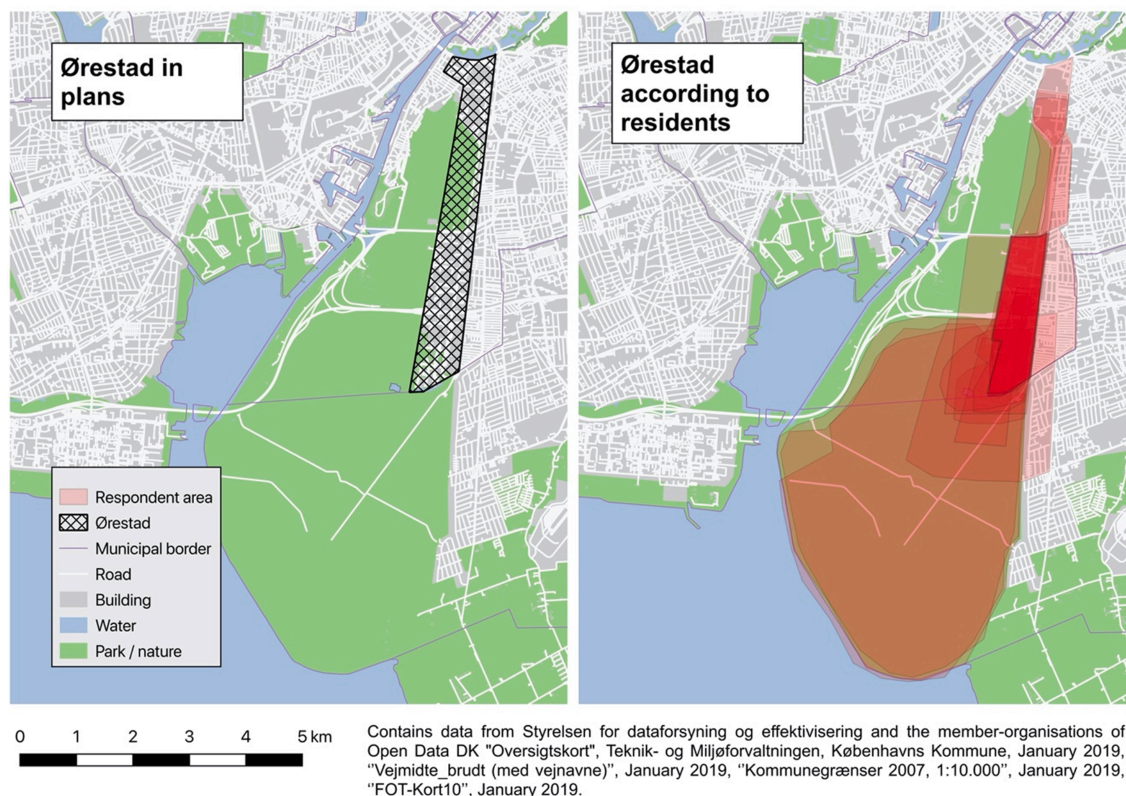


Fig. 3. 'Ørestad' as existing in municipal plans vs. as defined by residents Map showing both Ørestad as it is defined in the municipal plans as well as how Ørestad is perceived by its residents resulting from the map-making exercise conducted with respondents for this study.

Copenhagen, almost like it's its own city" (man, 23–2,5 years) or "it's kind of a provincial town even though it's close to Copenhagen" (man, 50–9 years).

Regardless of the experiences of residents, in 2009 the municipality described Ørestad as being "well on its way of becoming a modern counterpart of the old center of Copenhagen" (Københavns Kommune, 2010, p. 3). The perspective of residents, however, seeing Ørestad as not integrated, but, detached, not central, but, peripheral, not urban, but, townlike, pinpoints an image reality gap - as the representations of space bear little resemblance to the social realities of lived space. Moreover, the disconnection between the space of Ørestad and Copenhagen is not confined to resident experiences. When asked to give an account of Ørestad as perceived by friends, family or other non-residents, interviewees gave a fairly consistent account of a windswept, eerie place dominated by large concrete buildings dotted along large straight roads void of street life. Common words being used to describe how the district is experienced are 'cold', 'barren' or as one participant put it "it has this reputation in the rest of Copenhagen I guess, of being a bit of a ghost town and being very windy, and not having any life and lots of concrete" (man, 39–1,5 years).

