Culture Moving Centre Stage
Exploring the potential of Culture in Sustainable Urban Development
in the City of Malmö

Master Thesis
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Faculty of Culture and Society - Department of Urban Studies
Main field of study - Leadership and Organisation
Degree Project Master of Arts (60 credits) with a Major in Leadership and Organisation
Master Thesis with a focus on Leadership and Organisation for Sustainability (OL646E), 15 credits
Summer 2019
Supervisor: Chiara Vitrano
Abstract

The discussion of a ‘cultural’ dimension of sustainability has been brought forward in sustainable development and in particular sustainable urban development (SUD) in the last three decades. Despite both an advancement of scientific discourse and advocacy through international organisations, empirical examples discussing explicitly leadership and organisation for implementation of culture in SUD are still rare. Through the lens of leadership and organisation, important questions regarding norms, values and behavior are being addressed that provide the foundation for future development.

To advance empirical knowledge in the described field, the thesis takes a look at the city of Malmö in the form of a case study. In Malmö, culture has been assigned an important and all-encompassing role in the city’s organisation and sustainable development plan, manifested through a local policy, the so called ‘Culture Strategy’. This in-depth study aims at understanding the practical application of culture in SUD, given a theoretical framework including the possible roles of culture in SUD and the meanings of creative organisation and leadership in a neoliberal urban context. It is followed by a comprehensive analysis of a range of official documents and eight semi-structured interviews. Asking for the communication of visions and actors’ roles and understandings of culture in relation to practices and organisational structures, the thesis shows that the cultural strategy so far has a dual function as a catalyst and representative for the discussion of culture in SUD. Over-departmentalisation and a lack of communication present hinders for organisational change and the potential of development through learning is not given adequate space and time so far. In conclusion, the municipal organisation must detach from the idea to control, and rather enable ‘spaces’ for diverse actors to collectively employ creativity and allow for an experimental process to unfold.

Keywords: sustainable urban development, cultural dimension of sustainability, local policy and practice, creative and sustainable cities, actors, urban organisation and leadership
List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Sustainable development</td>
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<td>SUD</td>
<td>Sustainable urban development</td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>Institutional innovation</td>
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<td>AAC</td>
<td>All Activities Center (swedish: Allaktivitetshus)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISU</td>
<td>Institute for Sustainable Urban Development</td>
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<td>SoPs</td>
<td>Spaces of possibilities</td>
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<td>CSC</td>
<td>Cross-sector collaboration</td>
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<td>CDCM</td>
<td>Cultural Department of the City of Malmö</td>
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<td>CSSM</td>
<td>Commission for a Social Sustainable Malmö</td>
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<td>MAU</td>
<td>Malmö University</td>
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<td>UDP</td>
<td>Urban development project</td>
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<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public private partnership</td>
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<td>UCLG</td>
<td>United Cities and Local Governments</td>
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Acknowledgements and Thanks

The process of writing this thesis turned out to be longer than expected but we both agree that it was very much worth it. There are many more people who have contributed to this than we can mention but we are especially grateful to all our interviewees and other informants who spent time with us exchanging thoughts and perspectives. Thanks to our supervisor Chiara who was available even during summer break! We were so lucky to be supervised by an urban studies PhD. Thank you also to our partners and friends who were fun, caring and supportive. Special thanks to those of you who helped with proofreading and editing especially in stressful times towards the end, when the sun was shining bright and the sea was so tempting! And at last, this thesis has led to new friendships.
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Appendix
1 Introduction

*If the global crisis has cultural causes, then it requires also cultural solutions.*

Davide Brocchi (2008: 26)

In line with Brocchi, we witness a global crisis as a result of unsustainable practices that can hardly be ignored today. Unsustainable practices are understood as human ways of living that overdraw the resources of the earth for our own benefits, precipitated by forces such as globalisation and urbanisation. Our new lifestyles have disconnected us from the environment and especially the western worldview and economic order accounts for those causes. Hence, we would like to give notice to Brocchi’s idea of causes and solutions, namely the cultural.

As a response to the ongoing crisis, *sustainability* presents a new paradigm for future developments that is no longer by choice. A still largely excluded dimension from the popular three pillar model, comprising an environmental, social, and economic pillar (Elkington, 1994), the cultural dimension is of growing interest for providing needed leverage points for sustainable transformation, as suggested by Kagan, Hauerwaas, Holz and Wedler (2018: 32). Transformations on economic, social, and cultural levels are inevitable and may now happen by *design* or by *disaster*. Having this in mind, Brocchi rightly reminds us of international agreements and conferences with the aim to impact future developments (2010: 145): When top-down approaches appear to fail, isn’t it rather in the local, in bottom-up processes that we need to search for alternatives?

There is a growing interest in a ‘cultural dimension’ of sustainability in academia and the global public debate, expressed e.g. through United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). UCLG is a global organisational platform of sub-national governments which stands for advocacy of local self-government based on strong democratic values. The organisation’s branch for culture, the Culture 21 Committee, provides an inspiration and orientation for many local cultural policies through the influential policy *Agenda 21 for Culture* (2002-2004). The city of Malmö is a ‘leading example’ for the work of UCLG (Koefoed, 2016), which provides only one of several reasons to locate a case study in this particular city. As a member of UCLG, Malmö actively participates in inter-urban exchange through conferences and has a *Cultural Strategy*, a local policy that places culture at the centre of sustainable urban development (SUD). The city aims to become the *European Capital of Culture* 2029, which implies an opportunity for development support (cultural, social and economic benefits) and generally functions as regeneration program for cities. While Malmö has the public image of being a leading example in SUD involving culture, the city is also accused of driving a political agenda that impersonates neoliberal logic, while distinguishing itself as a sustainable, creative, cultural city (Holgersen, 2017). This dual image of the city, the noticeable aim to balance global influences on a local scale, has intrigued multiple researchers to understand the

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1 The authors use the pronoun *we* throughout the thesis, to indicate a common reflexive position (for further explanation please see p. 28, *Limitations*).

dynamic relationships and processes that drive the city in these directions (e.g. Holgersen & Malm, 2015; Holgersen & Baeten, 2016; Nyström, 2014; Listerborn, 2017).

The advancement of the larger sustainability discourse toward an understanding that intends to stay within planetary boundaries implies a deep-seated transformation of systems and structures to manifest and reproduce the way we do things. Since we live in a ‘society of organisations’ (Perrow 1991, as cited in Tolbert & Hall, 2009), this thesis suggests a focus on organisation and leadership practices, in which challenges of SUD will be addressed at its core. The relevance of addressing culture in sustainable development specifically in cities is because of the critical role for cities due to e.g. population densification, unsustainable economic growth, pollution and social conflicts (Kagan et al., 2018). In the light of urban development and culture, it is inevitable to mention neoliberal tendencies that influence development (Baeten, 2014) mobilising the discourse on the creative city, in which culture becomes a fundamental resource and structuring element for development, e.g. UNESCO Creative City Network (UNESCO, 2004). Dependent on political intentions and in the context of prevalent neoliberal tendencies, the creative city approach has been criticised as unsustainable (Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013; Peck, 2005). Despite theoretical advance, discourses and actual practices in SUD are divergent and strongly depend on political contexts. Kagan et al. (2018) point out that culture is discussed on the one hand in sustainability sciences and on the other hand in public mainstream discourse, but that it essentially depends on local actors and discourses (2018: 34).

In relation to organisation and leadership, practices are informed by values and a society's values in turn, as Hawkes (2001) points out, “[...] are the basis upon which all else is built. These values and the ways they are expressed are a society’s culture” (Hawkes 2001: vii). Culture, when understood as a society’s values and behaviours, provide the fundament of these organisations (Alvesson, 2002). In the complex context of sustainability transition, organisations as well as leadership, provide a suitable unit to analyse, as it is otherwise often studied in isolation (Alvesson, 2014). Having this in mind, we argue that the potential of culture in SUD requires discussion from an organisational and leadership perspective. Here, we consider two aspects relevant: on the one hand the theoretical discourse around complexity leadership as it captures challenges e.g. regarding dynamic interactions at different levels (e.g. Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017) and on the other the paradigm shift in leadership studies, away from an individual to a collective practice, from linear to a complex and recursive process (e.g. Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorf, 2010; Alvesson & Spicer, 2014).

Since the cultural aspect of sustainability is still considered a relatively new phenomenon, Dessein, Soini, Fairclough and Horlings (2015) see an emergence to an active, multidisciplinary field of research. In the form of a meta narrative, culture and sustainability bring together various disciplines and address questions such as cultures appliance in sustainability policies, “what should be sustained in culture; what should culture sustain” and questions around the relationship of culture to other dimensions of sustainability (Dessein et al., 2015). In this research, we intend to add to this multi- and transdisciplinary field of research, by looking at the cultural perspectives in SUD through organisation and leadership practices. Due to this background, we already understand that there is a need for transformational directions, that informs how culture and SUD emerge as a holistic and graspable new paradigm, by looking at actual appliance in the case of Malmö.

**Problem statement**

While the public and scientific discourse that aims to intertwine the terms culture and sustainable development is intensifying through global networks, policies and comprehensive research projects, there is a risk that their effects remain on the surface. Soini and Birkeland states “cultural sustainability does not
belong to one discipline or within a hierarchical system of concepts; it is transversal and overarching at the same time” (2014: 221). Current research therefore suggests introducing unexpected disciplines to the field, by including local knowledge in research and contribute toward practical applications of transformative action, in particular by exploring local governments weaknesses and lack of capabilities to achieve culturally sustainable development (Dessein et al., 2015). Furthermore, due to the pressing issue of unsustainable practices as results of current paradigms in urban development (Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013; Peck, 2005), this research puts forward this possible alternative path, leading sustainable urban development towards a more creative and experimental approach through culture.

To support and put forward sustainable development involving culture, we further argue that it is necessary to focus on specific examples and actors officially involved or actively concerned in SUD processes. By presenting the city of Malmö as a case for the study, we want to explore how the cultural dimension of sustainable development is represented and applied throughout the city, by analysing strategies as well as practices. Whilst these documents and practices related to SUD are existing in complex and dynamic arenas of urban governance and organisational structures, it is of mere importance to glimpse into the organisational potentials and challenges that support or hinder the involvement of culture in SUD. The purpose of this study is therefore to understand in what ways the city of Malmö applies the cultural dimension of SUD. The interest and search for prescriptive policies, organisational capacities and potentials, as well as actual practices that create capacities for culture moving centre stage, leads us to the following research questions:

How does the city of Malmö apply the cultural dimension in sustainable development?

In order to answer this research question, we have created the following sub-questions:

1) How are the city’s visions and goals related to culture in SUD expressed or communicated?

2) Who are the formal and informal actors in SUD in Malmö and how do they refer to ‘culture’ and SUD in their practice?

3) How does SUD involving culture relate to organisations and governance?

Layout

The thesis is structured as follows: the second chapter presents a broad theoretical framework, beginning with a description of relevant relationships between concepts in the field: culture and creativity (2.1.1), culture and sustainability (2.1.2) and the role of culture in SUD (2.1.3). Chapter 2.2 presents literature on current challenges in SUD as important aspects that influence policy and practice. Lastly, the theoretical chapter dives into research on cultural policy and creativity in urban governance, creativity in organisations and creative leadership. Chapter 3 thereafter, gives an overview of the research design introducing the case study of Malmö, selected methods, data collection and finally emerged limitations to the research. Subchapters present an overview of chosen methods (3.2), followed by data-gathering technique (3.3). In chapter 4, the results from the empirical material is analysed through the following sub themes: values and understandings, actors’ roles and responsibilities, global and local demands, space and practices. The chapters prepare for the following discussion in chapter 5 and lastly for conclusions and further research recommendations in chapter 6.
2 Theoretical framework

With the unfolding chapter we aim at three things: firstly we want to present an overview on the manifold discussion of culture intertwined with creativity and sustainability, while secondly placing this into a context of contemporary urban politics, and thirdly present an overview of leadership and organisational theory needed to bring forward and analyse the possibilities of application regarding culture in SUD. While we aim to capture the breadth of parallel and sometimes intertwining discourses of cultures’ role in SUD, the work of Charles Landry plays an important role, as it addresses the entire city as a complex organisation and understands culture as fundamental resource. This is expressed in the borrowed words, ‘culture moving centre stage’ (Landry 2000: 6) in the title of this thesis.

2.1 Approaching culture, creativity and sustainability

With culture, creativity and sustainability we are facing three complex concepts with many different meanings and interpretations. Therefore, many authors stress the importance of developing a profound understanding of ‘culture’, in order to support SUD involving culture (Landry, 2000; Nyström, 1998; Hawkes, 2001). To approach the complexity of culture, one can make a first simple differentiation between an aesthetic and an anthropological idea. The aesthetic idea subsumes cultural products and forms of expression, distinguished by genres such as arts, music, literature and theatre, that are generally referred to as ‘culture’ in everyday discourse. The anthropological idea implies much more complex and less tangible aspects such as socio-cultural systems, human belief and behaviors, and it describes an “integrated pattern of human knowledge” (Nyström, 1999: 11). A comprehensive list of contributions to the understandings of culture and sustainability (e.g. Hawkes, 2001; Brocchi, 2008; Soini & Birkeland, 2014; Dessein et al., 2015), are presented in Appendix 1, whilst the prominent theories for our research will be discussed in this chapter. The chapter opens with the discussion of a much-disputed relationship between culture and creativity, followed by an emerging understanding of culture and sustainability and ends with three prominent roles for culture in sustainable development.

