

COMPARING COMMUNITY OR MARKET-ORIENTED  
LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:  
THE ANGUS TECHNOPOLE (QUÉBEC, CANADA) AND LINDHOLMEN (SWEDEN)



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## Local economic development

As mentioned by Polèse and Pecqueur, local economic development is a popular concept, full of ambiguity, that has been considered almost as a magic formula to solution the regulation crisis where governments seem to be powerless. While Polèse cynically calls it «stunning marketing success» (1996:321), Pecqueur defines local development as ... «*a mobilization process leading to the elaboration of adaptation strategies to external constraints on the base of a collective link to a culture and a territory*» (1994:92). This is quite a vague definition; according to Polèse, these strategies are not really efficient because one confuses them with a specific local dynamism that can hardly be reproduced elsewhere.

Local development has been around for a long time but has expanded since the end of WW2, in reaction to market globalization whose impact is two-fold: industrialized countries lose the primary and secondary sectors jobs (natural resources and manufactures), transferred to countries where non-qualified workers are less expensive while tertiary sector jobs (services) become specialized (Vachon, 1993). In order for the enterprises and industries to stay competitive, workers are replaced by highly-skilled professionals; innovation becomes one of the main factors of competitiveness.

Faced with the recess of their industrial and working-class districts, cities can't escape the international competition. In order to keep jobs and skilled workers, two strategies are used simultaneously: gentrification of these districts located close to the core of the city (Clerval, 2005) and business clusters development to boost innovation practices, competitiveness and highly-skilled job creation (Pecqueur, 1994). These strategies support both “endogenous” local community development and “exogenous” local market development geared towards exports (De Lima, 2004).

## ***Endogenous local development***

*Endogenous approach: Theory stating that expansion of non basic activities (i.e. that depends on local demand) is responsible for economic regional development. (De Lima, 2004:264)*

In an endogenous vision of economic development, community development include priorities of wealth redistribution by using local forces to try to reverse local economic distress (Polèse, 1994:321). This development strategy combines job creation and support to entrepreneurship with housing, hygiene and safety improvement measures while also supporting marginalized people wishing to re-enter the job market. Instead of using incentives from outside, local community development counts on its own dynamic to improve basic life conditions in the hope that it will improve economic development, using social economy organizations and enterprises with population welfare's as their core mission, as business drivers for the community.

Communities can be helped by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as *Montreal's Local Economic Development Corporations* (CDÉC) or the *Community Development Corporations* (CDC) in the USA. The NGOs finance job creation but also improvements of basic quality of life elements for the population living in the burroughs where they are active (Fontan et al. 2003). Where a neo-liberal vision of economic development would use charity or volunteer's NGOs to take care of marginalized people (Browne, 2000), CDÉC and CDC encourage self-empowerment through financing social economy business growth and citizen's participation. In an endogenous vision of economic development, members of the civil society become main actors and social innovators. According to Québec's Ministry of Economic Development, Innovation and Exportation (MDÉIE), endogenous development is based on the initiatives of the local community, also called a *bottom-up approach* (Bellemare, 2006:14).

## ***Exogenous local development***

*Exogenous Approach : Theory stating that the expansion of basic activities (i.e. exports) is responsible for economic regional development. (De Lima, 204:265.)*

Based on the theory of *the invisible hand of the market* by XVIII<sup>th</sup> Century economist Adam Smith, local market economy is supported by a vision of innovation and competitiveness which usually exclude questions of social equity and environmental protection. According to the market-oriented theory specialists, integrating these issues in economic development would be counter-productive for enterprises, specially in a globalization context (Gendron, 2003). This opinion has been widely publicized by Nobel Prize recipient Milton Friedman's who, in the 70', wrote a pamphlet where he argued that enterprises should only be redeemable to shareholders: "*The Social Responsibility of Business is to increase its profits*" (Kopperi 2005;1). According to him, business people cannot take socially responsible initiatives because that could decrease the performance of the enterprise and thus be considered as a breach of contract towards shareholders:

For executives (or, indeed, owners) to use company resources to advance social goals (such as affirmative action in the workplace, social justice remuneration, and rigorous environmental constraints that exceed the requirements of positive law) would be for them to usurp the political function. (Barry, 2000:100)