4.3. *Stepping stone, financialization and lost utopia*

While almost all residents do express a sense of feeling at home in the private space of their residence, most admit to not spending much time in the public space of Ørestad besides taking walks in Fælleden – the extensive nature area neighboring the district – or accompanying their children to a playground. These everyday activity patterns correspond with the way in which residents define Ørestad spatially, by including the nature area and only a limited area around their place of residence (see Fig. 3). Not spending much time in the public space of the district, for many residents implies that an important characteristic of place attachment is missing, namely maintaining closeness to space (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). In fact, residents' experiences of living in Ørestad are characterized by a sense of 'ephemerality' or 'transition', not only in everyday life where the district is described as being a transport route to work, service or leisure elsewhere, but also when it comes to a life-path perspective - i.e. the district as a stepping stone to something 'better'.

These everyday practices and lived experiences can have negative effects on the development of place-person relationships as they impair feelings of belonging to or experiences of familiarity in space (Szytniewski et al., 2017). This is certainly the case for the propensity to maintain closeness to Ørestad, show commitment to stay in the district and feel responsible for its future development (Lalli, 1992; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). One of the residents described this with saying that "they lived in the city center, they moved to Ørestad as a stepping stone and then they move further away" (woman, 33–5 years). Other residents affirm the sense of transition by referring to the proliferation of for-sale-signs and the high residential turnover: "If you look at the buildings around here, there are a huge amount of for-sale-signs. The mobility is very high, people buy and move in, sell and move out. There is something transient about it, that there is a high degree of renewal" (man, 50–9 years). Another resident explained his experience of the district being in transition by pointing at international investors speculatively buying apartments only to rent them out: "I think about a third of the apartments are bought by someone who lives somewhere else, Spain or the US, and they rent them out to Italians or Chinese people. There's a lot of movement, there's a lot of, there's always new people moving in" (man, 70–8 years).

Even though the picture is more complex than what the resident gives an expression for, his experience is corroborated by the fact that 83 percent of all investments in Copenhagen's housing market are made by foreign investors (DR, 2019). The high turnover of Ørestad's residents has also been repeatedly pointed out, it was observed already in 2010, summarized in an interview with a senior researcher at the State Building Research Institute who said that "the people in Ørestad are

people that are on the move, meaning that they move out quickly again. For a period they managed to fill the apartments up, but now people are moving away and at the same time it's difficult to fill them again. There are many empty apartments" (Ugebrevet A4, 2010, p., 20-1). This problem remains, as one in eight large apartments are chronically empty (Finans, 2019) and for some of the newest units that "even though the housing is popular, there has already been a turnover of residents" (Ørestad Avis, 2020).

The high residential turnover creates a sense of rootlessness, making several residents feel that creating meaningful relationships with neighbors is hard because of the probability of them suddenly moving. One person explained that "there is an element of rootlessness because [there is] a relatively high degree of foreigners but also an element of people living here for relatively short periods of time" (man, 50–9 years). For some, the negative experience of the limited development of affective bonds results in respondents expressing intentions to leave the district themselves as well. The rootlessness as experienced in Ørestad, of foreigners in particular, is indicative of a rejection of not only 'cosmopolitanism' as it manifests in the entrepreneurial city, but also a critique of the commodification and financialization of housing there. Interestingly, several residents internalized this commodification and financialization while simultaneously participating in a reproduction of branded images that conflict with their lived experiences. One resident, for instance, said that "this place just has it all. It has both the city close by, you have the mall, the metro, and Fælleden" but later saying "I think there are a lot of things lacking in the area, before I can feel that this is home […] we made the purchase because it's a good base for a retirement when you get older […] you could call it a pension savings account" (woman, 29 years – 1,5 years).

Residents have come to think of themselves as investors with financial stakes being tied to promoting and changing the image of the district, thus acting in what they perceive to be their own economic interests. When describing the typical Ørestader one resident said that "[we] care a lot about apartments and the housing market and valuations [and] people are a bit fascinated by that it is a place where you can earn a lot of money from your apartment" (man 50 years – 9 years). This makes abundantly clear a shift of value ascribed to housing from home and use value, to real estate and exchange value fueled by expectations of ever-growing value, as described by Marcuse and Madden (2016). One of the residents summarized this, when critiquing the speculative buying and sub-letting of apartments in Ørestad, and the high rents resulting from this with saying that the district "does seem to be a stepping stone" (woman, 49 years – 3 months) to something and somewhere better.