2.1.1 Relationship between culture and creativity

Creativity appears as a dispositiv, an order or a mandate, in contemporary culture (Reckwitz, 2013). Creativity infiltrates various social spheres and presents a desirable ideal as well as demand in various contexts. Reckwitz points out how creativity has been forced into economies, psychology and personal development as well as urban planning. The latter has predominantly been taken up, among others, by Landry (2000), who describes the rediscovery of creativity in the context of cultural resources replacing former industries. "Cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow."

(Landry, 2000: 6). In an effort to decipher this metaphor and translating it into practice, Landry gives the example of cultural heritage. He understands cultural heritage as the ‘sum of past creativities’ and motor of societal development (2000: 6). More precisely, he further names cultural aspects such as language, law, theories, values, and knowledge holding social and educational capacity. If these aspects are reassessed and passed on to the next generations, they may foster the development of social capital and organisational capacity to respond to change (Landry, 2000: 9). He continues: "Culture provides insights and so has many impacts; it is the prism through which urban development should be seen." (Landry, 2000: 9). However, culture and
creativity have been exploited for economic benefits and divested for the sake of cultural production, distribution and consumption of cultural objects and services, manufactured by creative industries\(^3\) (Chantepie, Becuş & Raţiu, 2016: 75). The strains between culture, creativity and economy have recently been intriguing various scholars and will be paid attention to in the following chapter.

2.1.2 Relationship between culture and sustainability

Culture as an inevitable and crucial ingredient in urban life and development was explored by Hawkes (2001) when proposing culture as the fourth dimension of sustainability. He emphasises cultural vitality; wellbeing, creativity, diversity and innovation, as the fourth pillar of sustainability, to complement the social, economic and ecological dimensions (Hawkes, 2001: 25). By using the term cultural vitality instead of cultural ‘development’, authentic values overshine the approach to culture as an instrument for achieving economic development and material wealth (ibid: 8). Culture as a fourth and separate pillar of sustainability is contestable, e.g. Claesson and Listerborn discuss the danger of further separation of the cultural dimension if understood as its own entity and fear a weakening of the social dimension (2010: 29). The complexity of how culture is involved with sustainability is further explored by Soini and Birkeland, who ask what culture is supposed to solve and to whose interests the solutions speak (2014: 214). Their analysis of peer-reviewed articles, all addressing and using the term “cultural sustainability”, present a helpful study to build further research upon. They show that the concept of “cultural sustainability” is used as a vehicle to address different issues in a variety of contexts and fields, although the concept is rarely defined, transdisciplinary and extremely diverse (ibid: 221). They carved out seven ‘storylines’; cultural heritage, cultural vitality, economic viability, cultural diversity, locality, eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilization. The storylines emerged in the literature review and serve as umbrella terms to the categorized notions of cultural sustainability, that are overlapping and interconnected. Furthermore, they are related to several political contexts, as targets of political regimes. Figure 1 explains how the storylines and political contexts are related.

Figure 1 Summary table of story lines and political contexts of “cultural sustainability” (elaborated by the authors on Soini and Birkelund, 2014: 220)

\^{3} While the term ‘culture industry’ is related to the work of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (1944) who critically discuss cultural production and the social and political effects of ‘mass culture’, creative industries today represent a larger spectrum of occupational activities in the economy of ideas and an economic sector of growing importance.
The cultural vitality and cultural heritage storylines are looking at culture as cultural capital, where the preservation of culture as an object for social inclusion and well-being is central for cultural sustainability (Soini & Birkeland, 2014: 216-219). The economic viability storyline is immersed in the culture as a resource for economic development, through creative economies and tourism. By enhancing culture as a process of changing values, ways of life and perceptions, cultural diversity and locality are closely connected to a communitarian ideology. Here, culture as a human right, diversity and inclusion are keywords for cultural sustainability. The strong liaison between humans and nature distinguish the eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilization storylines from the aforementioned. The storylines emphasise the ecological limitations of human interactions with nature and stress a cultural change that requires a paradigm shift to reach a sustainable society. Clear is that culture is a diffuse and overarching term, which in relation to sustainability, needs to be treated as a more diverse term than the generalized functional notion that is prevalent in contemporary public debates and discourses.

2.1.3 Cultures roles in sustainable development

Nyström attempted to compile an overarching view of culture within SUD in the European context after the “City and Culture Conference” in Stockholm, in 1998 (cf. 1999: 12). She describes culture as a precondition for shaping the city, and the city as a precondition for culture in the city. Culture is explained as “something that encompasses all human activities and evolves with time” (Nyström, 1999: 11). Her understanding of sustainable cultural development entails three crucial aspects; cultural heritage, cultural practices and cultural expressions. The liaison between sustainable cultural development and sustainable environmental development is essential, as culture works like a unifying force between individuals, groups and civilisations, striving for a common cause, such as environmental protection (Nyström, 1999: 18). Landry (2006) further explains that culture represents who we are, expressed through codes and assumptions, artefacts and rites, which uniquely shape our cities as local entities. From these interpretations, culture crystallizes as a glue that unifies and shapes how we do things and understand our surroundings.

Dessein et al. (2015) continue with a differentiation of relationships between culture and sustainability and present multiple contributions of culture to SD. Through the extension of the three-pillar model (Figure 2), the authors visualize alternative roles for culture in, for and as sustainable development, not as “[...] mutually exclusive, but [...] different ways of thinking and organising values, meanings and norms strategically and eclectically in relation to discussions on sustainable development.” (Dessein et al., 2015: 29). The first role (culture in SD) presents culture as a self-standing fourth pillar, “linked but autonomous, alongside separate social, and economic considerations and imperatives of sustainability” (ibid.: 28). As previously introduced by Hawkes (2001), this role risks being limited by the reduced understanding of culture as primarily art and creative activities, as it disregards the relationship to nature and other societal issues, write Dessein et al. (2015: 30). But despite the model being simple as it addresses primarily disciplinary and sectoral approaches, the authors see room for complex dynamics and potentially new modes of governance emerging as inspired through culture (ibid.: 33). The second role (culture for SD) can be understood as mediation, where “[...] culture can be the way to balance competing or conflicting demands and work through communication to give human and social meaning to sustainable development” (ibid.). Especially in economically driven development, this approach might allow to ask meaningful questions and establish a concrete connection. In order to do so, it requires a lens or filter, add the authors, and conclude that “the fact that the potential of culture’s mediating role has rarely been exploited perhaps
explains why sustainable development has proved to be so elusive.” (Dessein et al., 2015: 31). Thirdly, understanding culture as sustainable development probably best illustrates the processual character of sustainability. Cultures’ role here is understood as a cultural system, consisting of intentions, moral behavior and value-driven actions, rather than an ongoing than a fixed state (ibid.: 32). Deriving from the idea that sustainabilities imply the ‘making of connections of people and the worlds they inhabit’, this approach relates to interactive, social learning and teaching with place and the overall question of ‘how to live now and in the future (ibid.). These questions could and should be taken into policymaking in the form of citizen engagement, where culture means “[...] fundamental new processes of social learning that are nourishing, healing, and restorative. Sustainability exists thus as a process of community-based thinking that is pluralistic where culture represents both problem and possibility, form and process, and concerns those issues, values and means whereby a society or community may continue to exist.’” (Dessein et al., 2015: 32)

![Diagram of Cultures roles in sustainable development](Figure 2 Cultures roles in sustainable development (slightly elaborated on Dessein et al. 2015: 29))

While Soini and Birkeland’s framework and Dessein et al.’s visualisation above give a comprehensive overview on the relationships between culture and sustainability, as well as of culture related to the other dimensions of SD, the next paragraph introduces prevalent paradigms in urban and cultural planning today.

### 2.2 Current challenges in urban development

To make sense of urban development, sustainability, and culture, it is important to pay attention to the context. Since no decision is made in isolation, this paragraph aims to raise awareness of the complexity of the context, as it presents individual and complex dynamics, unfolding differently in local settings. As an all-encompassing political umbrella though, neoliberalist thought and related structures will be introduced briefly, followed by related formats of organisation.

#### 2.2.1 Neoliberalism

Under the term neoliberal planning, Baeten (2012) describes the logic that shapes the built- and organisational environments which provide the fundament of future urban development. Neoliberal
planning is not clearly defined, but key aspects mentioned are inconsistencies between the strong market regulations and the state planning functions. Further, those can be described as follows and driven by a:

“[...] belief in the natural superiority of the market to allocate land in the most efficient way; principled distrust in state planning per se as it distorts the market; the mobilization of the state to dismantle its own planning functions; the outsourcing of planning functions to the private sector; and the reinforcement of the authoritarian state to fulfill repressive functions (such as forced displacement) that private sectors can not achieve.” (Baeten, 2018: 106)

These intricate dynamics of state and market find expression in the form of tools and policies. Extended focus on city marketing, organisational structures such as urban development projects (UDP) and an increase of public-private partnerships (PPP) become prevalent (Baeten, 2018: 109). This allows greater financial scope than public sectors could afford otherwise, which results in augmented competition and the privatization of public services, with crucial effects for neighborhoods (ibid.: 110). Outsourcing of important functions means giving away control which is often irreversible. In form of UDPs, neoliberal planning mobilizes large scale redevelopments, such as harbour- and other industrial sites often including museums, opera houses or sport stadiums, which are only one of many aspects related to culture in urban development as it was reinforced through the idea of the creative city. The concept ‘the creative city’, although prominently associated with Richard Florida (2002), has a much longer history and aspects of organising and leading for creative cities will be discussed in 2.3.2.

2.2.2 Culture in the mainstream - projectification/festivalisation

In the context of sustainable development, the project format as the dominant organisational format requires us to discuss the dimension of time. Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (2018) have shown how management literature especially regarding project management, has strongly influenced organisational structures and became an *apparatus of justification* (2018: 105) in many different contexts. They critically discuss the implications of project organisation on various occasions but take a close look at the urban as a setting. They generally summarize a project as ‘temporary assembly of a disparate group of people’ in a *highly activated section of network* for a limited and rather short amount of time and projects can be looked at as *temporary pockets of accumulation* (ibid.: 104). Temporary activation and accumulation of human and material resources are becoming everyday practice in cities and they imply that resources are unequally distributed over time. And yet, projects facilitate planning in many ways as they present quick results and might catalyse long term development. Though, their temporary limitations and short-term management of resources require high administrative efforts. Furthermore, the clearly defined aim of a project contradicts the idea of sustainability as a ‘search process’ with necessarily open ends, for new ways of doing things, embedded in a slow transition as Kagan et al. (2018) suggests. The dominance of the project format is especially visible in cultural management and urban politics, referred to as the ‘politics of festivalisation’ (Häußermann, Siebel & Birkhuber, 1993) that is still prevalent and enforced today under the umbrella of creativity in a neoliberal context. Häußermann et al. point out the novelty of grounding cultural projects such as festivals in urban political concepts and mention the tendency to replace urban development policies through festivals (1993: 8). Long term planning and stability for cities and its public institutions (including cultural institutions) are therewith moved away further and further. Project-based funding furthermore requires extensive auditing (Belfiore, 2004) and restricts the possibilities of cultural production. In the context of projects, Reckwitz (2010) refers to the role of culture in cities with the term *self-culturalization*,

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which implies to actively emphasise and aestheticize urban difference, as a transformational process of western cities starting about three decades ago. Taking this further, cultures’ function as structuring element of cities has become a key organising principle for planning (Fudge in Nyström, 1999: 28f.).

2.2.3 Localising potential or the potential in the local

Following Brocchi’s (2010) substantial observations and acknowledging the limited effect of top-down approaches to SD, the discussion of culture-related SUD touches upon important aspects of democratisation and suggests fostering bottom-up dynamics. The local, as in (physical space, politics, and knowledge) can be understood as a potential for pioneering change. Through a “culturally sensitive” approach to urban planning, the focus is shifted from physical space towards place, as the scale of interaction between inhabitants and their environment. In the city of Malmö for example, democratic aspects of citizen participation are understood as a precondition for SUD (Nylund, 2014: 53), but the space for such deliberative planning processes is not sufficiently provided (ibid.: 56). Understanding such spaces as the “avenues for the expression of community values”, Hawkes defines them as conditions for being a fully democratic society (2001: vii). Local cultural institutions are introduced as such spaces (Kagan et al., 2018), among other actors in a larger network of cultural organisations and others. As Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini explain:

“Local ownership of projects requires the involvement of community organisations and leaders, and of people who don’t belong to groups or read local papers. It is certainly a hard discipline, as many local authorities now reviewing their consultation procedures can testify, but working with local people is a fundamental constituent of success. It is not only essential for the longer term viability of a project which may be triggered by short-term funding, but also to inspire further ideas and participation.” (Landry et al., 1996: 6).