According to Lucie Sauvé, head of the UQAM's Chair in environment-related education, this vision dominates the economic ideology of industrialized countries, at least those from the North hemisphere:

The economy – exogenous and domineering – is based on a developmentalist vision of the human journey. Believing that economy will solve all environmental and social problems, we then subscribe to a social evolutionism leading to the north-occidental model of society. (Sauvé, 2007:36)

In this context, the City's governing elite defends the importance of being part of the international competitiveness in order to support social development costs by a *trickle down* effect from wealth accumulation created by the market (Granberg et Von Sidow, 2005). The actions to promote cities at the international level aim at increasing profit and financial benefits linked to market economy; social development is a condition of economic success but the contrary is not necessarily true (Sokol, 2004).

Cities can become world-leaders if they can attract and retain highly-skilled professionals, very mobile, who can afford to live wherever they want and who will tend to choose safe and healthy vibrant burroughs in trendy cities. Thus the gentrification of working-class or ethnic districts (Clerval, 2004; Boschken, 2003) or the “celebration” of the local gay population as a symbol of tolerance, an important factor for the well-educated professionals (Bosckhen, 2003; Florida, 2001). According to Gagnon and Klein, «*a milieu which can guarantee a high quality of life is attractive from an economic but also from a social point of view, both for citizens and enterprises*» (1991:251). The economic development is turned towards the strengths of exports. According to Québec’s Ministry of Economic Development, Innovation and Exportation, (MDÉIE) exogenous development is based on exports, also called a *top-down approach* (Bellemare, 2006:14).

## ***Research question and hypothesis***

Both the endogenous local community economy and the exogenous “trickle-down” economy development have the same priorities: job creation in a well-functioning city. In endogenous development, local quality of life is a priority since improving basic conditions from people living in depressed parts of the city should have a beneficial effect on their reinsertion to the job market, thus creating a safer and more vibrant milieu. In exogenous development, local quality of life is important since social problems can be an important deterrent to attract or keep the highly-skilled professionals, their leaving becoming a threat to the competitiveness and innovation levels of local enterprises (Sölvell, Zander et Porter, 1999).

*The research question is thus to see if these two types of local economic development are similar, complementary or in opposition one to the other.*

Three main hypothesis can be stated:

- 1. The trickle-down effect is impossible to quantify or qualify.*
- 2. These economic development strategies give similar results but the local community development tends to include the marginalized population in its structures and in job creation.*
- 3. The economic and social development are closely linked, more specifically in innovation and positioning.*

To be able to answer the research question, the structure and the impact of two local development projects have been studied: Montreal’s Angus Urban Business Park in Québec (Canada) and Göteborg’s Lindholmen Science Park in Sweden.

## ***Case study and first-level analysis***

In Montreal, the Angus Urban Business Park is a local endogenous development initiative based on the local forces and aimed at solving local problems. In order to avoid the demolition of the Angus plant, a former train manufacture closely situated from downtown Montreal, but also to provide local jobs, a group of citizens have created a technopole whose main objective is to encourage entrepreneurship in the social and new economy sectors.

In Göteborg, Lindholmen Science Park has been built on a former industrial harbor site close to the city centre. The objective is to create an innovation centre with very highly-skilled jobs in order to compete at the international level, following the exogenous pattern turned towards exports. This initiative was deemed necessary because of the intense competition that the city, the multinational enterprises and the education centers are facing on the world scene.

Both Angus and Lindholmen are linked with major real estate developments aimed at middle and upper-class citizens.

