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The Flagship Concept of ‘the 4th Urban Environment’ Branding and Visioning in Malmö, Sweden

Abstract

In the process of turning the post-industrial city of Malmö, Sweden, into a knowledge-based, creative city, new urban planning strategies and visions are being developed. An important component of developing ‘the knowledge city’ is the spatial conceptualization for renewal of urban life. One such concept introduced in Malmö is ‘the 4th urban environment’ [det 4.e stadsrummet]. In this article, based in critical urban studies, the development, branding, and practice of the 4th urban environment as a strategy to generate a creative economy and knowledge city is critically analysed as part of a neo-liberal planning discourse. The article raises the question: what kind of vision is ‘the 4th urban environment’? What is it an expression of; what does it mean for planning practice and to urban development?

Contextualizing and investigating trends of neo-liberal planning ideas are important to understand the social and economic consequences of unequal power relations. The 4th urban environment and its application in Malmö is illustrative of existing neo-liberal planning practices in a Nordic context, and in other similar economies with legacies of redistribution policies and long standing leadership of the Social Democratic party. This article focuses on what is articulated within discourses that re-present particular notions of space and place, to gain a better understanding of what neo-liberal planning does to space.

Key words: neo-liberal planning, 4th urban environment, visioning, city branding

Introduction

In the process of turning the post-industrial city of Malmö into a knowledge-based, creative city, new urban planning strategies and visions are being developed. An important component of developing ‘the knowledge city’ is the spatial conceptualization for renewal of urban life. One such concept introduced in Malmö, Sweden, and then circulated to other cities in the Nordic countries, is ‘the 4th urban environment’ [det 4.e stadsrummet]ⁱ. The concept is a planning vision for a knowledge society, as well as a planning tool. The concept of the 4th urban environment is consciously vague, but stems from the idea that there are different types of urban spaces, where the home is the first space, the workplace the second and public spaces the third kind of space. The 4th urban space then, is a combination of the second and third, where workspaces can interact with public spaces to create new meeting spaces and a creative innovative atmosphere. The concept has been developed by the Danish architectural firm Gehl Architects in collaboration with the City of Malmö as a part of the city’s urban renewal strategies.

Since the 1980s, the use of the term “vision” has increased in Western planning vocabulary (Shipley 2000, Albrechts 2006, Healey 2006). Visioning in planning is “a conscious and purposive action to represent values and meanings for the future to which a particular place is committed” (Albrechts 2006, p.1160), and is often a part of strategic and comprehensive planning. Through creating a vision and coherent actions towards a vision the frame is set, helping to delineate what a place is and what it might become (Albrechts 2006). Such processes generally involve gathering different stakeholders to develop conceptual framings and discuss overall goals for urban development. Strategic plans are commonly used as material for architectural competitions, for example.

Since the role of the public sector has decreased in urban development, visioning has replaced traditional roles for planners as for example initiating planning processes as the main task. In municipal planning departments, visioning involves creating “stories of identity” as a ground for a common city branding policy. Glossy magazines and images play an important role in this process, but the production of knowledge around the creative city is both a physical and a mental activity. The main features of the knowledge-based economy concern innovation and invention, knowledge production, and role of the “look and feel” of urban landscapes (Helbrecht 2003, in Hutton 2006). This conceptual framing – presenting a vision of a vibrant and creative city in the form of the 4th urban environment – is inscribed on the plans for and buildings of the city, which have social and economic consequences, as the built environment “is an important element of the productive forces of society, not just a reflection of them” (Knox 1987, p. 356).

The broader contexts of economic and social organization, and not the least the priorities of the property capital, are often overlooked within architecture research concerned with understanding urban development (Knox 1987, p. 355). Conversely, social science research tends to overlook the material outcomes of social and economic urban development. Peck (2005), in his critique of Florida’s ‘creative class’ dogma, argues that the actual (material) changes that ‘creative city’ interventions lead to are in fact marginal. This may be true for most cities, but there is a growing interest in *building* the creative city, as the case of Malmö will illustrate. The idea of *building* the creative city could be contextualized within the prevalent, strong municipal-planning tradition in Swedish cities, or it could be understood as a question of controlling spatial relations as “a core of the capitalist mode of production” (Gottdiener 1985, in Knox 1987, p. 354). Here, the focus will be on the latter. In particular, the article will delve into aspects of neo-liberal planning hegemonies, such as urban

competition and branding. Neo-liberal political-economic agendas refer to post-1970s capitalism with focus on urban restructuring as a strategic political response to the global recession of the preceding decade (Brenner & Theodore 2002a, 2002b). Neo-liberal doctrines justified for example “the deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocality competition, and the criminalization of the urban poor” (Brenner & Theodore 2002b, pp 350). In alignment with Brenner and Theodore (2002b), Peck and Tickell (2002), Sager (2011, 2015), and Baeten (2012), this article emphasizes a shift in the approach of municipal planning where the central focus has changed from meeting the needs of the public to catering to the needs of the market, using empirical observation to help illustrate underlying power relations that shape cities. As Brenner and Theodore (2002b) note, neo-liberal reforms are embedded in a specific national, regional and local context, defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles.

The 4th urban environment is presented by the municipality as a creative solution to Malmö’s particular problems, a solution that will help the city avoid stagnation, and address the needs and spatial requirements of our time. Using Malmö as a case study helps to illustrate how policies of urban entrepreneurialism is present in the Nordic context in spite of the legacy of redistribution policies (Dannestam 2009) and the long-standing leadership of the Social Democratic party. In particular, the idea that planners and politicians need to attract the right kind of people to the city to increase the tax base underlies much Nordic planning today, often at the cost of already marginalized populations (Baeten & Listerborn, 2015). The key issue

addressed in this article is the effect of such concepts and the discursive framing of urban development.

Urban visioning and branding is central to neo-liberal planning, which is the hegemonic planning ideology today (Sager 2011, 2015, Baeten 2012). Neo-liberal planning conditions lead to a specific form of commodification of public spaces—and workspaces. Visioning is not necessarily related to a neo-liberal condition, but in the context of contemporary municipal urban planning its strong connection to urban competition, branding, and attracting new capital certainly are. This article illustrates how the conceptualization of a vision for the knowledge society (the 4th urban environment) is processed and presented in Malmö, a medium sized town in the south part of Sweden, characterized by de-industrialization. The attempt by the municipality to implement a new planning agenda as a way to build the knowledge city is partly a branding exercise, and partly an actual physical re-shaping of the city – the knowledge city idiom is being acted out in urban space. Central to the knowledge city idiom is the idea of ‘creativity’, and the need for creative spaces where people interact. While the creative city discourse has been widely criticized by academics across disciplinesⁱⁱ, these ideas are still prolific in planning practices and policies (Borén & Young 2013, Peck 2005, 2011).