In order for such processes with long term effect to work, Healey (1999) points out that the urban leaders’ role needs to shift towards an enabling, facilitating, mobilising and framing approach, where strong emphasis is placed on the democratic imperative in combination with a sense of place through collective skills and techniques (1999: 303f.). Landry exposes that such processes are time-consuming and might require more persuasive leadership (2006: 236). While leadership aspects are discussed at a later point, it is important to mention that planned SUD designs are ideally replaced by testing alternatives emerging through imaginative processes (Kagan et al., 2018: 35).

2.3 Putting creativity to work

At the core of this study lie the actual practices and potentials that support and foster culture as sustainable urban development. When navigating through theoretical research with aims to understand these practices, our main findings are related to creativity in policies, governance, organisations and leadership. The last chapter of the theoretical framework deals with the intricacy of putting creativity to work, through cultural policy in the context of urban governance. Thereafter, follows an explanation of three streams (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Kagan et al., 2018) in the creativity discourse that influence organisations and their practice. The third section looks at creative leadership and concludes with a brief summary of the complete theoretical framework.
2.3.1 Creativity policies and governance

When putting creativity to work, international to local policies play an abundant role as they incorporate all from plans, actions and strategies, as well as implementation and evaluation related to culture and SD. Regarding the sphere of policies, Dessein et al. point out that the main interest lies in the role of culture for sustainable economic development (2015: 42). Bianchini (1999: 35 ff.) summarises the chronological development of cultural policies and their bearing from the 1940s until the 2000s. While he admits difficulties with the generalisation, he points out similarities in the argumentation for the use of the cultural policy. In the 1940s to the 1960s, cultures’ role was the physical and civic reconstruction after the war, with an expansion of the institutional landscape to widen access to the classics. In the 1970s, socio-political movements such as environmentalism, feminism, minority activism and youth revolts, placed cultural policies in the political sphere. The boundaries between high culture and low, or popular culture dissolved as left party leaders showed an acquiescent stand towards all forms of cultural expression. Hence, in what Bianchini refers to as the ‘age of participation’, the cultural strategies were means to community rebuilding, reducing socio-economic inequalities and giving people the ability to reclaim their city. However, as processes of economic restructuring changed the political landscape and direction in the late 1970s and early 1980s, cultural policies became a tool for the reallocation of resources to expand economic sectors such as tourism, leisure, media, fashion and design (Bianchini 1999: 36f.). Local authorities and public actors in post-industrial western European cities suddenly realized the value of the arts as a means to drive economic growth for achieving social well-being and international recognition. The rise of “cultural industries” exploited the potential of various cultural sectors and erased distinctions by applying a broad definition of what primarily is cultural consumption. As the intrinsic value of culture was played down, the consumption-oriented approach resulted in serious imbalances in the spatial distribution of arts and culture (ibid.: 39f.). In the local context, it has led to cultural place-making that has enabled space for certain types of cultural entrepreneurs and actors from the creative industries, while simultaneously hindered other cultural actors, depending on the priorities of local leaders (Garcia, 2004: 317). A similar orientation comes from Dessin et al., who argue for a local culturally specific context for cultural policy, opposed to top-down approaches in ‘one size fits all’ manner, as policies can make a profound impact if well formulated (2015: 45).

Urban governance is closely related to cultural and urban policy in terms of the need for common directions in the urban governance landscape. The complexity of creativity in the context of urban governance has been researched by Healey (2004), who evaluates types of governance structures concerning creativity and asks how interventions generate creative capacity. She takes a look at the connection between creativity and innovation and discovers a ‘double’ creativity of governance that refers to 1) the potential to foster creativity in social and economic dynamics and 2) the capacity to transform own capacities (Healey, 2004: 87f.). With a further distinction of three different meanings of creativity, Healey brings some clarity that allows entangling the discourse around the creative city. The first meaning describes a direct link between creativity and innovation and the search for the ‘new’ as a mode of governance that implies adjustment to urban dynamics or the auto-transformation according to challenges (ibid.: 89). As an experimental mode of governance, it aligns with the narrative of the complexity of the urban and is linked to economic competitiveness (ibid.). Moving beyond innovation and materiality, the second meaning of creativity addresses ‘urban dynamics’, and implies the production of events, and experiences as to ‘enrich human existence’ (Healey, 2004: 89). The third meaning, she continues, describes the process of making a new product, such as the design of a particular space in connection with public art.
As an example, she mentions the introduction of a sculpture knotted into local narratives (ibid.: 90). She concludes that these meanings of creativity in the context of a complex urban environment require a “mode of governance very different from a rule-bound administrative approach or a style of planning locked into a culturally homogeneous concept of what a city region should be like.” (ibid.). She furthermore sees a creative potential for governance in those dynamics (ibid.: 100). The following paragraph (2.3.2) takes a look at implementations for organisation, in which policy and creativity are organized and practiced.

2.3.2 Creativity in organisations

Similar to the three different roles of culture, we see three main versions of the creative city. It is relevant to introduce these tendencies in the context of organisations considering the impact they have on the development and change of urban systems and life, mainly for post-industrial cities during the past decades. They have and are still changing mind-sets that guide decision-making and evoke critical debate on ways of organising and managing cities (Landry, 2000). In what follows, the tendencies are presented chronologically. Beginning with Charles Landry (2000) and the ‘Creative city toolkit for urban innovators’, creativity is being rediscovered as potential for an urban groundshift, the progress towards the post-industrial city. "The fundamental question for the creative city project is: Can you change the way people and organisations think - and, if so, how?” asks Landry (2000: 5) and indicates that development implies a rethinking of organisational structures. As central to this transformation, Landry sees the overcoming of narrow thinking and suggests new perspectives and approaches such as a feminist perspective or looking at rural ways of doing things (2000: 5). Culture is understood as a resource and creativity as a cultural asset to change the conditions, underlying structures and the organisation in order to be able to adapt to challenges.

Richard Florida (2002) builds upon Landry’s observations that creativity as a cultural asset attracts tourism and economic capital to a city. Here the focus lies on the creative class, with creativity as and means to produce creative outcomes, where culture becomes a commodity in the global competition between cities. He introduces the three pillars talent, technology and tolerance (three T’s) as the success factors to attract the creative class, understood as highly educated flexible workers in the fields of technology, finance and law, medicine and other ‘innovative’ occupations. According to Florida (2002), the breeding and nurturing of the creative class needs to be done through emphasising individualism, alternative cultures and organisations adapting to the lifestyles and lifecycles of the ‘creative’ workers. Main areas in the sector were commercially oriented creative businesses involving design, advertising and software development. Culture is an instrument to employ since "[...] places have replaced companies and [are] the key organising units in our economy" (Florida, 2002: 30). In contrast to Florida, Landry (2000) argues for a creative city that is built on the potential of the creative people inhabiting the city, potentials that need to be deployed by urban planners and policymakers collaboratively.

The two streams in the discourse explained before emphasise the well-being of society at large (cf. Landry, 2000) and the great beneficiary in the urban economy (cf. Florida 2002). Peck (2005) and Kirchberg and Kagan (2013), who’s perspectives will be presented hereafter, criticise Florida’s suggestions by arguing that they exclusive and have resulted in increased socio-economic inequalities and spatial segregation. Reckwitz (2010) studied the urban transformations through creativity and concludes that creativity appears as a ‘cultural superstructure’ throughout media, behind which familiar structures of inequality hide. Despite all critique, Florida’s vision of the creative city has predominantly informed policymaking globally. Earlier precedents such as Landrys and Bianchini’s ideas have not been paid attention to at the same scale. Kagan...
et al. summarize “[...] many creative city policies shape an ambivalent discursive framework of cultural empowerment that misuses Bianchini and Landry’s ideas, smeared with more neoliberal discourses” (2018: 33).

A third interpretation follows up on the extensive critique towards Florida and elaborates on an alternative way of organising creativity, in the idea of ‘culture as sustainable development’ (Dessein et al., 2015: 29). Kirchberg and Kagan understand ‘sustainable creative cities’ as cities “[that] should embrace participatory, bottom-up, intergenerational approaches where ‘trial and error’ (i.e. iterative) experiments are fostered [and where] long-term developments and processes are regarded as important, rather than products” (2013: 141). Following up on previous research, Kagan et al. (2019) have empirically researched the potential of small scale artistic and cultural practices to influence and change institutions through innovative practice. They introduce the notions of ‘spaces of possibility’ (SoP) and ‘institutional innovation’ (II) as important concepts to consider when combining SUD with art and culture. In a later publication ‘spaces of possibility’ are described as ‘protected’ spaces, that allow experiments to fail without being sanctioned and temporary experiments to happen since they may reveal stimuli for future developments (Kagan et al., 2019: 18). Landry too sees the aspects of networking relationships and joint processes as distinguishing factors of the creative city, in comparison to personal or organisational creativity (Landry, 2000: 106).

To summarize this part, there are different approaches to organising through creativity, with different understandings of cultures’ role within. In Florida’s approach, arts and culture provide consumable goods necessary to attract the creative class and therewith economic prosperity. In Landry’s approach, arts and culture are understood as a resource for organisational changes in urban governance through creativity. Kagan et al., finally suggest collaborative experimental practices within the field of arts and culture in search of sustainable forms of organising for future challenges. In order to bring forth practical implications for creative cities, the following paragraph presents a series of thought in the recent leadership discourse.

2.3.3 Towards creativity leadership

This paragraph does not generally discuss ‘creativity leadership’ but aims to discuss leadership that facilitates creative organisation for sustainable development as described in the previous paragraph. But first we need to ask, what is leadership and how can it inform practice in the sustainable creative city? In the absence of a common understanding of leadership, Alvesson and Spicer (2014) and Crevani et al. (2017) agree on the processual character of leadership as opposed to the traditional idea of a leader-follower distinction and unequal power distribution. Furthermore, the idea of leadership as an influencing process is understood as a perspective to search for drivers and hinders of SUD involving culture. Having identified two main distinguishable camps of culture in SUD as a) large scale profit-oriented, culture-led urban regeneration (Floridian creative city) and b) SUD including socio-economic and artistic projects and initiatives (Landry, Kagan et al.), this chapter presents related ideas of leadership and organisation.

Whether leadership appears helpful in this endeavour is to be uncovered. Alvesson and Spicer (2014) see leadership appearing as a trend that is inflationary used to solve problems of various kinds. While the term is blurry and often used without a clear definition, they mention the “influencing process” and the presence of a leader, as aspects many researchers agree on (ibid.: 40). To get a hint of understanding of the complexity of the leadership process in the real world, they acknowledge three different views of
leadership; a) leadership as practice – its actions that are happening in reality, b) leadership as a search for meaning and c) leadership as a vocabulary – how leadership is communicated in everyday practice (ibid: 45). ‘Leaders’ in contemporary society are usually associated with positive attributes and feelings, while the reality shows that tensions, conflicts and inconsistencies challenge these pure and moralistic assumptions. This nuanced way of looking at researched and applied leadership is still unusual, but makes the critical perspective presented by Alvesson and Spicer (2014) so relevant.

Criticality and the ability to rethink the status quo, as it is inscribed to bureaucratic systems, is a precondition for learning and development. It might even require rule-breaking at times, when bureaucracy appears as an obstacle for learning, writes Landry (2000: 114). Regarding previously mentioned inconsistencies, he refers to Debbie Jenkins notion of a ‘leadership vacuum’, as the expression of the need for clear direction and strong leadership in relation to the disappointment when ambitions are let down (2000: 109). Creativity can also be understood as the method of employing cultural resources, explains Landry (ibid.: 9). Regarding the leadership he writes:

“There are ordinary, innovative and visionary leaders. The first simply reflect the desires or needs of the group they lead. An innovative leader questions local circumstances to draw out the latent needs, bringing fresh insight to new areas. Visionary leaders, by contrast, harness the power of completely new ideas. A creative city has leaders of all kinds, in entrepreneurial and public, in business and voluntary bodies. A key role for local government and other agencies is to create an inclusive vision to which local leadership can contribute to the pursuit of widespread change rather than sectional or personal interests.” (Landry, 2000: 108f.)

The quote above implies a certain capacity in transdisciplinary working and thinking, considering the municipality as a central organ in relation to other bodies in the creative city. A widespread vision therewith needs to be cross-sectoral, multidisciplinary and multilingual. This further implies a good account of local knowledge and a broad network. The search for leadership and culture in the urban context leads to the phenomenon of consulting, which is important to mention. Consultancies form one existing form of urban leadership and are situated externally or become temporarily integrated with cities and local organisations. In addition to outside knowledge, endogenous intelligence is important. While insiders hold deep knowledge, outsiders provide freshness and therewith "Finding the right balance between inside and outside knowledge [becomes] a key leadership task" (Landry, 2000: 112). Migration and the diversity of backgrounds and knowledge are also mentioned as keys to establishing creative cities (ibid.). He further mentions fostering responsibility, creating local self-reliance and ownership as important leadership task and gives the example of voluntary groups, where there are potential creative solutions for dealing with social problems. Assessment for these aspects can be done by taking a time period and looking at a) the amount of decision makers-from different contexts, b) the number and position of project-based employees, and c) the number of newly formed organisations (Landry 2000: 112). Without speaking of sustainability, Landry asks "How can choices be sorted out so that the city moves forward without destroying the social base from which it has emerged?” (2000: 5). He therewith shows an understanding of culture and creativity as complexly intertwined in situated social contexts.