The main elements of the analysis to determine if the two types of development are similar, different or in opposition are:

- Social and urban planning objectives
- Development type – vision and direction
- Role of the public, private and civil society actors
- Development Strategies (external and internal)
- Economic Elements
- Social Elements

**Table 1 Angus and Lindholmen characteristics**

	ANGUS	LINDHOLMEN
<b>OBJECTIVES:</b>		
<b>SOCIAL</b>	Local job creation and insertion	Local job creation (highly-skilled)
<b>URBAN PLANNING</b>	Gentrification and multiple types of uses	
<b>DEVELOPMENT TYPE</b>		
<b>VISION</b>	Community	Market
<b>DIRECTION</b>	Endogenous	Exogenous
<b>ROLE</b>		
<b>PUBLIC SECTOR</b>	Absent or opposing	Main owner and entrepreneur
<b>PRIVATE SECTOR</b>	Opposing/customer	Co-owner and entrepreneur
<b>CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR</b>	Main actor	Absent
<b>DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY</b>		
<b>EXTERNAL</b>	Networks and Partnerships	Local Elite
<b>INTERNAL</b>	Local leaders as board members	
<b>ECONOMIC ELEMENTS</b>		
<b>FINANCING</b>	Social economy/Real estate	Public-private (real estate)
<b>REAL ESTATE (RESIDENTIAL)</b>	Opposing	Complementary
<b>INNOVATION TYPE</b>	Social	Technology
<b>SOCIAL ELEMENTS</b>		
<b>DEMOCRATIC TYPE</b>	Participative (citizen-oriented)	Representative (elected)

While there are some similarities between the two projects, there are also important differences, one being its financial structure. While both parks are built of former industrial spaces, Angus is a social economy project financed by a worker's union investment fund without public or private ownership. Lindholmen belongs to a public-private consortium including the city, two local universities and many multinational companies.

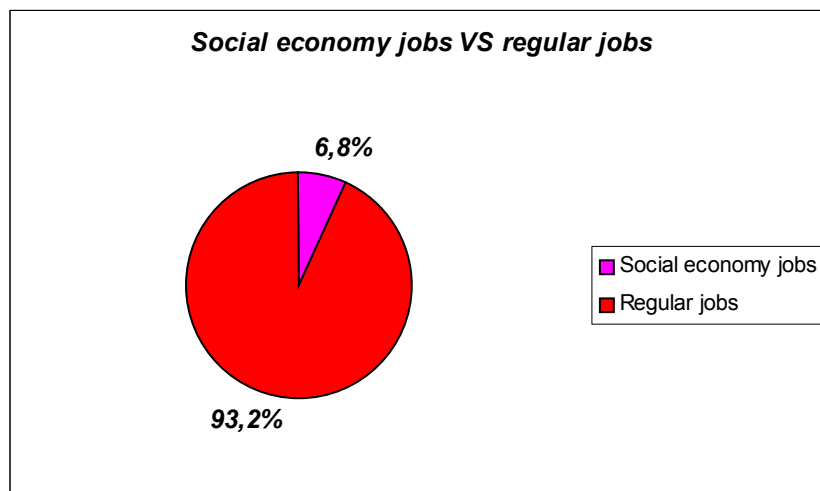
Angus, created locally to solve a unemployment crisis in Montreal is a local community project. It includes citizens' participation and its core mission includes concerns for the marginalized population. Social economy enterprises are located on the spot and each new step of the project development is voluntarily approved through a public consultation process. It is a typical endogenous structure such as defined by Vachon (1993)

On the other hand, Lindholmen doesn't include public consultation. According to Granberg and Von Sidow (2005), timing and the efficiency is very important for the city and the enterprises to stay competitive and the consequence which imposes a limit to citizens' participation (Granberg and Von Sidow, 2005).

## Main project goal: creation of local jobs

One of the projects' main objective is job creation for marginalized people in Angus and highly-skilled jobs in innovation clusters in Lindholmen. In Angus, the analysis shows that in fact, less than 10 % jobs are linked to social economy and this percentage depend on which enterprises are located on the premises. One of the reasons for this low percentage is the high cost to rent spaces, which makes it difficult for micro-business in social economy, whose main mission is not to be profitable, to afford the rent and thus tend to move out to rent cheaper spaces.