Grounded in critical urban studies, this article focuses on the development, branding, and practice of the 4th urban environment as a strategy to generate a creative economy and knowledge city, then critically analyses this via its situation within neo-liberal planning discourse. The case study illustrates ongoing neo-liberal planning practices, and thereby positions this article close to the methodological approach of “actual existing neo-liberalism”. This approach is appropriate when exploring “the *production* of such projects within

distinctive national, regional and local contexts” (Peck et al. 2009, p. 50, see also Pratt 2011). The aim is then to focus on what is “articulated within discourses that re-present particular notions of space and place, and which carry certain rationalities and normative assumptions about social life in the sites of the materialization of these ideas” (Tait & Jensen, 2007, p. 114) to gain a better understanding of what neo-liberal planning does to space. The article raises the questions: what *kind of vision* is ‘the 4th urban environment’; what is it an expression of; what is the purpose and meaning of the concept; what does it mean for planning practice and urban development; in what way does it comply with, or break, the neo-liberal planning idiom of ‘the creative city’?

The article is based on material that was initially collected in 2008 when the concept first appeared in pre-studies, planning guidelines and formulations in planning debates in Malmö. Participatory observations were carried out in a series of three workshops in 2008, where I participated as a secretary, to develop a program for an architectural competition in the area of Varvsstaden. I did not partake in the discussions, as my role was to document them. In 2011, I followed up on these participatory observations by conducting interviews (together with a colleague) with a politician, one consultant and several senior civil servants from different departments in the municipality. The interviews used in this article is three of them; the architect and consultant of planning Per Riisum; the Director of Planning (Christer Larsson); and the Council Chairman [Mayor] (Ilmar Reepalu) of Malmö.ⁱⁱⁱ The interviews were semi-structured and centered on a discussion of sustainable urban development and visions for the city. The interviews lasted 1-2 hours. Here, the interlocutors were given an opportunity to further develop and discuss the 4th urban environment concept. Finally, an analysis of strategic planning documents was supplemented by analysis of newspaper articles, blogs, and commercial materials that were also used to brand the concept of the 4th urban environmental

and the city itself. Through the Nordic City Network, the concept has been circulated more widely, but it is still very much based in Malmö. The material is collected as a case study (Flyvbjerg 2006) and been analysed in relation to theory on neo-liberal planning with a focus on how the concept is presented and used in planning contexts, in a document analysis mode (Rapley, 2007).

After an introduction to the transformation of the City of Malmö, the theoretical framework is presented, followed by an exploration of the 4th urban environment. This exploration will focus on aspects of neo-liberal planning through; 1) an elaboration of meanings and roots of the concept of the 4th urban environment, 2) a critical exploration of how the concept is being used as a planning tool and operationalized in concrete urban planning initiatives, and 3) how participatory processes is used to legitimize and spread the concept amongst key actors, including some actors and excluding others. The article concludes with an analysis of the concept of the 4th urban environment and its application. By understanding the theoretical position of the 4th urban environment and its use in planning, we can learn more about how neo-liberal planning strategies operate in practice, and, in doing so, become aware of the social, economic and spatial power of visionary concepts and the ways that discursive power may reshape our cities and, often, reinforce social segregation.

Turning Malmö around

The recent history of Malmö resembles that of many industrial cities in the West. In 1994, after years of industrial decline and with a municipal unemployment rate of 22 percent, Ilmar Reepalu - the newly elected Social Democratic council chairman of Malmö, an architect by profession - set out to create a new vision for the city. Reepalu was inspired by the economist Åke E. Andersson who presented the idea of the K-society (*K-samhället*)^{iv} already in the

1980s and could be regarded as a local forerunner to consultants like Charles Landry, Richard Florida and Ed Glaeser. The K's stand for *Kunskap* (knowledge), *Kommunikationssystem* (systems of communication), *Kreativa resurser* (creative resources), *Konst* (art) and *Kulturellt kapital* (cultural capital). This concept to build an economically sustainable society stresses that (formal) knowledge needs to be combined with creative resources, cosmopolitanism and culture, alongside with systems of communication. Andersson also pointed towards a new set of urban values that he thought would be emphasized in forthcoming decades. This value set replaced attempts to attract large scale, heavy industry (through the solicitation of SAAB automotive industries, for example) to compensate for the closedown of Kockums shipyard.^v The national government's decision to build the Öresundbridge in 1991, that would connect Malmö to Copenhagen and the Kastrup international airport, gave the possibility to think about the medium sized town of Malmö as a transnational infrastructural node. Further, the establishment of Malmö as a knowledge city was supported by the establishment of a university located in the middle of the city in 1998, inspired by the New York University.

My vision was that when visitors come to Malmö, they should not be met by a large crane of Kockums, instead, they should see Malmo University. That is how we create a new image of Malmo; with a university center in the city.

(Ilmar Reepalu, Council chairman of Malmö 1994-2013)^{vi}

In 2001, Malmö hosted the Bo01 Housing Fair titled "The City of Tomorrow", which complemented the construction of the bridge and the university. This was the final step in the erasure of the shipyard's history through the reconstruction of the waterfront into a housing and business area. In addition to the housing fair, a 53-storey housing complex called the Turning Torso, designed by Santiago Calatrava, was erected. Both Bo01 and the design and

construction of Turning Torso were marked by economic and political scandals (Jansson 2005). However, the confidence that the political leadership of Malmö held in the transformative effects of such projects become clear in relation to their latest investments. When Malmö Live, a large scale concert venue, hotel, and congress center near the Central train station opened in 2015, the municipality ended up with an unexpected bill. However, the ex-council chairman Reepalu explained:

When you start, it's a lot of political fights over the higher expenses. And when you're finished, the buildings may cost 50 percent more than originally expected. But afterwards everybody says; "How lucky that we did it!" Had we known this from the beginning, we would have never built the buildings, then we would not have been able to make the decisions. (*Sydsvenskan* 2014-05-24)

Had it not been for their situation within a visionary framing, these spectacular buildings would themselves be no more than overly expensive buildings with non-sufficient financing. The image making creates the urban landscape, and the force of imaginations depend on the power of the governance (Healey 2006).