The first residents were attracted to settle in the district because it was branded as a spectacular project, a modern city district with a distinct identity and spectacular architecture. These original images are cause for reminiscence amongst the early settlers. Almost all of them mentioned the buildings the 8 House, VM Houses and the Mountain Dwellings as iconic landmarks imbued with a sense of pride. As one resident put it: "for us living in Ørestad, in the 8 House, we feel that we are privileged, that we have something a bit special, because it is a special building that has been awarded prizes, international prizes, for the architect Bjarke Ingels, who is very famous" (woman, 69–6,5 years). The handful of unique buildings imagined by global architecture personas are used to superimpose a local place identity on Ørestad. However, what is seen as unique about and characteristic of the district is in fact expressions of a "repetitive and serial reproduction" of a global style in architecture imagined by a small pool of architects circulating internationally, yet another ironic contradiction comes to light (Harvey, 1989). Nonetheless, the experience that Ørestad has something that other places lack in terms of the quality of the built environment and architecture, generates an expression of a positive external evaluation and sense of pride among residents (Lalli, 1992).

Nowadays, however, these images are experienced as long lost utopias. In comparing the initial iconic monument with the development that followed, many express disappointment. One resident, for instance, experienced having been tricked by what the area was supposed to become, with the newer development not fulfilling the promises of the grand vision. As he put it: "you've fooled a whole lot of residents, just look at that, all of those apartments are for sale, and that is because they had a view all the way to Roskilde, and then they build that black satan [pointing to building blocking his view], and that's simply a scam" (man, 70–8 years). This quote also hints to a common perception that the development at this stage is more noticeably driven by a profit incentive, resulting in densely packed box-like structures planned without much concern for street life, amenities or continuity - irrevocably soiling the sense that it was to be unique and visionary. One resident described his disappointment with the current development as follows:

"You lose a lot of those ambitions that you had in the start, that you get these iconic buildings in here. Everything shouldn't be iconic fantastic architecture, but you should be careful, keep it. Everything that is down there around the Ørestad station, there are a lot of these beautiful unique architectural things, but in a lot of other places they are, because they are under a time pressure, boom boom boom, they are getting lax when it comes to the requirements. I think that is the biggest threat. […] I think it's going too fast, and then it becomes too normal. It should be special. Most of it anyway." (man, 50–9 years)

4.4. *A community of lack and in opposition*

Residents experience a general sense of lack when it comes to Ørestad, contrasting the discourse of urbanity, abundance and cosmopolitanism exhibited in the branding of the district. This contrast accentuates the projects' inability to deliver and pinpoints an image-reality gap for residents. The sense of lack is oftentimes unambiguous and based on missing something concrete such as shops, schools and cafés while many residents also mention the lack of a 'city feeling', 'urban life' or just that there is 'something' missing in general. This reflects what Majerowitz & Allweil (2019) described as "the paradox of neoliberal housing development and its unfulfilled free-market promise of variety and multiple choice" (p. 44). A lack of choice and liveliness is most pronounced in the southern part of the district which is the most distant from the city and built around the prize-winning landmark 8 House, said to be providing new levels "of social engagement" (World Architecture Festival, 2011). In this part of the district which houses thousands of people, there has not yet opened a grocery store. For the residents this marks a stark contrast with other districts in Copenhagen where basic amenities are abundant, generating a negative external evaluation of Ørestad when it comes to daily consumer services and social street life – undermining positive place-person relationships (Lalli, 1992). As one resident put it:

"There are no grocery stores around. I mean, for seven years all the people that have been living around me have had to go to Field's [the mall] just to buy a litre of milk [but] I don't have other choices. I don't like commercial centres as such, because I think they end up totally dividing people. Even though it looks like a place where you can meet people, as a matter of fact this is not true because there are a lot of stores, and you go there because you have to buy something not because you want to meet people" (woman, 40–7 years).