Figure 1 Ratio of job linked to social economy in Angus



In the Lindholmen project, available documents do not permit to see if the jobs are highly-qualified. But the Science Park's core mission being to develop innovation and international competition in the use of advanced IT and communication technologies, it can only means highly-skilled jobs:

The aim is to create increased innovation, international competitiveness and growth for the entire area. Lindholmen Science Park has brought together key players within automotive and transport, mobile communications and modern media technology. All have overlapping interests regarding the advanced use of information and communication technology.<sup>1</sup>

## The role of the public, private and civil society actors in the projects

The role of the public, private and civil society sectors differs greatly between Angus and Lindholmen: in the case of Angus, the city did not get involved in the project. It has only been a

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.lindholmen.se/ext/index\\_en.php](http://www.lindholmen.se/ext/index_en.php) consulté le 28 avril 07.

referee between the entrepreneurs of the social project and the Canadian Pacific, one of Montreal's biggest real estate company, who had wished to tear down the whole site for housing development purposes. To avoid the demolition, many public protests and numerous local actions occurred, including the election of a citizen as a municipal councillor. Instead of tearing it down, the Canadian Pacific has agreed to offer a buy-in option to the Angus Development Society (SDA), stating that a part of the site would be used for social economy projects managed by the SDA while they would keep the other part for real estate development.

The Angus Urban Business Park core mission includes concerns for civil society issues such as reinsertion of low-qualified workers through social economy NGOs on site. Workers and cooperative union funds (CSN and Desjardins) finance the project and profits are made with private enterprises renting offices and industrial space.

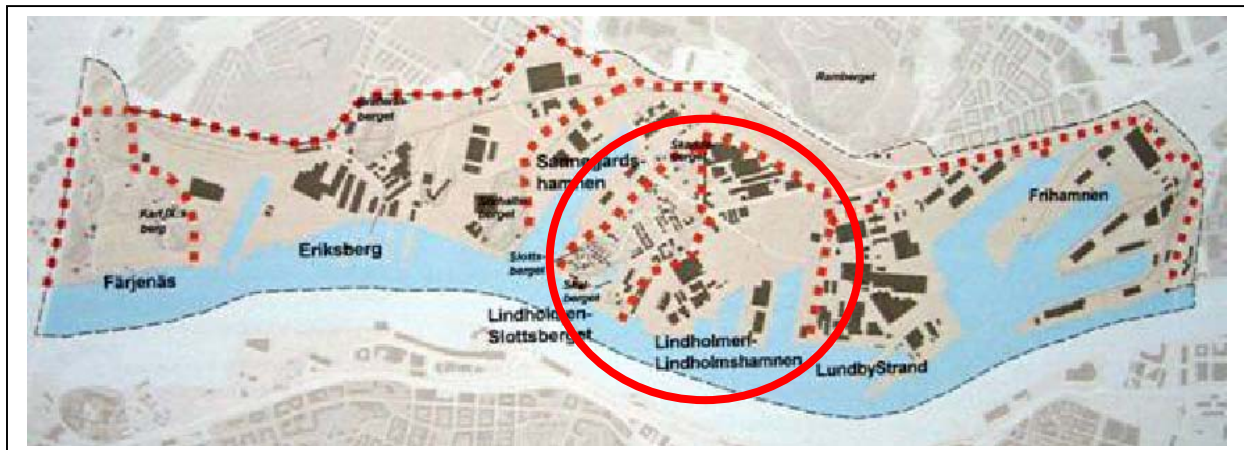
In Lindholmen, the public partner and owner of the land, the City of Göteborg, is the project's main entrepreneur. The private partners are co-entrepreneurs and profits comes from the sales of residential and commercial buildings attached to the site (see next section). The civil society does not play a role in the project.

### **Financing the project**

While up to recently, Angus was sole owner of the land and buildings, a proposal has recently been made to the population to sell the buildings to private actors while keeping ownership of the land. Social concerns must be included in the sales contracts to respect the integrity of the project.

Financing of Lindholmen is possible through profits from the residential, commercial and university development of the former industrial site. The Science Park is part of an important multi-use real estate development occurring on the Norra Älvstranden (North shore of the river Älv).

**Figure 2 Development of Norra Älvstranden, including Lindholmen**



Source: City of Göteborg Planning Department 2001

Many residential buildings and commercial spaces are being built around Lindholmen and sold back to the private sector; the profits are used to develop other sections on site. Lindholmen has access to city and national subsidies and benefits from investments from enterprises and universities.