To get an understanding of how change is managed in organisations, it might be useful to look towards theoretical positions treating leadership as a social construct and constant process (Crevani et al., 2010) and by leadership for adaptability in organisations through complexity theory (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2018). For example, Crevani et al. (2010) challenge the traditional idea of leadership by stressing that leadership must
be understood as processes, practices and interactions. The idea is based on leadership as a construct of social interactions, and not a result of what formal leaders do or think (2010: 78). From this perspective, they emphasise the need to address the notion of power, as formal and informal leaders create and recreate power relations when doing leadership. This notion of leadership as a social construct is also noticeable from Landry’s perspective. He pictures everyone in society as a possible leader and equates trials and errors of city-making with improvised jazz; “[...] there is not just one conductor, which is why leadership in its fullest sense is so important – seemingly disparate parts have to be melded into a whole” (2006: 7). This relates to complexity, in the sense of Uhl-Bien and Arena (2017) is described as ‘rich interconnectivity’.

While there is a lot of knowledge in leadership studies on leading for productivity, little is yet known about leadership for adaptability of organisations in a complex world, write Uhl-Bien and Arena (2018). As deep-seated changes are long-term processes, an important question is how to design those processes. Uhl-Bien and Arena refer to adaptive leadership as the enabling of adaptive processes, by addressing the tensions between the need to innovate and the need to produce (2018: 12). They distinguish between leadership for organisational adaptability and leadership for change and emphasise the need to create space and engage with tensions in the operational system. Leading for adaptability implies the positioning of “organisations and the people within them to be adaptive in the face of complex challenges” (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017: 89). The practices of enabling leadership to imply the applicability of complexity thinking, facilitation of adaptive space in which to build informal network structures to unleash the collective potential for adaptation processes. In different words, Landry expresses a similar idea and highlights the sensitivity towards crisis and challenge, since creative capacity is not generated in isolation (2000: 106).

Another and probably to some extent similar approach is introduced by Kagan et al., with the notion of Urban spaces of possibility (2018: 35). As opposed to ‘prefabricated blueprints’, the authors emphasise imagination, creativity and focus on how policies can unfold “possibilities for creative action and innovation as part of the search process of sustainability.” (ibid.). They add: “SoPs are actively networked with each other and with wider movements/networks working towards emancipatory/ ecological goals.” (Kagan et al., 2018: 35). In providing these spaces, cultural institutions may have an important function as they employ artists who have specific education and work more openly, are continuously learning in comparison to other professions which entails a potential that could unfold in collective working processes (ibid.). In the context of complexity leadership Uhl-Bien and Arena (2017) point out that the role of a leader is to enable adaptive space that nurtures the adaptive function of the organisation (2017: 19). Adaptivity, here implies the ability to reorganise according to needs and other external factors and with Landry’s words one could conclude “Successful leadership aligns will, resourcefulness and energy with vision and an understanding of the needs of a city and its people. Leaders [...] are ordinary in maintaining heterogeneous contacts at many levels within and beyond the city.” (Landry, 2000: 109). In this context, networking and the active involvement of citizens and local actors are reinforced by applying a cultural perspective, means Hawkes (2001: 1). The rhetoric of democracy in contemporary discourse is ubiquitous and participation, engagement and inclusion are highlighted in current planning frameworks. However, the insufficiency of the actual involvement of many communities is explained as a cultural problem, that needs cultural solutions (Hawkes, 2001: 16).

This chapter has given an overview of the broad and complex discussion of culture, creativity and sustainability. It has elaborated the relationships between culture and creativity and further presented three perspectives of the creative city (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2012; Kagan et al., 2018). These are furthermore
related to different political contexts and therewith different dimensions (or pillars) of sustainability, primarily conflicting between ‘economic viability’ and ‘eco-cultural civilisation’ (referring to storylines in Figure 1). The possible pathways towards sustainability also show hinders and challenges that aggravate sustainable development in its rightful form.

Regarding leadership, we conclude that there are internal and external leadership positions and processes. External positions comprise e.g. EU-policy recommendations and internationally active consultancies that represent rather general and top-down approaches. Internal leadership, such as local knowledge may be fostered in space experimentation giving room to cultural experiments (Kagan, 2018). This latter is related to the overall aim to facilitate local ownership and handing over decision-making power to actors with deep knowledge (Landry, 2000; Healey, 2004). Landry highlights the importance of balancing insider and outsider knowledge. Instead of expecting strong leadership from one individual, leadership is a collective, participatory process that in turn is to be facilitated, or enabled.

Conclusively, the imperative of involving culture in SUD is in the literature associated with profound impacts that could drive sustainable development in cities and beyond. However, for democratic and long-term viability, organisations need to create space for such development to take place. The following chapter will introduce the research design and motivate the choice of a case study for the endeavour to the empirical research of local practices related to sustainability and culture.
3 Research design

This study places actors and documents in the field of culture or cultural policy in the city of Malmö at the centre. These actors range from researchers on cultural policy and organisation to administrative practices and urban planning to independent cultural actors and cultural institutions. Their intentions and practices, explicitly or implicitly, are of great importance for this study, as they allow to reflect on the discussion and advancement of culture in SUD. In the city of Malmö, culture has been assigned a central role in the sustainable development of the city and its society, which is why this study focuses on actors and practices as well as the question of responsibility for this development. This chapter is structured as follows: beginning with a chapter on case study research, an overview of the selected methods is presented followed by the object of this case study, the sample and procedure and finally limitations to the study.

3.1 Case study research

In order to answer our research questions, this research is built up in the form of a case study as a common approach in the tradition of the Chicago School of Sociology (Park & Burgess, [1925] 2010) to allow the study of cultural patterns of urban life (ibid.: Viii). In the centre of urban sociological research from the perspective of Park, is the everyday practice and social worlds of individuals, their subjective perspectives and relation to institutional frameworks. Silke Steets (2008) summarized that the aim of a case study is primarily to fill a gap of knowledge around the everyday life of others through the understanding of their perspective. She further mentions the aim for socio-political relevance as central to the Chicago school approach, where the understanding of the researched in relation to political and institutional frameworks builds the basis for socio-political action (Steets, 2008: 101). Only through the perspective of those actors will an understanding of their motivations and practical strategies become visible. We understand the knowledge of how the cultural sector works and thinks as fundamental in order to understand and bring forward sustainable development that is based on ‘culture as a fourth pillar’ (Hawkes, 2001) or the ‘all-encompassing framework for the municipal organisation’ as stated by Cultural Department of the City of Malmö (CDCM, 2014).

Among others, the economic geographer Bent Flyvbjerg (2011) critically engages with the case study approach and points out the aspect of learning, and that the existence of predictive theory in social sciences is unlikely (ibid.: 303). Case studies as attempts of intensive analysis (depth, details, richness) do further allow a contribution to the development of new concepts and causal mechanisms by uncovering deviant cases (falsification) as they “stimulate further investigation and theory building” (ibid.: 305). Especially in urban contexts – cities as highly unique patterns of social-, political-, geographical-, and infrastructural aspects, case studies provide a valuable source for learning, as well described deep accounts of knowledge.

Furthermore, in the field of qualitative research, Alvesson and Sköldberg argue that a reflective and reflexive approach is needed to give qualitative research its deserved status (2018: 11). Reflexivity puts interpretation at the centre of research and the reflection of the interpretation becomes crucial for the qualification of the study. Hence, the underlying perceptual, cognitive, theoretical, linguistic, contextual, political and cultural circumstances need to be considered and infuse the interpretations. In order for us to contribute to the discourse within the field, we need to constantly recognise and reflect on our own biases, knowledge, contextual understanding and role in the study. Different concepts such as culture, cultural
policy, sustainability and urban development are interpreted differently among actors and us, which has to be highlighted throughout the process of collecting data, interpreting and writing.

3.1.1 Object of case study: the City of Malmö

To answer our research question, we choose a case study approach argued for in cultural and urban research (Park & Burgess, 2010; Steets, 2008; Flyvbjerg, 2011). The selected geographical context is Malmö, a city with almost 340,000 inhabitants, located in the region of Skåne in the south of Sweden. The city has, alongside many other European industrial cities, transformed during the past thirty years as industries declined and have been dismantled to make place for the new knowledge-oriented creative city (Holgersen, 2015; Listerborn, 2017; Nylund, 2014).

Malmö makes an interesting case as the prominence of urban governance, regeneration and policymaking have had an immense impact on the development of the city. The transformation in Malmö equaled visions that forcefully enhanced economic development for success, with neoliberalism as an excessive influencer on urban policy and planning (Holgersen, 2017). The metamorphosis has been described as “a cliché of postindustrial cities” (Holgersen, 2017: 145, authors translation), generating a city characterized as; eco-friendly, world-leading in architecture and urban planning, knowledge city, and more recently creative city. This has helped to attract high-income citizens and placed Malmö in the international spotlight as an attractive city (Nylund, 2014). However, changing demographics are related to growing income- and spatial inequalities, further influenced by changes in national policies due to globalisation (Nylund, 2014: 42). The city has, alongside economic development, consistently failed to address the inequalities and social tensions despite the economic growth and social programs (Holgersen, 2017). Attempts to address these issues related to reduce inequalities among citizens has emphasised the need for a coherent, inclusive and just city by accentuating this in both the Comprehensive Plan and a final report published in 2013, from the Commission for a Social Sustainable Malmö (CSSM) (Nylund, 2014: 58). The commission stated in their report that inequalities in well-being and living conditions would be worse in Malmö without the existence of the many cultural actors, organisations, associations and civil society as valuable resources for a socially sustainable city (CSSM, 2013: 47). However, it’s unclear how citizens are engaged in the development of the city and not only used to legitimize decisions that already have been made, states Nylund (2014: 58).

From a leadership perspective, the transformation process of Malmö has been steered by one major player – the former mayor, Ilmar Reepalu (Holgersen, 2015: 238). From 1994-2013 he governed and drove the development of the city, inspired by the vision of the ‘K-society’. K-society refers to economist Åke E. Andersson, who in the 1980s presented an idea of five “K”的 that stands for Kunskap (knowledge), Kommunikationsystem (systems of communication), Kreativa resurser (creative resources), Konst (art) and Kulturellt kapital (cultural capital). It could be compared with Florida’s three “T”的 (2002) or Glaeser’s (2004) comment on Florida, the three “S”s – skills, sun and sprawl (cited in Listerborn, 2017: 8). Reepalu himself claims to have saved Malmö from a risk of societal collapse (Reepalu, 2013). The impact he had on the development of Malmö is debatable, as local decision-making rarely operates in a vacuum, but is part of a global economic transition (Holgersen, 2017). However, his role as an architect and constructor probably determined the path and pace of the changes. State-funded projects such as the Öresund bridge, the University and the City Tunnel were realised, alongside the waterfront development project Bo01, with the landmark Turning Torso. Today, Malmö municipality has the ambition to integrate economic, ecological, social and cultural sustainability in urban development, together with a range of actors,
The need to integrate culture in current urban development projects is communicated in plans, reports and official rhetorics, that are of great importance to this study. Further, the municipality has stressed the need for cross-sector collaborations for developing urban areas and constructing new landmarks in order to build a cohesive and just city (Stjernfeldt Jammeh, 2018, September 7). Culture as one of the main municipal concerns enabled by local governance and policy is materialized in the concert hall Malmö Live (Holgersen, 2015: 240) and the planning of a new culture house in Rosengård, Culture Casbah (Sydsvenskan, 14 januari, 2019).

3.2 Overview of methods

The following chapter outlines the selected methods that have been considered relevant for the case study: an overview of semi-structured interviews (3.2.1), document analysis (3.2.2) and qualitative content analysis (3.2.3). In a social constructionist tradition, the concept of ‘triangulation’, as Uwe Flick (2018) summarizes, implies that the research is considered from at least two perspectives. In this study, we therefore regard secondary sources such as policy documents and primarily gathered data through semi-structured interviews as important materials. Schwandt and Gates put forward that there is no single understanding of a case study, unless triangulation is applied as means “to understand the experiences, perspectives and world views of people in a particular set of circumstances” (2018: 346). Triangulation is further mentioned to be part of good research practice to increase validity and withstand critique (Mathison, 1988 in: Flick, 2018).