Recently, however, a low price supermarket chain announced the intent of opening a branch in the area. For the residents, the prospect of a supermarket has been charged with a sense of hope that broader changes are imminent. This hope extends beyond imagining easier logistics in everyday life, but also to an idea that it will bring with it more of a sense of urban life to the area. For Ørestad at large, many residents experience a sense of lack due to the mega-mall Field's. It occupies an area of 65,000 m^2 on the land parcel that was intended to become the lively center in Ørestad Downtown (Københavns Kommune, 2006) (see Fig. 4-5). However, the "box-type shopping mall with a closed facade, fully oriented towards the shoppers inside" (Jørgensen & Majoor, 2006, p.,

Fig. 4–5. The mall, Field's, from different perspectives, fall of 2018, photography by the author. Two photographs rendered in black and white showing what the mall in Ørestad looks like from two different perspectives.

184) did not deliver on the promises of urbanity, culminating in a frustration among the residents, summarized by the exclamation "I want to bomb Field's!" (man, 70–8 years).

Another important issue of frustration, but also an important source for collective action and opposition, is the perceived injustice of Ørestad having ten times higher parking fees as compared to the rest of Copenhagen. One person explained as follows: "I think that's the biggest, the most annoying part of living out there [is that] you have to pay an unreasonable price to park. You don't get anything special, they aren't parking spots made out of gold or anything. Compared to the rest of Copenhagen, we have to pay as much per month as they pay per year" (woman, 33 years – 5 years). Almost all residents expressed strong and

diverging views regarding the parking fee issue, and regarding the related oppositional action of not parking cars in the paid underground garages but on the grass-covered road verges in the district as a protest. Residents who are in discontent with this behavior argue that it poses a threat to a certain order of things: “I think that this discipline [of parking cars in the underground garages] is important to keep alive, and if it starts to slide and people allow themselves to park their cars where they aren’t allowed to, or start living in a way that isn’t the proper way, that worries me a lot. So I’d rather just keep it as it is” (man, 50–9 years). This reflects what Devine-Wright (2013) described as place-protective action, following from residents experiencing a threat to place identity due to changes occurring.

Conversely, the oppositional action taken by some residents to change the way parking is operated can be seen as a commitment to the place in the future - as it reflects feelings of having responsibility for the future development of Ørestad (Lalli, 1992). In doing so, residents act on the experienced non-participatory planning and administration of the district, with the development corporation By & Havn that also administers the parking garages as a major symbol. Residents organize as a community to pressure the development company to not only curb illegal parking but also curb drivers exceeding the speed limit and loud visitors of the Ørestad sports arena. As one of the residents put it: “I know some people that regularly contact By & Havn. […] we have some people in our neighborhood, how to put this, have accepted the task of contacting them. To pressure them […] By & Havn, doesn’t seem that interested and the [sports] arena doesn’t seem that interested. And we the residents, get really annoyed” (man, 31–6 months). Even when they manage to get the attention of By & Havn, it usually is to no avail. As another resident explained by saying “we tried to stop things once, at the point we were getting signatures […] They said yes, yes, and then it did not happen. So…” (woman, 40–7 years). This outcome led to this person giving up hope of having any influence over the development of the district, a not uncommon sentiment among those interviewed. However, others still show commitment and anticipate future improvement. As one put it: “By & Havn was not so interested in consulting [the residents], they were interested in selling as much land as fast as possible, […] it could also be that once things have been built, then it’s no longer By & Havn that’s kind of in charge, it’s the municipality of Copenhagen, and they have a much larger responsibility to consult [the residents]. So it might actually be easier to get things done when By & Havn somehow is out of the picture. I don’t know if that’s more or less motivating, but that’s a reason to kind of, keep on going“ (man, 39–1,5 years).