In both Angus and Lindholmen, buildings are sold but not the land underneath, so as to keep it possible to retain control on the site development.

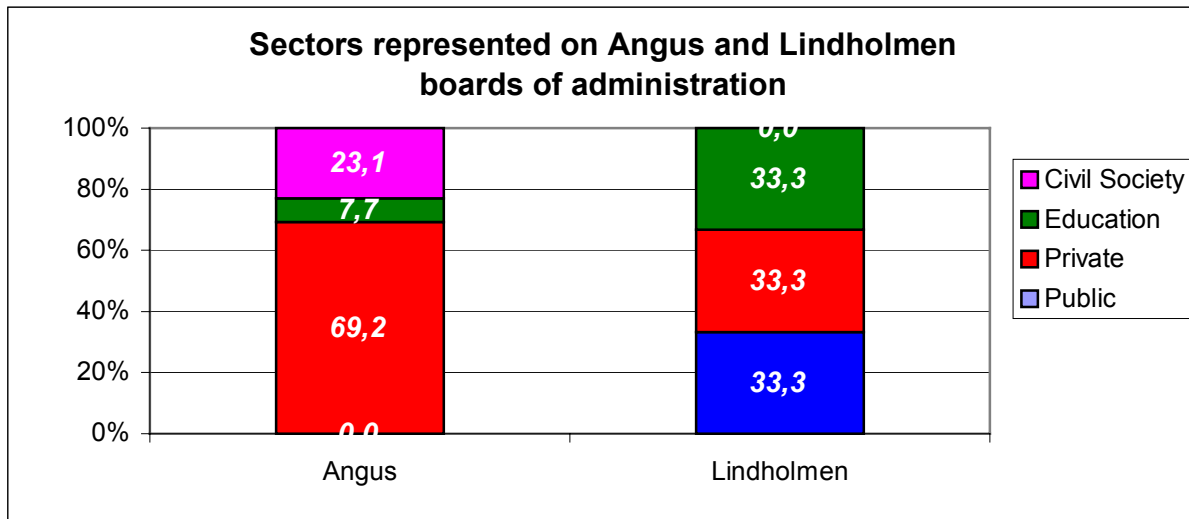
### **Local economic development**

Both Angus and Lindholmen developments are based on partnerships and local networks, a typical element of the strategy of local economic development (Gagnon and Klein, 1991). Both projects are strongly imbedded in the local culture, in a specific place, with a specific group and period, which are other elements defining local economic development (Vachon, 1993).

### **Administrative structure**

In both cases, the board administration is made of the local elite in order to use business and political networks and create strategic partnerships with academic or private partners. A short analysis of the administrative boards shows that there are more people representing the private sector in Angus, a social economy project, than in Lindholmen, where the board is evenly split between the public, the academic and the private sectors. In Angus, the public sector is not represented and the civil society is represented only through economic NGOs; in Lindholmen, no member of the civil society is represented.

**Figure 3 Ratio of sectors represented on Angus and Lindholmen boards**



Although social economy is dominated by women and market economy by men, there is no gender equality in either of the administrative boards of Angus and Lindholmen. On the board of Angus, there are 4 women and 9 men (30/70 % ratio) and on Lindholmen's board, there are 2 women and 10 men (15/85 % ratio). The information related to the job creation is not gendered either.

### **Participative or representative democracy**

Angus is based on a model of participative democracy while Lindholmen is based on a model of representative democracy. With the Angus project, the Société de développement Angus (SDA) is responsible for the project management and no citizen sits at the administrative board. Nonetheless, even though new developments of the project are first discussed and approved by the board, there is a process of public consultation where the population can express its concerns or approval towards the proposals. But since the public consultation is only at the end of the process, the public opinion has a lesser impact than if citizens were part of the whole process from the beginning. The type of democracy could then be qualified as a mix of participative and representative rather than only participative.