3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

In order to assess the practical reality of local actors in the context of SUD, as well as their different perspectives and understandings, this research makes use of qualitative interviews with local actors who can be considered experts in their fields, as we will argue below. According to Gläser and Laudel (2010) the expert interview is a method for reconstructing social situations or processes to interpret the meaning of social science phenomena. The purpose of expert interviews is to make the special knowledge of people involved in the situations and processes, the experts, as well as their lifeworld accessible to the researcher (ibid.). This inquiry is best supported through a semi-structured interview guide. Semi-structured interviews are probably the most commonly used interview forms in social science today (Brinkmann, 2018). Compared to more structured interviews, semi-structured interviews “can make better use of the knowledge-production potentials of dialogues” by enabling more leeway for reacting on whatever is considered important by the interviewee (ibid.: 579). Compared to more unstructured interviews, the interviewer has a better chance to focus the conversation on topics that he or she considers important in the context of the research (ibid.). The semi-structured interview guide is roughly structured along with the main conceptually informed ideas of the research. The semi-structured interview guide also facilitates a comparison of the different perspectives of the eight experts selected as interviewees, who will also be presented in the course of this chapter.

3.2.2 Document analysis

“Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge”, writes
Bowen (2009: 27) referring to Corbin and Strauss (2008). Document analysis on especially organisational and institutional documents is a systematic procedure and belongs to the most common methods in social science. Bowen defines skimming, reading and interpretation as three important steps in document analysis (2009: 32). In an iterative process of these steps, a combination of content and thematic analysis is applied (ibid). The thematic analysis allows recognizing patterns and emerging themes that may then become analytical categories in the qualitative data analysis (ibid.) The careful reading process then involves coding which allows integrating data gathered through different methods (ibid.) Regarding the evidence of documents it is worth to quote the author here at length:

“Documents should not be treated as necessarily precise, accurate, or complete recordings of events that have occurred. Researchers should not simply ‘lift’ words and passages from available documents to be thrown into their research report. Rather, they should establish the meaning of the document and its contribution to the issues being explored.” (Bowen, 2009: 33)

Bowen further summarizes five specific functions in using documentary material. They can provide 1) context data or witness past events, 2) suggest questions or inform the research in other ways, 3) provide supplementary research data, 4) function as a means to track change and development and 5) verify findings or corroborate evidence (Bowen, 2009: 30). Furthermore, we consider the selected secondary sources as vital for the research because of their active way of influencing cultural practice. This perspective, named Actor Network Theory (ANT), considers not only humans but also objects and artefacts as actors, whereas both human/non-human actors are involved in the construction of the social (Latour, 2005: 72). Hence, the selection of documents for the aim are related to cultural policy and practices in the city of Malmö.

3.2.3 Qualitative content analysis

To analyse the interview and document text data we consider a standard qualitative content analysis as suggested by Gläser and Laudel (2006, 2010) suitable. In contrast to the primarily inductive Grounded Theory Approach (GT) developed by Glaser and Strauss around 1960, which aims to theorise phenomena previously not covered by the research, the qualitative content analysis is working with a theory-led search grid. Based on the work of Philipp Mayring (1994), this approach is based on four main steps: 1) preparation of extraction, 2) extraction, 3) data preparation, and 4) evaluation. As a central instrument, Mayring points out the categories through which aspects are operationalized (1994: 162). With the help of the theoretically based categories, the material is being structured and coded (ibid.). As quality criteria, Mayring refers to the validity of the construct as the extent to which the categories are related to the theoretical foundation. Furthermore, triangulation through different researchers is considered relevant to ensure quality and co-authorship is considered an advantage. The advantage of the model of Gläser and Laudel, in addition to for example Mayring’s (1994) model, is their open approach to the category system. Here, the efficiency of the process may be increased because the category system can be adapted to the material during the extraction and new categories can be constructed so that a trial run through a larger part of the material is no longer necessary (Gläser and Laudel, 2010: 201). This implies a mix of deductive and inductive analysis that we consider important given the variety of interviewees and perspectives, which one theoretically founded search grid may not sufficiently do justice.

For the step following the extraction, i.e. the preparation of the material, the raw data is first summarized and checked for redundancy and contradictions and then sorted according to criteria relevant to the evaluation. As with the extraction, the preparation of the data includes another interpretation process.
In the subsequent evaluation, the information base developed in the preparation process is used to reconstruct cultural practices in sustainable development and search for causal mechanisms in order to discuss their relationship to organisational and leadership questions.

**Theory led research grid**

For the analysis, qualitative content analysis was applied. The method implies using a theoretically informed research grid as the basis for the analysis and uses categories to structure and code the empirical material. Thereafter, a number of themes emerged in which several factors were found. An overview of these themes and factors are found in Figure 3. They will be used in the analysis and discussion of the findings. The theoretical framework provides the basis for this study and is summarized in the theoretically informed research grid presented below. Referring to our purpose and research question, the major factors relevant for the implementation of culture in SUD found in the literature are; values and understandings, formal and informal actors, local and global demands, space and place and practices. These are interrelated and overlap, as well as influence each other on multiple levels. Altogether, they form the basis on which our empirical material will be analysed.

![Figure 3 Overview of theory led research grid with categories](image)

### 3.3 Data collection

**Interviews**

The practical reality of sustainable urban development involving culture is about actors from various disciplines, thus we chose to interview a wide range of actors with different perspectives, as suggested in a case study (Steets, 2008). We perceive all interviewees as experts in their field, whether oriented towards the field of culture, urban planning, or research. In the case of Malmö, they represent a small part of the diverse group of actors involved in urban development processes and therewith give only an idea of the type of knowledge and understandings that flourish in such a complex context. Furthermore, we are looking for leadership practices, which implies that official leaders might be the target for our investigation. However, we want to extend the understanding of leadership as a concept, by having a critical perspective
of what leadership is and who represents leadership (Alvesson & Spicer, 2000). Hence, interviewees do not necessarily occupy leadership positions, yet hold specific formal or informal knowledge about structures encircling SUD and culture.

Eight expert interviews with actors; researchers in the field, municipality represents, independent cultural actors and culture institutional workers were conducted, see Table 1 for the entire list. Ideally, we would have interviewed four men and four women. The interviews were conducted in different settings as each interviewee was given the possibility to decide where to arrange the meeting. An asset for both ourselves and the informant was that we had the opportunity to offer the interviewee to speak either English or their native language, Swedish. The option made the interviewees more comfortable as they were able to freely express themselves while avoiding major language barriers. Both researchers were present during all interviews except for one (M 5). Before the interview session started, the participants were given a form of consent to read and sign if they approved the terms of the research. During the interview, an interview guide (Appendix 2) with open-ended questions divided into themes provided the researchers with direction. The questions were adjusted to obtain each individual’s perceptions and experiences within their field, as the actors were diverse and had expertise in disparate fields. The direction of the interview was occasionally taking turns in directions leading away from the pre-structured questions. The open ended and flexible interviews align with the open approach that pursues the complexity of the aim and research questions. To capture the essence of the interviews and avoid misinterpretation of intents and meanings (Bryman, 2012), we recorded the interviews and took notes on specific observations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Token and number of interviews</th>
<th>Position / Perspective</th>
<th>Date, language and length of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education (E), Municipality (M), Independent (I)</td>
<td>Senior lecturer at university and policy evaluator</td>
<td>5th April, Malmö, english, 64 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1 Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 2 Male</td>
<td>Representative of cultural heritage board at municipality</td>
<td>16th April, Malmö, swedish, 45 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 3 Male</td>
<td>Independent theatre maker and educator</td>
<td>17th April, Malmö, swedish, 67 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 4 Male</td>
<td>Doctoral researcher at university</td>
<td>23rd April, Malmö, english, 66 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 5 Male</td>
<td>Urban planner and architect at municipality</td>
<td>30th April, Malmö, swedish, 44 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 6 Female</td>
<td>Political communicator, consult and cultural organisier</td>
<td>6th May, Lund, swedish, 35 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 7 Female</td>
<td>Development coordinator at neighborhood cultural center</td>
<td>7th May, Malmö, 38min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 8 Male</td>
<td>Local artist and founder of novel cultural institution OrgX^4</td>
<td>8th May, Malmö, swedish, 36 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Overview of Interviewees

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^4 OrgX is a fictional name invented by the authors.
Documents
To complement the interviews, a selection of global and local policies, an evaluation of a policy, and two municipal/research reports have been considered as vital for the understanding of the case. The common denominator for the selected documents is that they are related to the city of Malmö’s cultural policy and provides perspectives that are vital for the understanding of the implementation of culture in SUD. The selection of documents is based on their relevance to the case by following Bowen’s (2009: 30) functions of use of the material, mentioned earlier. Further, the ANT approach described by Latour (2005) allows us to direct attention not only to human actors, but also to non-human actors such as policies. Hence, global and local policy documents are selected to provide supplementary data that gives notice to rhetorics used by non-human actors in current practices in the field of culture in cities. A complete list of the selected documents can be found in Table 2. The documents have been skimmed, thoroughly examined and interpreted, suggested by Bowen (2009: 32). Document analysis therein consists of coding and a mix of content and thematic analysis to find patterns in the texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of document</th>
<th>Authors/authority &amp; year of publication</th>
<th>Type of document/ source</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“The Culture Strategy 2014-2020” (english version)</td>
<td>The Culture Department, City of Malmö, 2015</td>
<td>Local Cultural Strategic Document</td>
<td>A task assigned by the Culture Committee: “if sustainability is to be reinforced, artistic and cultural expertise have to be regarded and utilised in more ways.” (p.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Action Plan for the Culture Strategy 2016-2018” (english version)</td>
<td>The Culture Department, City of Malmö, 2016</td>
<td>Descriptive document</td>
<td>Ten priority commitments to be implemented for the city of Malmö, in order to achieve the Cultural Strategy goals (p.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Kulturen i den hållbara staden - Slutrapport från ett följeforskningsprojekt om Malmö stads kulturstrategi“</td>
<td>J. Alwall (MAU), 2019</td>
<td>Evaluation Report, swedish language</td>
<td>Follow-up research report that summarizes the evaluation of the implementation process of the Cultural Strategy, during 2017-2018 (p.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“All activities centres at the heart of Malmö’s communities” AAC</td>
<td>M. Metz and F. Winders, 2018</td>
<td>Cultural Strategy Team, Best practice report, Agenda 21</td>
<td>A good practice report, shared on Agenda 21 for culture’s database for “good practices”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The soul of Malmö”</td>
<td>E. Lundgren /F. Elg/ ISU Malmö, 2014</td>
<td>Best practice report, Agenda 21, Conference talk</td>
<td>A good practice report, shared on Agenda 21 for culture’s database for “good practices”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenda 21 for Culture (english version)</td>
<td>UCLG Committee, Agenda 21 for Culture, 2004 (edited 2008)</td>
<td>International Policy Document</td>
<td>“…worldwide mission that advocates establishing the groundwork of an undertaking by cities and local governments for cultural development.” (p.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Overview of documents
3.4 Limitations and reflections

Objectivity
As in all empirical studies, our roles and functions as researchers play an important role in the design and implementation of this research. It is therefore important to remind that this thesis raises no claim to present ‘completeness’ in capturing the case at hand. Understanding knowledge(s) as ‘situated’ (Haraway, 1988), it’s outcome and value lies in the well reflected in-depth account that may show tendencies, provide directions and inspire questions, as well as enriches the research landscape with empirical examples. Our shared background and major interest in the urban context provided a common starting point and the municipality became a key organisation of interest. Furthermore, bottom-up approaches and democratic practices in this field have been intriguing, both importantly connected to what we found was discussed under the ‘cultural dimension of sustainability’. Our previous experiences in the city of Malmö and in particular within the cultural sector have added to our background knowledge and informed the case at hand. Our own network facilitated the finding of interviewees, who may function as gatekeepers and may provide contacts to other informants. Furthermore, actors affiliated with Malmö University, who have or had been involved in collaborations between the university and the city of Malmö, such as ISU, were of great advantage.

Scope of research
A crucial limitation is the relatively small number of interviewees. Timing was a limiting factor since the time before the summer break is work intense for interviewees. Document analysis though allowed to enrich the data and provided valuable perspectives in contrast to interviewees, and even though there is more relevant documents, the choice would always remain limited. The method of triangulation further proposed observation, as a data collection method. We attended a public meeting on the theme “Culture in Sustainable Urban Development”, on April 12th at Form and Design centre Malmö. The meeting gathered local and regional actors involved in culture or/and SUD and provided a platform for exchange for those actors. We attended the event with the idea to get a glimpse of the state of discussion of the topic in practice areas such as cultural organisations, other municipalities in Skåne as well as the regional body Region Skåne. Furthermore, the event presented an opportunity for networking, and was helpful to contact possible interviewees. The number and diversity of attendees may be interpreted as an idea of where and how this topic is debated in public and who has access to it. In the end, this event though turned out to be of minor relevance, since we could interview some of the attendants and careful study of documents revealed similar information in more detail, as the next chapter will reveal. The event was experienced as an arena for representation, with limited space for discussion and learning.