The diverging perceptions and experiences on behavior and norms with respect to car parking and oppositional action reflect a certain sense of belonging but also illuminate how place identity is not static but is perpetually being contested and redefined. However, as just shown, such dynamics could solidify in undemocratic structures of what one resident described as a “tyranny of the active” where a “small group, [of] very resourceful people that are very well articulated and very capable” (man, 50–9 years) become self-proclaimed interpreters of the popular will. In a more positive light, active residents organizing themselves could be seen as an expression of a popular movement brought on by the sense of lack in Ørestad – also related with non-participatory planning and administration of the district. More specifically, a foundation for a ‘do it yourself’ mentality persists among the residents. One expressed it in discussing the lack of park maintenance: ”Why shouldn’t you organise and go down to the park and clean it up together? […] we had to do it ourselves, so we create communities around things we have to do, together, because there’s no one to call. There is no one.” (woman, 33–5 years). This mentality is epitomized in what many describe as a *nybyggårande*, a pioneer or settler spirit, bearing with it pride, confidence and sense of community expressed in common actions of opposition and in having to solve problems without outside help. Not having clear and predefined social structures and living with the sense of being left to their own devices has been a catalyst for engagement for many residents. This type of engagement has for some become what it means to be an Ørestader, a category expressing an identity and a sense of general attachment (Lalli, 1992). As one resident put it: “everybody is in the same boat so they say, I guess it’s like, a feeling of being a pioneer […] it’s been kind of Klondike out here” (man, 57 years – 6 months).

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the entrepreneurial imaginaries of urban competition, place branding and cosmopolitanism are only superficially internalized by residents in their lived space of Ørestad. ‘Over-signifying’ place identity with international allure and urbanity has resulted in residents’ everyday practices and experiences that are often contradictory to how the district is and has been represented – revealing several image-reality gaps (Paddison, 1993). Ørestad is practiced and experienced as a housing district, albeit detached from, instead of integrated to the city of Copenhagen. Rather than the cosmopolitan metropole it was conceived to become, it achieved the character of a suburb or satellite city without much street life. The district is seen as a feeder route to work and leisure in the city and beyond, instead of providing attractive and lively public spaces and dwellings. As a stepping stone to something ‘better’, it has reduced housing to real estate and exchange value, instead of home and use value. Ørestad has joined the external centers of the Finger Plan in becoming mainly a peripheral housing district, a shopping center and an investment opportunity.

The most pronounced negative factors for the experience of place identity in Ørestad are continuity with personal past and commitment with the place in the future (Lalli, 1992), with many residents having a transitional relationship to the district. The weak feelings of belonging that residents experience can be witnessed in the low “the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to” Ørestad (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001, p. 274) as many leave the district. Despite all this, for some residents, Ørestad still has become a space where they feel at home and find or build community as well as a space where they have developed a sense of place identity and place attachment. A noteworthy finding is that the most widely shared sense of community and place identity is based in opposition and born out of ‘do-it-yourself mentality’ – a strive to gain control over, and to be able to define and improve the conditions of everyday life. While some residents perceive Ørestad as having some advantages, most experience a sense of lack when comparing it to Copenhagen. As such, the lived space of Ørestad can only partly be understood by what the district is, but more by what it is not – what it lacks. It is more than likely that transition and opposition would not have gained such a central role in everyday practices and experiences of residents in Ørestad if they would have been provided with the promised services and urban qualities they came to expect.

For urban planning and governance, this stresses the need to go beyond the entrepreneurial paradigm and build cities guided by social, democratic and inclusive visions, not by neoliberal ideology shrouded in abstract goals of growth, knowledge and creativity. Ideally, urban planning and governance should produce housing districts that are decommodified and built to fulfil the use value of home, not provide tools to further the processes of financialization, and at the very least deliver promised basic services and urban qualities. If not, these redevelopment projects are exposed to the risk of reproducing, perhaps shrouded in a new language and imaginary, the same kinds of contradictions and contestations inherent to Ørestad – further entrenching the underlying structures of entrepreneurial urbanism.

To contribute to the debate on entrepreneurial urbanism and mega projects, this study focused on how inhabitants engage with development projects. Their place-person relationships were unraveled, the image-reality gaps they perceive in particular, by drawing on an analytical combination of Lalli’s urban identity scale and Lefebvre’s spatial trialectics. This analytical combination was highly informative. By embracing the complexity of space as a social process imbued with ideology and power, it indicates the extent to which residents participate in, internalize and oppose the (re)production of imaginaries

underlying mega projects. Acknowledging the contradictory and tension-laden place-person relationships that this helped illuminating – from the perspective of residents – is essential to develop a more comprehensive understanding of what the shift to entrepreneurial urbanism implies for the social production of space.

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