Malmö's director of urban planning sees it as a central—if not *the* most important—part of his role to create new visions. Visioning, though, is not the word he employs; instead, he uses the Swedish word *spana*, which means “searching for,” “scouting,” or “reconnoitering.” Through his searching, new ideas and new places to develop are being identified. The Director of the Planning Department in Malmö stated the following in an interview:

My role ... [is] more scouting and conceptualizing, and I get my inspiration when I see patterns of thought that I can translate into spatial organization. Right now, I have, of course, a conceptualization one can say is based on a sustainable, attractive city which then builds on regionalization, infrastructure and workplace, lifestyles, and the public space. So it's such a conceptualization, which might guide me. (*City Planning Director, 2011*)

The urban landscape is both a form of representation and something that is represented, which is a circular relationship; “The particular form of representation can shape the landscape represented, and the landscape thus represented can shape its representation. This circularity, furthermore, can end in a form of self-referential circulating reference...” (Olwig 2004, p.42). The concept of ‘the 4th urban environment’ and its materialization illustrates such a circularity. In the context of a neo-liberal planning condition, planning strategies are supported by the media and glossy brochures, presenting “a *singular* discourse about what urban development projects should be about, and reduc[ing] *any* alternative development view, expressed by whomever whenever, to sheer background noise” (Baeten 2012a, p.38). Malmö wants to compete on the global arena (Malmö 2013, p. 14), through preparing a cocktail (to paraphrase Peck 2005, p. 766) of the ideas of a creative class (Florida 2002), with the new urban passion (Glaeser 2011); cities for people, not for cars (Gehl 2010); densification (Jacobs 1961); and the reusing of industrial heritage (Hutton 2006). As the City of Malmö is part of the Nordic City Network, it also promotes its concepts and strategies in other cities, and similar plans for innovative urban environments have been discussed in medium-sized university towns.^{vii} The concept itself becomes a way to brand a city and to promote certain planning ideas; thus, a ‘flagship concept’.

Neo-liberal planning hegemonies in a Swedish context

Neo-liberal policies reshape cities and seek to improve the economic effectiveness of urban spaces. Private property and capital accumulation through market transactions are the core of economic growth within a neo-liberal economy, and to help the private sector becomes vital for the local economy. Neo-liberalism sees a market solution to all economic and social problems (Peck & Tickell 2002). Planning, often understood as located within the public sector and as a state intervention to respect the public's interests, is often set in contrast to neo-liberalism and market mechanisms to organize land use (Baeten 2012b). Neo-liberalism is a concept with several different definitions. Here, the concept is used to identify changes in urban planning in relation to "the economization of the state and of social policy", where economic growth is supposed to solve social crises and, in this way "economic growth *is* the state's social policy" (Brown 2015, p.63-64). The state becomes more like a private company, and private companies start acting more like the public sector, through, for example, adopting commitments to certain concepts of sustainability. Brown's thesis is thus that the logics of economic growth has become practice in the public sector as well as in people's private sphere, and integrated democracy into capitalism in a way that has deprived democracy of its critical potential (Brown 2015, p. 208).

In particular, moments of crisis, unemployment, and de-industrialization have been entry points for neo-liberal planning transformations. Urban planners do not retreat as planners, but their roles and influences are transformed. The new roles, tasks, and ambitions can be found in documents, planning strategies, plans, and public statements. Through an extensive literature review Tore Sager (2011) has identified 14 neo-liberal policies for urban planning. Three of these identified politics are highly relevant in the case of Malmö and will be used in the analysis here. These are: 1) urban development by attracting the 'creative class' based on

the idea of ‘trickle-down’, 2) city marketing, and 3) economic development incentives and public-private partnerships.

1) The economic ideology of trickle-down stresses that innovation and creativity will reinforce growth and secure welfare for all; new jobs in the service sector will be created, and tax income will increase, thus income and welfare will be distributed (more or less fairly) to most people in the area. The idea of trickle-down appeared in development studies in the 1970s and was immediately critically discussed and proved to be an inadequate response to inequality; however, the idea was already critiqued in relation to the Chicago School in the 1930s (Hoyt 1937). The trickle down discourse *reappeared* in a Western context in the 80s in the form of tax relief policies for the rich, and as justification for the implementation of prestigious urban regeneration projects in the US. Moreover, researchers concluded that local investments did not affect the lower-income segments of the city (Holgersen & Baeten forthcoming). Even though neo-liberal ideology serves the class interests of capital, “a sense of harmony can be built, as economic growth is seen by other classes as indispensable for the increased material well-being of the entire population” (Sager 2015, p. 270). Today, there is no serious challenge to the idea of trickle-down in urban planning; it is a rarely contested norm. “As a simplification, one can say that neo-liberalism is hegemonic to the extent that it has succeeded in establishing a view of society that emphasizes the appropriateness of business logic in all spheres of public life” (Sager 2015, p. 270).

2) The local or localism plays a central role in neo-liberal processes. Within neo-liberal hegemony, the rules of inter-local competition are constructed through establishing the metrics by which competition is measured (Peck & Tickell 2002). Discourses of

competition have an “external coercive power” over people, politicians, and planners to bring them into line with the disciplinary logic of capitalist development. This line may also explain why cities increasingly look the same when attempting to attract external capital and wealth. As noted by several researchers, urban entrepreneurialism is one reason for increased income gaps. The new work being created is, on the one hand, low-paying service jobs (especially for women and migrants) and, on the other hand, high paying positions at the top of the managerial ladder. Entrepreneurialism’s emphasis on small businesses and sub-contracting, often leads to the promotion of the informal sector, which is seen by some as a necessary evil and by others as a dynamic growth sector “capable of reimporting some level of manufacturing activity back into otherwise declining urban centers” (Harvey 1989, p. 12). Furthermore, in the case of Malmö and other cities implementing neo-liberal urban planning, there are economic problems behind the surface of many successful projects (Harvey 1989, Peck 2005, Holgersen 2014). Regardless of critique, politicians and planners are seduced by the possible outcomes of an idealized innovative and creative city. Even though the thesis of Florida (2002) can be critiqued for being derived from anecdotal evidence and randomly chosen variables, it has had a significant impact on the “thinking” in cities, as it fits the neo-liberal doctrine. City leaders are willing to hire high-cost urban consultants for advice on how to become more attractive to the creative class (Peck 2005). In Sweden, local consultants are working in close collaboration with Florida’s research team. The influence of the local economist Åke E. Andersson’s ideas of the K-society paved the way for planners and politicians to focus on culture and creativity in relation to the knowledge city discourse.