Language
Languages provide both challenges and advantages. As both authors speak different languages theoretical positions in English, German, and Swedish could be considered. In the interview situation, we could flexibly adapt to the language the interviewee feels most comfortable in. In the analysis and translation part we encountered difficulties. Not only with our own translations, but we stumbled up on differences in public documents translated differently with slight changes of meaning.
While the fact that culture, creativity and sustainability are all complex and fluid concepts, there are challenges when interpreting and understanding disparate perspectives. Our own understanding of the concepts might have influenced the formulated questionnaire and the follow-up questions during the interviews. However, the overlapping and interrelations are abundant parts of the research, which is why reflexivity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018) plays a key role in this research.

*Plans vs. reality*

In order to understand the complex relationships between the various actors and policy frameworks, we intended to make use of an interactive mapping tool called Net-map (see Schiffer & Hauck, 2010). The method helps to understand the various needs and influences of the different actors, especially in complex governance situations as a context in which the researcher rarely is familiar with. During the interview, the interviewee is actively participating in the process by placing actor-notes on a sheet of paper and drawing connections between them, while the interviewer asks open-ended questions about the links. The method ideally becomes reciprocally beneficial as the interviewee have the possibilities for ideation and realisations that might not have come up otherwise (Schiffer & Hauk, 2010). The approach was used in five of eight interviews. However, the interviewees did not consider this tool helpful and did not make use of the tool as intended. It was perceived as confusing and unnecessary, as the context of the studied issue was too broad and involved multiple undefined actors.

Furthermore, an important sector was not included in the interviews, namely the private. We repeatedly contacted several responsibilities and associates from an important urban development project involving cultural heritage that is explicitly termed SUD. Unfortunately, the attempts remained unsuccessful and the perspective is therefore lacking in this study.
4 Analysis

In the following chapter the findings of the case study are being analysed and interpreted. In order to demonstrate the process and the steps of qualitative analysis according to Mayring (1994) and Gläser and Laudel (2006, 2010), concrete text examples with interpretations will be presented throughout the chapter. The document and interview analysis has been carried out with the qualitative data analysis software atlas.ti as supportive tool. This chapter presents the results derived from the empirical study. With the research questions as basic direction for the coding and categorisation, five themes were developed from the interview material as for the document analysis, in accordance with Gläser and Laudel (2010). The five categories framing the analysis comprise; values and understandings, formal and informal actors, global and local demands, space and place and practices. The next paragraph points out and analyses important aspect from the analysis. The relatively open questionnaire (see Appendix 2) allowed to address a generally broad range of topics and therewith illustrates the width of factors concerning culture in SUD. The interviewees selected for the case have, due to their different roles and perspectives, provided a deep understanding of the disparate perceptions, challenges and suggestions for culture in sustainable development. This includes important needs, actor’s roles and functions as well as possible innovation and change. As many of the interviewees have worked in many different professional roles within the cultural sphere, their perspectives aren’t necessarily solely connected to their current role in the field of culture or urban development but draw from previous work or personal side projects. This became evident during most interviews and resulted in more nuanced perspectives and responses to the questions.

4.1 Values and understandings

As important documents at the core of this study, the Cultural Strategy (Culture Department City of Malmö (CDCM), 2014) and the related Action Plan for the Cultural Strategy (CDCM, 2016) play a central role. They can be understood as the manifestation of sustainable development involving culture, given that: “The Cultural Strategy is the first of its kind in Malmö with the overarching goal of strengthening Malmö’s sustainability by means of artistic and cultural processes and expressions.” (CDCM, 2016: 3). The quote indicates the municipality’s ideal to become a more integrated organisation and further points out the novelty of this approach and its relevance for the entire organisation of the city, as it was officially adopted in June 2014 (ibid.: 3). The list of possibilities for culture and the arts as a mending factor for the segregated city seems endless; ability to unite, strengthen, build identity and community, create a sense of belonging and self-realisation, to mention only a few. Another report compiled by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö is recurrently referred to and serves to certify the need for culture as a means for social sustainability, democracy and the city’s identity and attractiveness, among others (cf. CDCM, 2014: 4). The strong emphasis on culture and arts as important tools for sustainability in general and social sustainability in particular implies an understanding of culture as operational actions towards a separate goal. The mentioned inherent value of culture seems therewith downgraded throughout the documents, which raises questions about the duality of the strategy. If put in a theoretical light, the municipal documents view the relationship between culture and sustainability as culture in sustainability but have a tendency of aiming to view it as culture for sustainability (Dessein et al., 2015). Here, it becomes difficult to establish a real connection to nature, i.e. eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilisation (Soini & Birkeland, 2014), as prominent focus lies on creativity and arts for socially sustainable development.
This provides a contrast to the global perspective offered by UCLG, where culture in sustainable development is explained as a dimension, an element and a fundamental principle that puts culture in the centre of every development process (UCLG, 2006: 2). Many principles are aligned with the cultural strategy and action plan, although the document further highlights the importance of culture in relation to ecological questions and culture and economy. While both aspects are vital to consider in relation to sustainability, the document excludes an explanation to the contradictions; “the current economic development models [...] are the cause for the increasing concern for the environment” (UCLG, 2006: 7) and “It is necessary to emphasise the importance of culture as a factor in the creation of wealth and economic development.” (ibid: 8). It is perceptible that the local policy documents are connected to and influenced by the global policy, but also roughly adapted to the local context.

The contradictions of emphasising the economic and ecological value of culture in the context of urban sustainability is recurring in the results. When pointing to the role of culture for the economy, economic sustainability, an interviewee debates culture in the political sphere; “What we face now is a more politicized discussion on culture but also in society at large. It is very obvious that we have strong political ideas clashing.” (E4, Personal communication, April 23, 2019) The economic perspective as an antipode to, or the opposite, a prerequisite for a cultural perspective in SUD is recurrent in both documents and interviews. From the perspective of an independent cultural actor, culture is political and related to economic structures; “if one does culture as I wish to do culture, you’re not only a threat towards the cultural sector, you are a threat to the unjust economic structures the city is built upon.” (I3, personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019). Concurrently, economic means from the public sector are to a large extent prerequisite for the independent culture to exist. In other words, the political and economic supports the cultural and vice versa, creating an inevitable eco-system in contemporary cities. However, the insecurity and limitations for cultural actors is causing worries as short-term, project-based funding is the common approach to support the free cultural scene (Belfiore, 2004). The exchange between the various cultural spheres, require reciprocal need for support, as mentioned in the Action Plan (2016: 10); “provide premises, open up municipal development processes and include active artists and cultural players in them, and to harness and utilise the skills possessed by professional cultural practitioners” (ibid.). Whether top-down processes designed by the public actors are actually sufficiently democratic and participatory is questioned by Nylund (2014).

Culture as democratic space
Through culture, the ‘well-being’ of the cultural sector and its diversity, may provide important indices about the state of democracy, as space for culture is being diminished as one of the first things, when democracies are in a vulnerable state (I6, personal communication, May 6, 2019). E4 explains that the cultural sector is often interesting economically, as it provides an area where to save costs (Personal communication, April 23, 2019). I6 further mentions democracy as a process, not as a static condition and emphasises the need to live democracy (Personal communication, May 6, 2019). The interviewee also points out moments of conflict as interesting as different actors with different wills have very different ways to achieve those. Culture can therewith also be understood as a “visible parametre in a threatened democracy” (I6, personal communication, authors translation, May 6, 2019). In this context, E4 puts forward the potential of cultural actors to make demands and put some pressure on the cultural board, but also remains cautious by adding that those demands might eventually not bring direct change but at least an alternative (Personal communication, April 23, 2019). The interviewee sees potential for change as well in the fact that thinking about culture presents an obligation in the municipality. Though the ideal democratic
behavior is anticipated, reality often turns out differently, and citizens voices are not considered, since they are not heard as a result of a lack of interest from the side of the citizens, explains M2 (Personal communication, April 16, 2019). This quote indicates the varying perceptions of a problem and therewith the tendency for disparate solutions.

In this aspect, creativity is argued for as a way of setting ground for common direction in the strive for transforming and advancing governance capacities (Healey, 2004).

4.2 Actors involved in culture and SUD

Following the documents, the cultural department is understood as a primary actor with the major responsibility to increase organisational integration with regards to culture and sustainability. Among those responsibilities is the task to forward collaborations with other departments inside the municipality as well as cross-sector collaborations with companies (CDCM 2016: 5). However, Alwall (2019) draws attention to some departments distance and lack of active engagement in the implementation of the cultural strategy so far (ibid.: 41). Organisational changes related to centralisation of administrative area offices is mentioned as an aspect that has both hindered collaboration due to time consumption, even though it aims to strengthen collaborations in the long term (Alwall, 2019: 92). A significant finding in the document analysis related to the internal organisation, is the absence of documented collaborations with the urban planning department and the streets and property management department, two influential actors in SUD (Alwall, 2019). This perception is shared by the municipal worker M5 (Personal communication, April 30, 2019), who explicitly only points to collaborations with the cultural department when referring to cultural conservation value. Other perspectives of culture are more diffuse for the interviewee: “it has been very hard and vague to know what [culture] actually means in urban development” (M 5, personal communication, authors translation, April 30, 2019). Even for the cultural department relations between SUD and culture are explained as vice, as focus priorly has been on aesthetics such as art and public art (M2, personal communication, April 16, 2019).

Furthermore, the Cultural Strategy and the Action Plan highlight the external ‘cultural players’ as important for the city’s development. They need to be given good opportunities and conditions if Malmö is to continue being an attractive cultural city (CDCM, 2016: 10). Regarding those ‘external cultural players’, the Action Plan states: “Professional artists and cultural players should be included in development processes with an emphasis on social aspects, such as in the development of forms and methods for citizen dialogue, consultation processes and area development” (CDCM, 2016: 11). Artists are therewith given roles and functions related to deficits identified in the cultural strategy, and indirectly point towards the lack of citizen engagement, as pointed out by Nylund (2014). Instead of understanding the collaboration with artists as experimental spaces with open ends as suggested by Kagan et al. (2018), the strategy presents clear aims based on presupposed functions, and therewith risks hindering hidden potential to unfold. One interviewee had repeatedly been collaborating with the municipality: “I thought it was quite fun then, to get involved and [...] create some kind of change for artists. Because it is extremely tedious that artists reside in bad locations and make small money, yet they are so incredibly essential for a city.” (I8, personal communication, authors translation, May 8, 2019). Further the interviewee defines the artist’s important role in society, serving as the joint that binds real estate, children, associations and the municipality together, while working with economically and socially sustainable solutions (ibid.).

Roles and responsibilities
In the follow up research report Allwall (2019) places considerable focus on the project leader for the strategy implementation process, who informs about the struggles throughout the process concerning reorganisations, change of employees (e.g. a new cultural director) and uncertainty in the internal work at the cultural department (2019: 44). As the fuzzy division of roles and responsibilities in the process has shown to be an impediment for the involved actors, Alwall states that the strategy had limited impact in certain parts of the own organisation and close to no impact outside of the organisation, e.g. for cultural institutions and the independent cultural scene that was hard to reach out to (cf. ibid.: 44). With regard to leadership, Alwall (2019) concludes that the strategy process would have gained from a more precise structure with fewer and clearer commitments for the administrations involved (cf. 2019: 90).

In line with the above, the knowledge of; and commitments to the Cultural Strategy among the interviewees turned out to be limited. As most interviewees had an idea of the document, no one explicitly pointed out practices explicitly related to it. Instead, the Comprehensive Plan and the more specific zoning plans emerged as unexpected and non-human actors or influencers of great importance (M2, personal communication, April 16, 2019 & M5, personal communication, April 30, 2019). These plans were considered problematic, due to difficulties to integrate culture when there are no legal jurisdictions that allows to plan for specific purposes, such as culture (cf. M5, personal communication April 30, 2019). M2 then mentions collaboration as a way to learn that might lead to innovation of processes that precedes zoning plans (Personal communication, April 16, 2019). The availability of knowledge remains only partially relevant, if the knowledge and perspective is not appreciated by decision makers. “In the end it is us, who are the experts with this, but that does not play a role if we know a lot about something if not those receiving the knowledge are willing to work with it.” (M2, personal communication, authors translation, April 16, 2019). The interviewee sees his role in representing and emphasising the role of the cultural environment in development processes, as information and reference for future development, well aware that this implies a process of constant searching and repositioning.