Lindholmen is managed under representative democracy. The citizens are not included at all in discussions. The administrative board manages a city company, the Norra Älvstranden Development Corporation, in collaboration with Business Region Göteborg, another city company that belongs to 13 municipalities including Göteborg. Granberg et Von Sidow (2005) denounce this type of municipal management, arguing that this structure forbids civil society and

citizens to propose alternative development strategies, that could for example include the protection of environmental or patrimonial sites. According to the authors, this vision of economic growth with *trickle down* effects on social issues undermine the importance of debating projects with civil society. At best, it's a *pretend democracy* that creates management transparency problems which lead to long-term legitimacy problems.

Angus and Lindholmen are managed with two different core missions but that doesn't mean that they are in opposition, thus the need to validate the hypothesis leading to answer the research question.

### **Validation of the research question and the hypothesis**

In order to validate the research question, which is to see if both vision of local economic development are similar, complementary or opposite, a comparison table has been built (table 2.)

**Table 2 Similarities, complementary or opposite approach between Angus and Lindholmen**

	ANGUS	LINDHOLMEN
<b>SIMILARITIES</b>		
PROJECTS GROWN FROM THE LOCAL COMMUNITY	Yes	Yes
BOARD ADMINISTRATION MEMBERS	Yes	Yes
LOCAL NETWORK AND PARTNERSHIPS	Yes	Yes
NEW USES OF A FORMER INDUSTRIAL ZONE	Yes	Yes
JOB CREATION	Yes	Yes
<b>COMPLEMENTARITY</b>		
WEALTH DISTRIBUTION	n.a.	n.a.
DEVELOPMENT OF INNOVATION	Yes	Yes
<b>OPPOSITE APPROACH</b>		
PUBLIC CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION	Some	Absent
INSERTION OF MARGINALIZED POPULATION	Some	Absent
REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY	Some	Yes
TRANSPARENCY AND LEGITIMITY	Yes	Some

While both projects have similarities, it is more difficult to assess if they are complementary or in opposition, which is quite fundamental when dealing with local economy development questions. This situation is partly due to the fact that the actors that work in endogenous and exogenous are not the same.

The first hypothesis about the fact that *trickle down effect* of exogenous development projects can hardly be quantified or qualified is validated, since there are no evaluation process to do such an analysis, at least from the info available specially. And in a context when alternatives to

the development option chosen by the elite are not considered, as mentioned by Granberg and Von Sidow (2005), it is difficult to assess its impact by comparison with other projects.

The second hypothesis was about the fact that local community projects are more inclusive when it comes to concerns about marginalized people, whether in decision-making bodies or in job creation. In the case of Angus, it is not possible to validate the hypothesis. Not only the administrative board does not include citizens, but the project failed in creating an average percentage of jobs reserved for low-qualified workers. Local community projects can have been created with a social mission without offering results significantly different from regular economic projects. The differences between a local community project and a local market projects are thus not very different from each other. The fact that regular economic development structures, i.e. investment structures and entrepreneurship support, were mostly created with an exogenous vision of growth linked to competitiveness and exports rather than an endogenous vision might explain why the administrative boards and the job creation is not more socially-inclined. It could be interesting to increase the links between endogenous and exogenous economic development. One of the main advantages of social economy enterprises is to lower to social costs related in the health, education and welfare sectors by providing services that takes these aspects into account. If, as mentioned by Tremblay and Fontan (1994), profit formulas could include as profits the loss avoided by the work of social economy enterprises, the pertinence of bridging community and market economy development strategies would appear as a very sound business strategy.

It is that vision of their complementary role that should validate the third hypothesis: endogenous and exogenous development initiatives should be addressed together specially in a context where innovation and competitiveness are tantamount.

The same way the multinational industry builds partnerships with the public sector to ground its international competitiveness (Landry, 2000), market economic development would gain by building bridges with local community projects since jobs and cities are equally important in international competitiveness.

If cities can play a leading role in that regard, international economic organizations such as the World Economic Forum have also demonstrated that gender equality is equally important in economic development. It is up to the municipalities to build a new model of inclusive and holistic local economic development, whereas the success depends on its potential to innovate in its own structures and vision.