- 3) Welfare state economies have seen a shift from welfare to workfare since the early 1990s. The relationship between public and private has changed, and the state increasingly

promotes competition and strives for the implementation of market solutions. Sager (2015) describes the neo-liberal hegemonic ideology as being that the market “should discipline politics”. This goes firmly against a traditional Social Democratic view that “politics should discipline the market”. Even though neo-liberal urban developments are a global phenomenon, there are significant differences between neo-liberal policies in different places (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck et al. 2009, Pratt 2011). In the case of Sweden, Christophers (2013, p.3) stresses the hybrid nature of the Social Democratic welfare regime, whereby the neo-liberal condition is tempered through the social democratic approach and soft rhetoric (see also Baeten 2012a). The main argument *for* a ‘trickle down’ approach is to maintain a welfare society as the expected new incomes should “naturally” trickle down and be of benefit also for the lower classes. But, as Holgersen and Baeten (forthcoming) argue, urban policy in Malmö makes a strong distinction between “attracting capital” and “social policy”, which means the production of the city in terms of city building, economic and business policies, and image-construction, are separated from the distribution in the city in terms of social and welfare policies which aim at “including” people in planning and in the city. To *build* the city out of economic crisis and decline has been a strategy for decades in Malmö. The ‘turn around’ of Malmö is visible in the built environment, which needed close collaboration with private capital investments. For the city, it is important to be on good terms with private capital to be able to pursue construction work (see Holgersen 2014).

The City of Malmö’s work of visioning and the physical manifestations of this process – that have involved a clean break with the cities industrial history and work to attract the highly educated by creating attractive urban and housing environments - have not solved the issues of unemployment, poverty, or segregation in the city. Today, Malmö’s population of 318 000

inhabitants, could be summarized as young, relatively poor, with a high unemployment rate, born abroad, and educated (SCB 2015, see also Lundquist et.al. 2008). See table I.

Insert table 1

There is tension between the visions for the city and the actual urban condition in Malmö. Even though new jobs have been created in the process of de-industrialization in Malmö, inequality and income gaps have been growing, meaning increased socio-economic polarization (Salonen 2012), so the trickle-down effect did not occur (Dannestam 2009, Holgersen 2014). See table II. **INSERT table II.**

It is in this context that the City of Malmö has initiated several social projects attempting to compensate for this situation, while continuing to focus on building the creative city, an attractive city for entrepreneurs and businesses (Nylund 2014). The story of Malmö may appear to have a Janus-Face, since the city gains an international reputation for being creative with environmentally conscious planning and cutting-edge architecture and, on the other hand, is infamous for its high levels of poverty, and occasional riots and violence (see for example Hallin et al. 2010). The City of Malmö is in many ways a typical post-industrial city struggling with its industrial past and transformations in relation to a new global economy, while at the same time being strongly embedded in a tradition of Social Democratic welfare systems. How is the 4th urban environment acted out in this context of neoliberal planning and what are the internal contradictions that it may lead to?

The making of spaces for the creative class

The making of the concept, and the meaning given to it, illustrates a particular understanding of urban space and its users. The founder of the concept of ‘the 4th urban environment’ is Per

Riisom, a Danish architect at Skaarup & Jespersen (later Gehl Architects) in Copenhagen, who developed the concept with his colleague Hanne Beier Sørensen in collaboration with the City of Malmö and Malmö University. It was first disseminated through a report commissioned by the City of Malmö and Malmö University in 2008 for development plans of the university area in central Malmö. The report was also a pilot-project within the Nordic City Network. The claim that Malmö instigated the concept could be seen as part of their branding exercise. The concept is consciously vague and elastic, and the intention is not to give it a concrete meaning.

“In fact, I am not very clear myself when it comes to what the 4th urban environment is. It has emerged as a discovery of the existence of some new hybrid spaces that take place in relation to professional organizations, institutions, and research institutions. These hybrid spaces arise spontaneously as a result of a need, and I think that what triggers it: The need for transparency and the need for innovation, the need for learning. The need is to become better at what you do. If you have to be a skilled university, one needs to open up to society. I think it is a megatrend. And it is a megatrend that we are not aware of, and [one] my profession knows nothing about.”
(Interview with Per Riisom 2011)^{viii}

Even though the concept is said to have been formulated and founded by Riisom, it is described as if it was a discovered urban phenomenon, as something that grew out of a specific place and time. The idea to focus on the ‘in-between-spaces’, ‘the hybrid’, ‘flexible’ and ‘spontaneous’, ‘to become better at what you do’, ‘innovation’ and ‘transparency’, all describe the amenities’ that an imagined creative class will need to pursue their activities. Riisom contends such spaces emerged naturally, but, at the same time, that they need to be developed, articulated, and spread to other parts of the city, which then is the role for the

planners. He argues that architects generally focus too much on the building itself and not on the urban landscape as a whole. According to him, many cities are still being built as they were in the 1990s, so they do not support the new, and needed, urban qualities. In his view, the architecture of earlier periods needs to be dissolved, opened up, and integrated into the urban network. The need to adapt to the neo-liberal hegemony and needs of the market is further emphasized when he argues that the city was previously built for long-lasting companies, while today many businesses may not exist for more than 10-15 years. The city therefore needs to be more flexible. New businesses will emerge and dissolve and be absorbed by—and integrated into—the city, which is all part of the turn-around that Malmö has gone through. Riisom explains:

“The concept of 4th urban environment comes from this thought, and I decided to call it the 4th urban environment partly to create a certain mystification. When I give talks and say “4th urban environment,” there’s always someone who says “what is that?” It’s like the sixth sense. So, it is also about marketing, but I do have a sense that these hybrid spaces are a general phenomenon that has grown from the needs of businesses and public institutions, and also with a more general meaning—you could maybe call it a cultural-social innovation” (Interview Per Riisom 2011).

To fit the new economy, the city needs to look different from before. To shift focus from the large scale investments mentioned earlier, the city needs more interactive and entrepreneurial public space to create space for the creative class to claim.

The idea of ‘the fourth’ urban space draws on an architectural tradition of the understanding of the home as the first space, the work place as the second space, and the places in-between, i.e., the public spaces, as the third place^{ix} (Oldenburg 1989). Oldenburg stresses the importance of informal meeting places within a community, as these places unite the people

who live there and encourage an intellectual and responsible urban culture. His definition of the third place is that it should be free (or inexpensive), be highly accessible to many, involve regulars that meet often, and be a welcoming and comfortable environment. In the *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), Florida refers to Oldenburg, but instead of stressing the importance of fostering democratic citizen's and the accessibility of public space, he argues that the creative class and the flexible labor-market are ever more dependent on the third places, since both the home and the workplace are becoming less important and more unstable. If you are home alone and sitting in front of your computer during the daytime, you need the social interaction of the third place (p. 226). In those new meeting-places, an innovative and creative economy will be developed according to this ideological strand. To Riisom, the third space is where democracy, culture, and humanism are acted out, as Oldenburg defined it, while 'the 4th urban environment', or the 4th space emphasizes openness, transparency, and mixing of the second (work) and third space (public); together, it will make the urban fabric into "a spaghetti city"—to become a truly innovative and creative center in a global competition. It is aimed at a particular entrepreneurial public who may be attracted to de-regulated spaces. Even though the ideas around the 4th urban environment are based in the creative class discourse, Riisom finds few ideas about urban planning in Florida's work:

"His work is a lot about how to establish a local talented labor market. It is macro level. If you create an attractive environment, an urban environment, then people want to be there. This is something that has been confirmed in many interviews I have done with entrepreneurs and companies. But, besides that, he does not deal with the urban planning itself, and what urban design means. He talks mainly about a tolerant environment, about culture, really. But I would argue that the planning itself is interesting to look into as a tool to create those environments. I told him so once, but he did not believe in that. I think this is because he is a geographer; he is not an

architect, so he does not know so much about this” (Interview with Per Riisom 2011).