Actors outside of the municipal organisation are also highlighted as crucial to change processes when involving culture in SUD. Despite the idea that the strategy’s goals are to be strengthened “[...] by means of artistic and cultural processes and expressions” (CDCM, 2016: 3) there is little experience and visible approach of relevant actors. Interestingly, Alwall’s (2019) research furthermore reveals expectations from the municipality towards the independent scene, as they express that besides the municipality offering jobs, the independent scene is expected to show proactive behavior. These expectations may provide difficulties regarding the necessity to increase collaborations among actors, since in order to further the sustainable development of the entire city, it is important to anchor future processes tighter to cultural actors, associations and citizens, writes Alwall (2019: 94). Evaluation and learning is emphasised, which opens up for new forms of ownership, but also organisational challenges such as the need for new structures and forms. According to interviewees, civil society has profound responsibility to react to political decisions that constitute obstacles for diverse and free culture; actors from the cultural independent scene need to question and challenge the power holders (I3, personal communication, April 17, 2019); independent cultural actors need to share their knowledge and opinions, cultural consumers need to react and claim their culture and cultural journalists need to highlight and be critical (I6, personal communication, May 6, 2019); citizens and democracy need to react (E4, personal communication, April 23, 2019). Conclusively, the responsibility for culture is a collective effort, involving the capacities of the many, through acts that are less cautious and with more radical and collaborative methods than what we witness today.
4.3 Local and global demands for culture in SUD

The strategies and activities that direct the involvement of culture in SUD on a local scale are influenced by local, regional, national and global tendencies. The Cultural Strategy (2014) addresses very different dimensions and levels of interest, spanning from the global to the local. While the language used especially in the formulation of global goals indicates the idea of competitiveness (“world-class sustainable city by 2020”), critical reflection about actual needs on the local scale is present: The strategy includes specific goals according to identified deficits, such as the missing focus on the social and cultural dimensions of sustainable development in the City of Malmö so far. Having translational faults in mind, the following formulation resonates from the competitive spirit.

“In 2020, the cultural debate and the public discourse is clear and visible and contributes to the city’s sense of self and development. In 2020, the artists and cultural players in the city are noted locally, regionally, nationally and internationally because of their relevance, topicality and audacity.” (CDCM, 2014: 11).

While this statement underlines the necessity for an increased public debate on the role of culture, a preference for ideals becomes visible where international recognition might be favored over local impact. The competitive approach aligns with the neoliberal logic that values market-oriented competition, frequently associated with the development of Malmö (i.e. Baeten, 2012; Holgersen, 2017).

The global context plays a role in this aspect, partly since Malmö municipality is listed as one of the seven leading cities of the global network UCLG (Koefoed, 2016). However, there seems to be difficulties in translating the general Agenda 21 for culture into the local context, which may have consequences for the applicability of the strategy to local actors. The process of implementing the cultural strategy involved “hundreds of citizens, answering to local governance as a joint responsibility.” (Lundgren & Elg, 2014: 4) in which challenging objects “were to join the top down- with a bottom up approach” (ibid.). The joint responsibility here should imply a sensitivity towards the local knowledge and space in the stage of policymaking that possibly provide “avenues for the expression of community values” (Hawkes, 2001).

As a centre of public attention, locally and internationally, the concert hall Malmö Live provides a centre of discussion. E4 points out that there have been cultural institutions taking a more active role and position themselves with adequate leadership (personal communication, April 23, 2019). But they are all very different and a project like Malmö Live does not necessarily have the same quality: “It is a public space for a very specific kind of public. You can say its open for everyone, but everyone is not there, because they don’t want to” (ibid.). E4 expresses mechanisms of exclusion that are at work to hinder certain groups from entering certain cultural institutions. While this is a common problematic, the context and aim of the city to further social cohesion becomes difficult and the claim lacks legitimacy. “I think it is very hard to be sincere and work with the injustice happening in the city at the institutions and meanwhile putting so much money and symbolic power into this kind of building.” (ibid.) These practices reflect much more the global trends building the creative city to attract capital and the creative class, justified by saying that the city “provides” fine culture and arts for people to enjoy, the provider of culture in that case is the municipality (I6, personal communication, May 6, 2019).

Culture, when produced by the large institutions in the city, who buy internationally renowned plays, has little connection to local debates, neither does it aim to give space for meaningful debate. People should not
be fed by the government or municipality, they need to “live culture”, tell their stories and the independent cultural actors can help, but they need to be given the tools and methods instead (I3, personal communication, April 17, 2019). The interviewee demonstrates that the cultural scene is not free and expresses difficulties to criticise the status quo or to embody a counterposition, as it is quickly perceived as ‘threat’, not just towards the cultural sector of the city but the ‘unfair economic structures behind’ (I3, personal communication, April 2019).

Another interviewee sees a solution to the institutional monopol and points out the need for local scenes and studios (‘receivers’) all over the city. “I think these kind of receivers (such as AAC) should exist everywhere, in all areas of Malmö, not just in socio-economic poor areas. I mean all areas […] I would also like to see cultural scenes based in these areas, why not have a professional theatre here, why not have professional dance studios in Holma?” (M7, personal communication, May 2019). Despite driving forces promoting large scale development projects such as Malmö Live and the upcoming Culture Casbah, a few efforts have been realised during the past years in Malmö (Alwall, 2019: 40). However, either the short-term, nor permanent initiatives have yet been allocated outside of the city center. The spatial issues related to culture in SUD are important challenges for the city of Malmö if the city wishes to foster the development of social capital and organisational capacity through creativity, to respond to change (Landry, 2000).

### 4.4 Space and place

When speaking about SUD, it is necessary to mention the relation to space and more accurately, place. M5 talks about spatial planning and the possibilities of urban planners to shape places that last over time and allow for flexibility, which challenges the practice of planning specifically for culture (Personal communication April 30, 2019). Moreover, the interviewee highlights the personal uncertainty of what culture actually involves and how it should be addressed in urban planning, which raises questions about priorities, gentrification and PPPs in developing areas. M2 emphasises cultural heritage as reference for future development and points out the need for this perspective to play an important role in a larger context (Personal communication, April 2, 2019), similarly to Landry’s position. M2 further calls for a revival of the term genus loci to reinforce the meaning of a specific place in history, to call for greater engagement and understanding for urban development. Nyström (1999) considers cultures role of culture in SUD as unifying force in the pursuit of a common cause, such as environmental protection. While the spatial aspect is prominent in SUD as it deals with land use and exploitation, it is surprising that the environmental dimension is rather insignificant in the collected data. More anticipation emerges on the meaning of space for culture in the structural or organisational sense.

The All Activities Center’s (AACs) model is an example of how citizens and cultural players are offered space where they may take own responsibility for cultural- and leisure activities (Metz & Winders, 2018: 1). The AAC initiates activities according to requests or initiatives from the local community and functions as a local meeting place for citizens. The new model for citizen participation on a local level has been recognized nationally and internationally and opened up for new actors and citizens to enter the cultural sphere. This institutionalized endeavour is unique in the sense of involving local communities, being a “model for how community-based centres should be developed.” (Metz & Winders, 2018: 5). As a concrete example in terms of applying the Cultural Strategy, the AAC deals with creativity in the local sphere, as a way of addressing urban dynamics through governance, as suggested by Healey (2004).

Another way of addressing space is given by I3 and the example of community theatre as local cultural production. This requests space as a stage and good lighting, where people can share unheard stories.
“this is your space to tell your stories, you are the new story. Then, the ownership of the narrative belongs to the society and not to a few geniuses” (I3 personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019). The prerequisites for this to happen however, are in many ways up to the municipality who possess the decision-making power and economic means. The Action Plan acknowledges the concentration of cultural institutions at the current moment and aims for a decentralisation or *Culture in more places in Malmö* with clear goals:

“A wider offering of cultural activities outside the central parts of Malmö has the potential to create curiosity and lead to more interaction and greater mobility in the city. Proximity to cultural activities increases an area's attractiveness and creates a sense of security and belonging, and at the same time gives more people the easy opportunity to enjoy the cultural offering in the city.“ (2016: 9)

The quote above does solely refer to the location and the desired outcomes of greater access to culture, while more people are to “enjoy” rather than produce culture. The possibility of creating space to develop new ideas or allow for learning such as in SoPs is not recognized.

In the context of spatial urban development, the property and streets department is recurrently referred to in the empirical data. As an institution that focuses on ‘doing’ culture, they collaborate with actors in the municipality with the same aim. In contrast to the experiences of M7, M2 perceived difficulties when collaborating with them, as they were not engaging in the cultural aspects to the extent that the interview wishes for, in relation to the fundamental significance in engaging with physical space, where cultural processes are supposed to take shape (Personal communication, April 16, 2019). M2 sees the problematic grounded in the fact that the streets department as well as the city building department’s perspective is excluded from the cultural strategy process (ibid.).

### 4.5 Practices

*Collaborations*

As main aspects emphasised in the Action Plan regarding the question of how to reach the formulated goals, *place* and *collectivity* play an important role. The CDCM is strongly emphasising plans of cross-sector collaborations (CSC’s). Conditions of those CSC’s are not further specified, but the main aim stated is the development of skills and knowledge “in the area of culture” (2016: 19). More specifically, artists and cultural actors and their skills are becoming interesting for municipal development processes and are planned to be ‘harnessed’ or in swedish *used* [nyttja] (2016: 10). Related to the aim to increase knowledge *about* culture in the city of Malmö, collaborative efforts include the creation of new “[…] forums for skills and knowledge exchange regarding arts and culture” (2016: 17). The practices of such collaborations are described as “reaching out with messages, change behaviour, increase citizen influence, create debate and dialogue” (CDCM, 2016: 11). One aspect mentioned is to facilitate collaborations between the city’s departments, companies and cultural institutions, independent cultural life and civil society is to increase the utilisation rate of existing premises (2016: 9). While there is no specification of *premises*, schools provide one such space, since they are well located and frequently, as in the example of AAC. Space is therewith understood as a precondition for collaborations to emerge and perform.

In regard to actors diversity, there has been a shift during the past years according to one interviewee who observes that ”[…] the discussion has broadened a bit and new kinds of actors have been involved in different ways. Both officially and in-officially there has been other actors that have challenged these ideas
in different kind of ways” (E4, personal communication, April 23, 2019). However, it is still uncertain who invites and who is invited to participate in these discussions and collaborations that aim to lift culture on the public and political agenda. The municipality is criticised for “pushing” culture on the citizens through top-down models: “Malmö municipality employed thirty cultural administrators [...] from the top, who were supposed to implement a model on Malmö and push it down. That is not how it works.” (I3, personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019). Further, in line with Landry (2000), the municipality needs courage to break rules and implement inclusive visions in which leadership from all sectors is a prerequisite for change. Another interviewee already observes such a shift happening: “...the municipality should be facilitators instead of producing and owning culture. I think I’m witnessing such a vision here, about the importance of culture in that sense.” (I6, personal communication, authors translation, May 6, 2019).

Regarding the cultural strategy process and related collaborations, Alwalls report points toward the uneven distribution of responsibility and financial resources between the cultural administration and the other administrations and companies that have been involved in the process (cf. 2019: 91). While there is a need for improvement, this could be understood as “positive challenge” for the cultural administration to define their role as manager of culture in Malmö (cf. ibid.). However, this positive challenge in the context of SUD, struggles with several interests and goals that might balance out the cultural perspectives, explained by one interviewee (M5, personal communication, April 30, 2019). The abundant focus on consumption-oriented culture and creative industries, tends to aggravate the focus on local capacities, knowledge and experiences (Bianchini, 1999). In search for collaborations, urban actors need to move from adding culture as a layer on top of the urban landscape in search for economic growth and instead, as suggested by Landry (2000) use the local creativity and potential to change organisational structures that enables adaptation and change, and will result in interesting urban landscapes.

**Directionality**

An issue brought up by Alwall (2019: 92f.), is the prominent focus on the internal organisational process while working with the cultural strategy, which is the reason for a greater need of involving the knowledge and perspectives of the citizens in order to ‘offer’ culture and the accessibility to culture in Malmö. Internally the culture strategy process has succeeded in focusing on culture and its value and has reached parts of the municipal organisation that usually don’t consider their activities in cultural terms to look at culture as a tool to increase the quality of their own work, writes Alwall (cf. 2019: 91). This shows that the strategy has a function as a mediator and catalysator of reflections about the organisation and work within. The strategy vaguely summarizes aspects such as the financial efforts (highest expenses for culture per capita) but says little about the effects (cf. 2014: 6). “In Malmö there is a transparent, permissive and experimental way of working that benefits an experimental disposition and courage. Malmö’s players are good at cooperating and making use of the possibilities of art and culture, but there is still room for improvement.” (2014: 6) This quote, written in present tense, gives a normative direction and may be interpreted as subliminal encouragement to those working with the strategy. Whether this has positive effects on actual practices remains open at this point.

The implementation of the strategy is a common endeavour, but as aforementioned, the public sector has the responsibility to “satisfy the cultural needs and rights of its inhabitants” (CDCM, 2014: 4). The way of communicating the cultural goals and visions, indicate that the municipality wants to provide culture to the citizens, while simultaneously involve them in various development processes (such as urban development). This dual way of approaching citizens and their needs, could be perceived as confusing and
misleading. Cultural consumption is understood as problematic in Malmö according to I3 “they feed the audience, it’s a one-way communication [...] like feeding the birds in Pildammsparken. The birds don’t need to know anything, they don’t need to be challenged in any way. We don’t give a shit about how the birds actually are doing, but we’ve done our job right.” (I3, personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019). We read this comment as a position of strong disagreement with the direction of cultural production with a strong demand for change. Though, involving actors from civil society requires methods, tools and models that twist destined roles of the involved actors and specifically the role of the municipality to a facilitating and enabling function (Healey, 1999). Furthermore, for networks to develop and organically grow, there is an abundant need of adaptive space, that allows for connections to be made and ideas and knowledge to be shared (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017).