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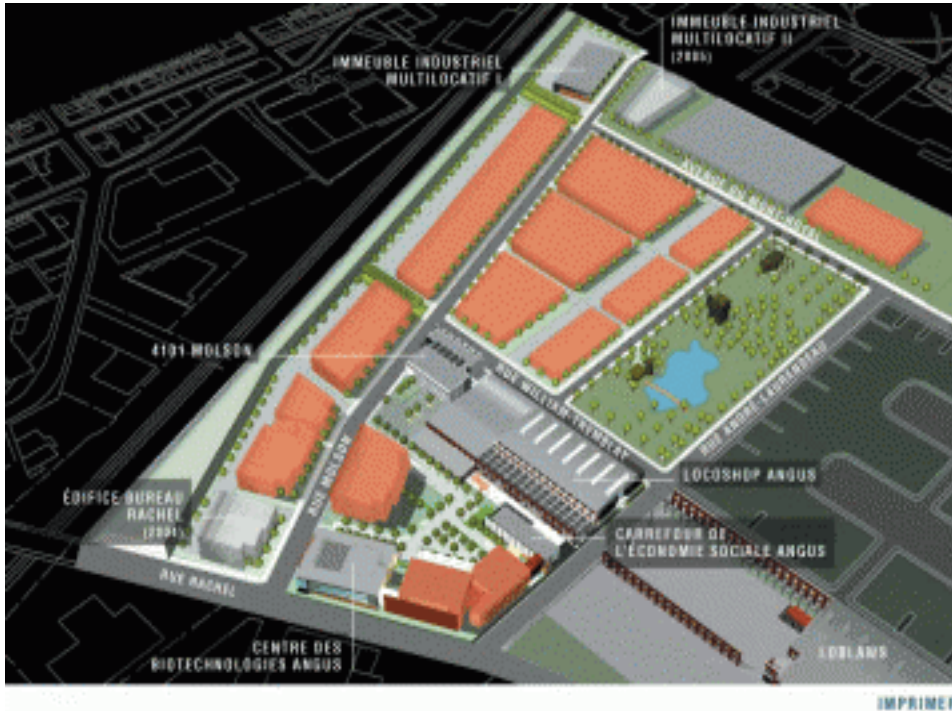
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## Appendix:

### *The Angus Urban Business Park in Montreal, Québec, Canada*



Location: Rosemont/Petite Patrie neighborhood, Montreal, Québec, Canada

Strategic Asset: located closed to city centre

Project context: Closing of the Angus shops in the '90

Size of entire project (with residential area): 10 Million square feet

Park size: 1 Million square feet

Owner of lots and buildings at the beginning of the project: Canadian Pacific

Original entrepreneur of the project: CDÉC Rosemont/Petite-Patrie

NGO in charge of the project: Société de développement Angus (SDA)

Actual owner of the buildings and lots: SDA

Financing: CSN Action fund (worker's union), Desjardins coop funds, governmental funds

Clientele targeted for residential development: middle to upper-class

Uses on site: social economy and new economy

Number of jobs on site: 840 (2005)

Number of jobs at the end of the actual project: 2000

## ***The Lindholmen Science Park in Göteborg, Sweden***



Location: industrial port lots, North shore of Älv river, Göteborg, Sweden

Strategic Asset: located close to city centre

Project context: End of maritime construction activities in the '70

Size of entire project (with residential and commercial area): Norra Älvstranden 27 Million square feet

Park size: n.a.

Owner of lots and buildings at the beginning of the project: City of Göteborg

Original entrepreneur of the project: City of Göteborg and Business Region Göteborg

NGO in charge of the project: Norra Älvstranden Utveckling AB

Actual owner of the buildings and lots: Göteborg, Chalmers Polytechnic School, Göteborg University, Ericsson, Volvo Group, Volvo Car Corporation, SAAB, TeliaSonera, Vägverket, Caran, Semcon, Sigma, Epsilon, Teleca, IBM, GF Konsult, Aktiviteten, Aggero, Valea and Vehiculum

Financing: Governmental funds, profits from sales of Norra Älvstranden building and commercial spaces

Clientele targeted for residential development: middle to upper-class

Uses on site: incubation and innovation centre in IT and communication technologies linked to automotive, transport, mobile communication and actual medias.

Number of jobs on site: n.a.

Number of jobs at the end of the actual project: 10 000