Therefore, the 4th urban environment focuses on the local and interfaces between the street and the buildings. This quote points at the new role of and the importance given to the architects and planners in the formation of the neo-liberal urban economy. As a result of post-industrialization, the focus has shifted from large-scale industries to human resources which reinforced the meaning of place to attract the creative class. The urban scale has become increasingly revalued, often drawing on the ideas of Jane Jacobs (1961, 1969), who argued the city (rather than the nation) is the base for economic driving forces. The shift in focus from muscle strength to intelligence emphasizes the importance of place, meaning that economic growth happens where intelligence rise (Kotkin in Florida 2001, p. 266). Edward Glaeser (2011) argues that a high concentration of highly educated citizens leads to faster urban growth and greater possibilities for attracting creative and talented people. In Malmö, the university as the core of the new economy, together with the Öresundbridge, which connects Malmö to the European continent, illustrates the concrete meaning of knowledge, mobility, and infrastructure. Talented workers are regarded as a “flow resource” who chooses their places with regard to particular aspects like lifestyle possibilities, a broad selection of work opportunities, and the social character of a place, and posed the question of why, in an age of mobility (Florida 2002). The suggested components of such spaces are often abstract, general, and conceptually vague, focusing mainly on categories of activities rather than on spatial organization and commonly recycle “a rather narrow repertoire of newly legitimized regeneration strategies” (Peck 2005, p. 752). To give a more concrete and workable entry-point to the idea of “place-quality” for the creative class, the concept of the 4th urban environment was produced.

The Nordic interpretation of the “creative way” and the consequent reshaping of the material representations of Malmö is inspired by the renowned Danish architect Jan Gehl (of Gehl Architects - where Per Riisom is employed), who argues that the street level and “soft edges”^x are the most important dimension of the city (Gehl et al. 2006, Gehl 1986). Gehl gained notoriety in the 1970s with his book *Livet Mellem Husene* (1971) [*Life Between Buildings*]. Alongside *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* by Jane Jacobs (1961), Gehl’s book has played a major role in revitalizing cities in the aftermath of the car-dependent functionalist planning of the 60s and 70s by addressing what is going on at the street level—between the buildings.^{xi} Gehl has been particularly influential in the Nordic planning traditions of building cycle paths, enhancing public spaces, and improving outdoor bars and restaurants. In 1962, he introduced the pedestrian road (Strøget) in central Copenhagen. Because of his coining of the concept “cities for people” (Gehl 2010), he has been invited to several world metropolises to weigh in on perspectives that could help mitigate the negative design outcomes of functionalist and modernist planning and, more lately, the uniformity of CBD blocks, as in the case of Sydney (McNeill 2011).^{xii} Gehl’s deeds began before the creative city discourse; however, since he has focused his whole career on the question of what makes people enjoy being in some places but not in others, his work is very tied up in the question raised by Florida: why do creative people gather in specific places?

Accordingly, the 4th urban environment is described as a critique of functionalist space, which is argued to close off spaces. In a work-in-progress report from 2008, the 4th urban environment is defined as a central element in a knowledge city; “Just like the mono-functional urban landscape and architecture dominates the industrial city, it is the multifunctional urban environment and architecture that are typical for the knowledge city. The 4th urban environment is a multifunctional urban space” (City of Malmö 2008, p. 3).^{xiii} For the Director of Planning in Malmö, opening buildings up should be a norm. The

municipalities are, according to him, *obliged* to make space for the 4th urban environment, to create space for what happens in semi-private and semi-public zones: “It is really important that we who work with planning put demands on making entrance floors public. In Malmö, we are not going to have any more one function buildings” (*Sydsvenskan* 10 March 2012). Public spaces and their surrounding buildings should be permeable, but also spaces for circulating capital. However, Riisom does not regard all spaces in the city to have the same potential, and it is therefore the task of the urban planner to identify which spaces and places could be part of these urban transformations. The location of the 4th urban environment is important. The 4th urban environment in Malmö is set in a context of waterfront developments, which in themselves often are defined as neo-liberal projects (Cook & Ward 2012, Sager 2015). The trickle-down hypothesis is an important ideology for these kinds of projects as the main purpose is to attract new capital into a city in decline and the input of these places should spillover into the whole city and decrease poverty and unemployment, in a combination of urban micro and macro cosmos of culture:

“If you have a micro-cosmos, with open buildings or active urban spaces, where the workplaces also exist in the urban landscape, the value of that would increase if you have local culture which is also open, kind, and hospitable. In this way, the cultural dimension affects how the city interacts with the 4th urban environment.

Furthermore, to show respect for everybody is important and everyone can contribute with something. If people are excluded, it is not only a social problem and a shame but also an economic issue for the society. ...” (Interview Per Riisom 2011).

The purpose of the process is to find the soul or identity of the city. Furthermore, the 4th urban environment is meant to be part of a sustainable urban development, with particular focus on economic sustainability. Riisum states that it is “about how we can become innovative

enough, so we have something to make a living off” (Interview 2011). But the quote above illustrates a contradiction as he states that everybody—all citizens—should be on board, i.e. the Social Democratic welfare regime, yet, there is a certain kind of economy and industry that are supposed to be promoted. This mentality characterizes the hybrid economy that has developed between the neo-liberal growth demands and the welfare structure.

So, the 4th urban environment is a conceptualization of a new kind of space that is argued to be needed in post-industrial city. It does not have a specific form, but rather different characters and qualities, which are supposed to enhance and support a new kind of economy; one that is expected to be produced by the imagined creative class. Because of support for the local interfaces between public spaces and work spaces, the economy of the city will grow from its entrepreneurialism.

Building the 4th urban environment

Given its open definition, it is interesting to see what is actually being built in the name of creating the 4th urban environment. The first area in Malmö to incorporate the values of the 4th urban environment is the area around the central train station, the university, and the nearby harbor area (previously the shipyard). The combination of a central train station, old industrial heritage, the waterfront, and the university comprise a perfect base to create an innovative cluster. With key words like openness, transparency, transgression, and hybridity, the aim is to go beyond more traditional “mix-use” where different functions come together. Here, the focus is on urban forms, relations, and symmetries between networks of people and urban spaces. Overlapping networks create a more intense encounter between different uses and programs. On the street level, different design features and symbols on the buildings, or even

smells from restaurants or shops, should attract pedestrians (Interview with Louise Kielgast from Gehl Architects in Zanjanian 2010, The City of Malmö 2009).

In their pilot case to create the 4th urban environment, the City of Malmö, Malmö University, and the involved architects focused on two specific building-sites - Varvsstaden and Niagara - in combination with a pedestrian and cycle path to connect these new buildings, called “The Line”. Varvsstaden is a partly preserved old shipyard and industrial space that hosts the Malmö division of the Swedish public service broadcaster (SVT) and the Media Evolution City, which is a semi-public building with a restaurant, conference facilities, and office desks for rent to individual entrepreneurs and small companies.^{xiv}

Map I and Illustration I

Varvsstaden’s interior layout is open, and glass walls are primarily used on the ground floor. The rear of the building opens up to a terrace with outdoor furniture next to the water. The building is accessible to people who know what it contains, but the main entrance or façade does not open up to the street level. Opened in 2015, Niagara is one of the university buildings. In the call for the architectural competition in 2009, one criterion was to design a building with a strong identity. The building should “vitalize” the area and “create a meeting place where the surrounding urban spaces and the inside of the building interact so the events outside and inside the building support each other” (Malmö University 2010, p. 3). The university building is supposed to mix teaching spaces and offices with public locales on the entrance floor, and organize spaces so many encounters between different interests are encouraged and stimulated. The threshold between inside and outside is to be transgressed, and the surrounding public spaces are integrated with the university. The building aims to be useful not only for the people working or studying at the university but also for other citizens and visitors:

“With its interesting content, the building can become a destination point for people with many various interests and issues. This means in turn that the meeting culture that can develop in and around the building may lead to the creation of new values in urban life: that the critical mass of differences and encounters enables creativity and innovation. In any case, the cross-fertilization of different activities will make the building and its surroundings an interesting and inspiring environment to be in” (Malmö University 2010, p. 3).

The winning proposal^{xv} for Niagara was a building with three bodies connected through an atrium, with a three-sided façade, which, according to the jury, interacts with the surrounding public spaces and makes the building open, accessible, and interesting (Malmö University 2010, p. 9).^{xvi} The building is located close to the train station and to the newly built congress center and concert hall, Malmö Live.

Connecting all these new interactive buildings, and further developing the idea of the knowledge city and inter-connectivity— or the “spaghetti city”—the harbor area is connected by a cycle and pedestrian path that connects the central-station area to the coastline, where the regional dance theater is located. ‘The Line’ is presented in City advertising as an urban path with a focus on innovation, development, and growth. The Line is a pilot-project intended to illustrate the connection between business development and urban planning. According to the Director of Planning at the City of Malmö, the main idea is “to gather all activities along the Line and use the invisible potential that will be developed when the activities are connected to each other; in the end, this will lead to growth for all, something that we, in everyday language, call synergy effects”.^{xvii}

From an “outsiders” point of view, the actual visibility of the Line is marginal. There is no specific design on the street level. To some degree, semi-public spaces already exist; cafes,

libraries, lobbies, and some accessible restaurants, for example. But, these spaces are, according to the City of Malmö (2009), preliminary, immature, staged, and specialized versions of the 4th urban environment. Instead, the City of Malmö wants to develop a “mature” urban environment which is more public, open, and accessible to all, not staged or occupied by certain groups. According to the conceptual framing, if a space is not connected, it does not carry a meaning, identity, or legitimization: “When the borders are erased and replaced with relational spaces (4th urban environment), then the interaction between each building and the urban environment gets a totally new, radical character: they flow together and a new combined built urban space emerges” (City of Malmö 2009, p. 171).

The starting point of the materialization of the creative city is the idea that knowledge-based companies and institutions want to be located in the most vibrant parts of the city in order to stay innovative and productive. Further, that the city needs to support this process through urban planning, since it is meant to be the base for the future welfare of the city within a neo-liberal economic framing. The new capital is the human; therefore, the large-scale industrial approach needs to be exchanged for the human scale and a focus on ‘culture’ (of a certain meaning). The 4th urban environment becomes part of this process to revitalize the economy and urban landscape of the Nordic welfare states through an economy based on entrepreneurs, innovation, and creativity. The concept brings together different, but related, strands of thinking concerning both the city and the labor market. The intended vagueness of the policy recommendations contribute to its attractiveness. The 4th urban environment embodies principles of neoliberal planning, as it promotes city marketing, urban development by attracting the ‘creative class’, economic development incentives, property-led urban regeneration, and public-private partnerships (Sager 2011). Within the Nordic context, these ideas are turning focus away from the previously central social programs and interventions,

with the expectation that new jobs will be created, and the wealth will trickle down to areas where low-income people live.

The city wants to encourage people to become more entrepreneurial by providing office space and creating meeting places like “Maxa Malmö”, “Tillväxt Malmö” [Growth Malmö] and “Uppstart Malmö” [Starting Up Malmö].^{xviii} The supportive attitude towards entrepreneurs is also stressed in the comprehensive plan from 2014 (The City of Malmö, 2014a). Therefore, the urban plan is important and needs to be attractive so people want to spend time in the city and come together in cultural environments. Referring back to the distinction between Oldenburg (1989) and Florida (2002), it can be argued that the purpose of coming together is not primarily to foster peoples’ involvement in democracy-enhancing activities, but instead to encourage participation in the urban economy. This new economy creates new spaces, but also reuses old industrial sites. As Hutton (2006) contends, the re-emergence of functional diversity in the inner city both creates new spaces and incorporates internal landscape elements that influence the configuration of new industry formation. Alongside the building of the city is the branding of the city, as this new concept needs to be trendsetting to become competitive.

The creation of a travelling flagship concept

Branding is an important expression of the neo-liberal urban hegemony (Sager 2011) both locally and in relation to other cities. The conceptualization of the 4th urban environment was meant “to create a certain mystification” as “it is also about marketing” (Riisom 2011, see quotes above). The City of Malmö wants to market the city through initiating a “travelling concept”, with the hope it *will* travel. The reason that the concept should travel is that it should be useful – in a material sense – to other cities who have jumped on the creative city

bandwagon. By branding the city through both its architecture and its planning concepts, the city hopes to make a mark. While the origin of ideas is often a post construction or mythologized (Czarniawska & Joerges 1996), the origin of the concept of the 4th urban environment is, at first sight, rather obvious, as the founding “fathers” are well known and clearly presented. However, the ideological grounds are vaguely expressed, as is the actual content of the concept. To brand a city through travelling concepts, the planners need both to illustrate the transformative momentum and strategically promote the concept (see Healey 2006). The power of urban imaginations lies in its potential to be institutionalized in planning and its capacity to travel translocally. The City of Malmö is trying to market the city as a *producer* of planning concepts, and use the platform of the Nordic City Network to promote it, which is a think tank of urban and regional planners dedicated to developing Nordic cities as attractive, innovative, and competitive Knowledge Cities. It is led by architects from Gehl Architects and senior planners from the City of Malmö.^{xix} The question of how to revitalize the Nordic welfare states through an economy based on entrepreneurs is one of the core questions within the Nordic City Network. To market and integrate these ideas several different stakeholders need to be involved in the planning process. The transformative moment then, appears through open participatory processes to reach out.

As part of the process of giving flesh to the bone, i.e. content to the concept, participatory processes are recommended, according to the report from the City of Malmö (2009, p. 7):

“Instead of a traditional urban planning, there should be a development and restructuring of the existing and new urban resources in an intensive—and preferably experimental—collaboration with the citizens and the users of the city, the work life, institutions, etc. A new, innovative urban infrastructure should be built.”

During 2008, the City of Malmö, in collaboration with architect Per Riisom and Malmö University, organized a series of workshops with invited guests to prepare for the regeneration of the post-industrial area Varvsstaden. Representatives from the planning department, the environmental department, a construction company (financing partner to the municipality), and a few architectural companies were invited. The seminars were organized around an inspirational talk, which was followed by an open discussion. The invited lecturers included consultants, such as economist Åke E. Andersson; Charlotta Mellander, who has been working closely with Florida; Henrik Mattsson, a trend analyst based in London; some environmental experts from the municipality; and some local architects and planners. The documentation from the discussion was later utilized to develop the program for an architectural competition between invited companies to develop the area (City of Malmö 2011).

Rather early in the discussion, on the question of for whom this area would be built, one representative from the city made clear that Varvsstaden probably would not contain dwellings for “nurses”, i.e. middle-income people, but that it still could be open to them. The quest to include different citizen groups in the discussion was, on the one hand, regarded as complicating the process but, on the other hand, a way to potentially open the discussion to new ideas. However, in the discussion, participants agreed that asking people what they want right now was not useful, because in the future either they may prefer something else or the area could be relevant to a different user group. The economic consultant argued it would be incorrect to let ‘people’ have an opinion on the plans, as those people are unlikely to be the ones who will live there and that it was “strange that the architects don’t stand up and say that we are building for the future and not for those who have opinions about it today” (notes from

the meeting). The participatory process was only participatory for very particular – high profile – stakeholders, and not citizens in general.

Ideas of participation, diversity, and youth are celebrated in words and in the branding of the city, but were not embraced in the process of developing Varvsstaden. Five years later, in 2014, the City of Malmö had refined their view of whom the creative city should be formulated together with and, accordingly, in the process of initiating the Line, more than 70 participants, mainly entrepreneurs, from different businesses and institutions came together to represent and help further develop the existing business community and urban environment (City of Malmö 2014b). The program for the workshop included titles in English such as “Innovation camp,” “Open Innovation,” “Co-creation,” “Collaborative spaces & Pop-Up City,” and “Sharing Economy.” The idea of “Sharing Economy” is that existing resources (ideas, products, clients, employees, knowledge, and locales) within the activities, businesses, and urban environment could be commonly used. Locales that are empty at night could be used for other activities after business hours.^{xx} Human capital was not only defined as the end-user of these environments; different stakeholders were also invited and encouraged to be part of the process. The difference between the two processes is that the stakeholders invited to the workshop in 2014 were mainly entrepreneurs themselves, and not the people producing visions, like trend consultants, for example (Nordic City Network 2014). The English titles point towards an international flair, even though the second largest language in Malmö is Arabic, which reinforces a distinction between being international or a migrant in Malmö (see Listerborn 2013).

In 2013, the American magazine Forbes (which begins every article with “the world’s most...”) ranked Malmö fourth on the list of cities with the most patent applications per 10,000 residents, an indicator of being an inventive city. Malmö is described as: “young with

nearly half of its population under the age of 35. It is also diverse, boasting the highest proportion of foreign-born residents of any city in Sweden.”^{xxi} This news was appreciated by Malmö; it was advertised on the City of Malmö webpage and reported in the local newspaper. It also led the City of Malmö to announce workshops on the Line with the invitation, “The Line—the world’s most innovative business climate and path?”^{xxii} **Insert Image II – the pdf file**

In collaboration with local entrepreneurs as well as major construction company’s the city and its consultants developed the Line. The conceptual framing and the attention it garners, through these ‘participatory’ workshops, for example, are part of the branding process, towards the aim of creating an attractive urban setting for entrepreneurs. At the same time, it is also a way to gain attention for their planning projects.

Conclusion: Re-regulating public space?

Many critiques of the creative city and the imagination of the creative class revolve around the absence of a power analysis (Peck 2005, 2011), the shortcomings of the public policy recommendations, the insufficient scientific evidence of the claimed results (Peck 2005, 2011; Perry 2011), and the vagueness of the concepts (Markusen, 2006; Evans, 2009; Borén & Young, 2013). Building on this critique, this article critically analyses discourses and spaces being produced as part of the creative city. The ideas of Gehl and Riisom, in addition to the Floridian discourse, reinforce the focus on the human as the capital, as well as the importance of interesting places in the innercity. The narrow understanding of the urban presented by Gehl, risks fostering a normative understanding of the city: as only the inner city, and where all modernist spaces—and, potentially, their inhabitants—are condemned. The larger socio-

economic context is left uncommented. A city that attracts people appears neutral; but, this viewpoint neglects that people may not always attract people. Public life also consists of racism, sexism, and other forms of exclusion, so what can be regarded as an attractive part of the city for some may be an area to avoid for others (Listerborn 2015). The City of Malmö presents itself as “the city for encounters, diversity, and possibilities” on its official Facebook-site, which is replicated in the Forbes Magazine when they write about Malmö as a young and diverse city. In contrast to this image of Malmö is the reality of the recurring uprisings in the city’s marginalized neighborhoods (Hallin, et al. 2010) and the socio-economically segregated urban landscape (Salonen 2012) which illustrates that the redistribution of the trickle-down agenda does not work.

The 4th urban environment is embedded in neoliberal planning idioms as it aim is to create flexible space for entrepreneurs as a “spatial fix” (Harvey 2001) to solve the consequences of deindustrialization. The example from Malmö is a local variation on the theme (Brenner & Theodore 2002). The K-society theory by Åke E. Andersson and the influence of Gehl act as a backdrop to the later ideas of Florida and others. Even though, within the Nordic context, these ideas turn focus away from the previously existing social programs and interventions that worked to help to solve segregation and poverty related issues, they are still motivated by referring to preserve the Swedish welfare model. Gehl’s rather apolitical approach makes him, like Florida’s “cappuccino urban politics, with plenty of froth” (Peck 2005, p. 760) useful for many different agents from different political positions who can appropriate his thinking for their political projects, while avoiding the more difficult and structural challenges.

So, what is the vision of the 4th urban environment; what is it an expression of; what does it mean for planning practice and to urban development? In what way does it comply with, or break, the neo-liberal planning idiom? What can we learn from this?

First, a clear cut definition of the 4th urban environment is not possible to find, and in this way fits into the creative city discourse; it is not meant to be clear or scientifically scrutinized, but to attract attention and create mystification. The concept is a complement to flagship architecture, like the Turning Torso, Malmö Live Congress and Concert Hall, and has the aim of becoming a ‘flagship concept’. Since the ‘work of vision’ in 1994 and through the transformation process from an industrial city to a knowledge city, the City of Malmö has prioritized visualization of the transformation city through its built environment. This was complemented by the discourse of transformation – a success story, asserted by journalists, business leaders, architects, consultants, and researchers. The mobilization of different actors as discursive mediators has been important and has driven the process of re-development (Dannestam 2009, Mukhtar-Landgren 2012, Holgersen 2014). The production of flagship concepts happens through this kind of an approach.

Second, the concept of the 4th urban environment has an impact on urban development and planning processes. Ground floor spaces in new buildings are made flexible, easy to re-use, transparent, and semi-public. These characteristics reinforces the focus on public space and entrepreneurship, for example through offering desks in open office landscapes to one-person entrepreneurs. The ideal is to make the citizen into a new urban subject; a self-governing, atomised entrepreneur, who raises themselves from unemployment or reaches for fulfillment with the aim to be ‘free’ (Bondi 2005). The conceptual framing is part of the planning process, which allows certain stakeholders to come together (like economists, trend-analysts, entrepreneurs, researchers, developers, architects, planners) in what looks like a participatory process. However, these processes still excludes large groups of inhabitants, and instead focuses on public-private partnerships. The planning process is part of the discursive transformation to attract the ‘right’ mediators. In this attempt, the Nordic City Network has

been used to promote the concept to other cities through conferences and workshops to gain status in the Nordic context.

Third, the 4th urban environment mobilize the ideas within a neo-liberal planning ideology of trickle-down economy, urban competition, and city branding. The “economically sustainable” development is supposed to support social cohesion in the city. Urban development is organized through architectural competitions and private-public collaborations. The creative city discourse has become “near ubiquitous” (Peck, 2011, p. 41) even though its actual results are disputed; its success lies in its appeal (Peck, 2005). Malmö, a Social-Democratic stronghold for more than 100 years, has adopted this neo-liberal urban development agenda. Local governments are still involved in delivering welfare and in social investments, but the chosen policy agenda is not the ‘Welfare City’ or ‘Just City’ (Dannestam, 2009, Nylund 2014). It is in this context that income gaps in the city continue to grow and create social tension.

Conceptual framings, architectural buzzwords, travelling ‘flagship concepts’, and their manifestations may seem rather harmless or at least useless. But, contextualizing and investigating these trends of neo-liberal planning ideas are important, as the social and economic consequences of unequal power relations may be more severe than at first sight. Visioning, after all, is representing values and meanings for the future to which a particular place is committed (Albrechts 2006). The Nordic welfare states are often perceived as undergoing a soft process of neoliberal transformations, still keeping welfare state policies (Baeten, Berg & Lund Hansen 2015). However the consequences of ongoing urban renewal programs still needs further to be researched.

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ⁱ This concept could also be translated as the '4th urban space'. The '4th urban environment' is the translation suggested by the City of Malmö in their English summary in a report from 2009.

ⁱⁱ See for example the discussion in US in the Daily Beast 03.20.13; *Richard Florida Concedes the Limits of the Creative Class*, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/03/20/richard-florida-concedes-the-limits-of-the-creative-class.html>

ⁱⁱⁱ Interviews were conducted together with Karin Grundström. The interviews not used in this article were not clearly involved in the development of the visioning.

^{iv} Compare with the three "T"s of Florida: Technology, Talent, Tolerance (Florida 2002) and Glaeser's comment on Florida, the three "S"s: skills, sun, sprawl (Glaeser 2004).

^v 1987 the civilian ship production was closed down. In 2003, the Kockums crane – the world's largest of its kind – was exported to Korea.

^{vi} Quoted in Vår Nya Samhällsutveckling, Media, page 8, nr. 2, February 2015

^{viii} Quotes are translated by the author from Danish to English.

^{ix} This should not be conflated with the ideas of third space developed by Homi Bhaba and Edward Soja.

^x The idea of "soft edges" (Gehl et al. 2006) describes an urban situation where there is interaction between pedestrians and the buildings.

^{xi} These two influential authors can be seen as a part of a trend that has been growing ever since to stress the need for a more dense urban design (see also Cullen 1961, Whyte 1980 and Hillier and Hanson 1984).

^{xiv} <http://www.mediaevolutioncity.se/en/>

^{xv} By Lundgaard and Tranberg Arkitekter A/S; completed in 2015.

^{xvi} http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/akademiska_hus_ab/pressreleases/byggstart-foer-malmoe-hoegskolas-nya-profilbyggnad-749125 10-04-2012 (Downloaded 07-10-2014)

^{xvii} <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/malmo/pressreleases/the-line-i-malmoe-sveriges-foersta-sharing-economy-1061161-29-09-2014> (Downloaded 07-10-2014)

^{xviii} The City of Malmö; <http://malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Vart-Malmo/Vart-Malmo-artiklar/2014-03-25-Maxat-mote-gor-bra-ideer-till-vaxande-foretag.html> 2016-11-02, illustrates these initiatives.

^{xix} See <http://www.nordiccitynetwork.com/>

^{xx} <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/malmo/pressreleases/the-line-i-malmoe-sveriges-foersta-sharing-economy-1061161-29-09-2014> (Downloaded 07-10-2014)

^{xxi} <http://www.forbes.com/sites/williampentland/2013/07/09/worlds-15-most-inventive-cities/> 7-09-2013 (Downloaded 07-10-2014)

^{xxii} Invitation to conference about the Line: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/malmo/documents/the-line-inbjudan-39124> 2016-11-02