Organisational Innovation
Alwall’s results show that culture has taken a step forward in the city of Malmö (cf. 2019: 90), but only “if what we measure is the concrete outcome in the shape of projects, collaborations and resources for a more active work of making culture accessible for the citizens [...]” (ibid.: 91, author’s translation). “The culture strategy process, despite these built-in difficulties and despite organisational changes and other unpredictable challenges, has succeeded in achieving a number of successful projects and initiatives, and has thus moved forward the positions for the culture in Malmö.” (cf. 2019: 90, author’s translation). An example is the ‘All Activities Center’ (AAC), as a new form of institution showing ‘good practice with good results’ at several levels, that has been recognized nationally and internationally (Metz & Winders, 2019). With regards to this institutionalized innovative model, no further challenges are mentioned or discussed. The proximity to the local community is expressed by an interviewee involved in AAC: “Since we are doing area based work we work with the library, the youth centre fritidsgården, framtidens hus (house of the future), röda korset (the Red Cross), all organisations that are in Lindängen and we always know what is going on and do a lot of things together” (M7, personal communication, May 7, 2019). The interviewee also points to the uniqueness of the organisational structure, as their way of working is exceptional in the municipality, as it develops from local ideas.

A challenge related to change and innovation as prerequisites for involving culture in SUD, is the consistent focus on short-term endeavours usually organised in temporary projects (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2018). While such projects could catalyse long-term development, they too often operate in isolation towards short-term goals, and fail to implement any structural change in urban or cultural environments. From a municipal perspective: “That is what everyone says but no one had ever done it. I hope that this is going to come, that things that had only been worked with in project form get prioritized.” (M7, personal communication, May 7, 2019). Another example was regarding the cross-sector collaboration network ISU, where experienced challenges were explained as follows:

“[…] after that I was affiliated with ISU for some time, meetings and discussions and workshops through which we were trying to think about culture in some other kind of framework than the usual within the municipality. But I guess that resulted in nothing really. There were big plans but then something happened to the organisation.” (E4, personal communication, April 23, 2019)

Independent cultural actors are usually dependent on project funding to carry out their activities. When trying to disconnect from these dependencies by creating a hybrid organisation for artists, community and municipality to benefit from each other, one interviewee encountered several obstacles since it “falls
between two chairs, due to not being an apparent cultural project” (I8, personal communication, May 8, 2019). Hence, the long-term viability of the initiative risks to be threatened by restrictions of the ‘politics of festivalisation’, as described by Häußermann et al. (1993). Temporary organisation of projects leads to important questions and reveals a lack of ability to change structures and systems that are crucial for sustainable urban development. Through a critique of the limited perspective of larger cultural institutions, an interviewee suggests making learning about culture possible through learning about cultural production: “What would happen if the communities in Malmö would be welcome in the cultural production? If we had organiser schools for young people who could actively participate in learning about cultural production. But also offer the stiff people in the cultural institutions another perspective on life.” (I3, personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019) Again, the discrepancy between the diverse population and the limited perspective of cultural institutions is expressed here, while a new approach is being suggested to overcome the gap and approach cultural production from the perspective of local needs and interests.

Translating strategy to practice
The implementation of the cultural strategy itself can partly be understood as an ongoing organisational change process towards integration. The interviews have shown that the state and the role of the strategy is ambiguous: while programs and institutions like the AAC have been built entirely upon the strategy, actors in urban planning admit that they are unfamiliar with the strategy and that the cultural perspective is absent (cf. M5, personal communication, April 30, 2019). Because the strategy has primarily been produced by the culture department, with minor or no consultation with the departments having main responsibility for urban development, the strategy is perceived as a wishlist rather than a plan to base daily practices on (M2, personal communication, April 16, 2019). Academics, public actors and cultural actors all see potential in culture and urge the relevance of working with culture in SUD but are discordant or inquisitive to how it could look in practice. Barriers and difficulties seem to hinder the translation of the complex process of putting cultural strategy into practice, but who is responsible to make sure that this is enabled? With reference to an urban development project in Malmö, where

“[...] there was a lot of talking about culture and whether we look at it from the perspective of cultural planning and so on, everything should take time, everything should be planned with the actors already in place and so on. And as time went by [...] the first buildings were actually being built, there was no room for talking about culture anymore. It is just a perfect example of these kind of visions that take their starting point from a cultural perspective [and] when it comes to real implementation there is no room anymore.” (E4, personal communication, April 23, 2009).

As the quote above demonstrates, goals represented to the cultural perspective are difficult to enforce. An important task is therewith to make sure that the cultural perspective finds vigorous advocacy that counters the risk of being passed over. The above-mentioned development project involved many different stakeholders and included artists and cultural producers. I8 as one of them was engaged in discussions about possible spaces for culture that were not possible at the development area. As a result of this lack of space and the generally precarious situation of artists, a new institutional model was developed. The model combines artist studios with conference space and meeting place. Involved artists are furthermore involved in the neighborhood development and organise workshops with residents.

Looking at leadership as a process (Alvesson & Spicer, 2014; Crevani et al., 2010) as suggested in this thesis, the responsibility seems to belong to everyone and no one. However, this opens up for
discussions related to a so-called “leadership vacuum” in which the responsibility falls short and ambitions go to waste (Landry, 2000). M2 raises the complexity and difficulty of coordinating and collaborating in a large organization with 28,000 employees (Personal communication, April 16, 2019). The strategy appears to different departments as disconnected and it appears difficult to relate daily activities to it. Another interviewee argues that the strategy is deeply implemented in the daily work: “it is already in our organization, it is not something I need to sit and think about.” (M7, personal communication, May 7, 2019). However, when speaking generally about the city of Malmö, the interviewee adds that hard work needs to be done within the larger cultural institutions to reach out to the diverse citizens of Malmö.

Another interviewee highlights the important perspective from the cultural workers: “I think there are a lot of resources, competencies, that could be gathered from the practitioners [...] if you ask you will receive many wise answers to use [...]” (I6, personal communication, authors translation, May 6, 2019). To understand these social ground and diverse perspectives, Landry (2000) proposes fostering responsibility, creating local self-reliance and ownership as important leadership tasks. Further adaptive space is needed in urban governance and organization (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017), as a way to let new actors into rather bolted processes and networks. In networks, informal relationships are able to emerge, as noted by one interviewee: “The informal dialogue between myself, who works in the theatre and those who are working in the cultural administration [...] we have to inform each other, what is happening, what is going on in society?” (I3, personal communication, authors translation, April 17, 2019). The interviewee suggests exchange between actors in different positions in the cultural sector that prohibits the gap between institutional practice and real societal needs. For the implementation of the cultural dimension in the form of the strategy, this consequently means that the role of the expert needs to be rethought, leading to the acknowledgement of local expertise from diverse actors that ideally engage lively discussions and further developments collectively.
5 Discussion

This study sets out a search for alternative paths for culture in sustainable urban development, in which implementation of a cultural dimension of SUD was exemplified in the city of Malmö. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the intention and practice of involving culture in SUD through creativity as a tool, is a broad, multidimensional and complex endeavor. The analysis of empirical findings indicates further complexity and hinders when approaching culture and SUD, but also reveals ambition and an augmented and relevant public debate, specifically in the public sector.

How does the city of Malmö apply the cultural dimension in sustainable development?

With the production of the cultural strategy by the CDCM and finally introduction in June 2014, the City of Malmö manifested it’s aims of giving culture a central role in the sustainable development plans. The top-down order to implement the strategy into the work of the entire municipality is perceived and implemented differently, depending on the degree of departments involvement in the production of the strategy and the proximity of the very departments to the CDCM (cf. M2, M5 & M7, 2019). With regard to practices in relation to the communication of city’s visions and goals related to culture in SUD, the study has identified a gap in communication in general and specifically in the translational work for the different departments, since the strategy is intended to be rather self-explanatory. In practice though this unfolds differently: ranging from a new institution like the AAC, that is built upon the strategy’s vision and therewith a showcase in the international platform UCLG, other projects start with visionary plans that are crumbling with time, until cultural goals are not present in the final development stage, or the capacity to engage with the strategy is classified as optional asset but not primary concern, which is likely the case in departments usually not working with intangible aspects such as cultural processes. These results indicate the need for an improved implementation process and consideration of leadership that gives and manages meaning of the strategy (cf. Alvesson & Spicer, 2014).

This discrepancy is also reflected on a more abstract level: we witness uneven relations between culture and the three pillars of sustainability, namely economic, social and ecological. Culture seemed to be closely connected to the social dimension considering human development, way of living, ability to create community and act as a united front to societal challenges. While not always explicitly expressed, culture also seemed to be highly relevant for economic sustainability considering the economic dimension as both a prerequisite and outcome of culture in SUD. The main goal of ‘strengthening Malmö’s sustainability by means of artistic and cultural processes and expressions’ (CDCM, 2016: 3) may be interpreted in many ways, but does it also mean culture as sustainable development (Dessein et al., 2015)? Since the Action Plan mainly addresses the municipal bodies, SoPs are so far rather unlikely to unfold as a direct result of the cultural strategy. However, culture was rarely mentioned in relation to ecological sustainability in the empirical material. Hence, culture is mainly seen as a separate dimension, that occasionally can be involved in SUD, if succeeded by economic or social benefits for the city. Understanding culture in sustainable development (Dessein et al., 2015) is therefore more prominent in reality, than the more integrated culture for, or the transforming culture as sustainable development.

To answer the question Who are the formal and informal actors in SUD in Malmö and how do they refer to ‘culture’?", we suggested to shift attention away from the CDCM as main actor in the process and understanding sustainability as a search process (Kagan et al., 2018) requiring collective leadership (Crevani et al., 2017), since this allows potential new actors to enter the field. For the actors involved in or
concerned with culture and SUD, the aesthetic and anthropological concepts of culture were distinguished, whilst individual values, professional role and position determined their specific understanding of culture. A second expected finding is that the interviews provide a productive contrast to the ideas presented in the cultural strategy and related documents. The view of culture communicated through the documents was primarily that culture could be used as a tool for (socially) sustainable development and to attract workers and tourists to the city.

Cultural actors and artists are portrayed as messengers for municipal ideas and intentions and can be used for creative thinking and method development. In contradiction, the interviewees identifying themselves as cultural actors or researchers were talking about culture as essential for human development, as a human right and referred to culture as a democratic matter that needs to be protected from threatening political and economic forces. Here, the neoliberal agenda plays an abundant role, tracing back to the creative city discourse as presented by Florida (2002). Protest against these forces that value ‘creative workers’, individualism and large-scale development, and instead preserve the diversity of culture through opposition and questioning, exploring and testing, is expressed by interviewees. It resembles creative problem solving and rule breaking as suggested by Landry (2000). These perspectives might be hindered in SUD due to economic restraints or political tides, in which artists and cultural expression are understood as resources, but rather to build ‘social’ bridges and therewith fill gaps, than to rethink and restructure the entire organisation or come up with novelty. In general, the distance due to poor participatory practices between the municipality and the independent cultural scene and civil society hinders possible social networking, democratic participation and hence, involving cultural dimensions in SUD.

Understanding the strategy as an overarching plan to be implied by every member of the municipality as formal actors, responsibility is given to the many. Without clear leadership though, this results in partial commitment as previously explained with e.g. the different departments proximity to cultural goals. The strategy itself is therewith considered not enough to ensure compliance and therewith desired results. The interviewed actors though have identified aspects that have great potential to inform the revised cultural strategy and connected leadership. Actors from within the municipality have emphasized the need to further engage with the strategy, e.g. to rethink their work in relation to the strategy, and to be open and accepting of expertise from different actors than the usual. M2 has formulated the problem that expertise is irrelevant if it is not considered as such and appreciated by other members of the organisation. The effects of this departmentalisation further results in a disconnect from the municipality with other actors outside, e.g. the independent arts scene or inhabitants and communities at large. Despite that the strategy emphasises the need to foster collaboration with cultural players and companies (CDCM, 2016: 13) little is known about actual collaborations. When it comes to independent actors and cultural production, interviewees perceive a potential clash between the city’s (economic) vision and the content that is considered relevant to the interviewee as a cultural producer with a community perspective. The one-way production and provision of culture that is available to a large public is perceived as being of little relevance to the locals. We read this statement as an implicit claim for a more diverse cultural landscape and the redistribution of funding. Furthermore is the difference between the aesthetic and the anthropological concept of culture fundamental for this discrepancy, since it addresses the understanding of culture as a product to be consumed on the one hand, and the idea to allow societal learning, understanding and intercultural communication through a process of collective production on the other.

If culture is going to be a part of SUD in an integrated way of changing structures, systems and rules, culture is in desperate need of space. Space for sharing knowledge, for listening to cultural actors, for testing and experimenting with creative tools and methods and for democratic participation and project.
ownership by citizens of Malmö. This is our third finding, a crucial aspect in the continued debate on how cultural heritage, expressions and practices can be owned by the local communities and the city itself. An interviewee mentions the distribution of cultural institutions geographically and sees potential in decentralising culture. New institutions such as e.g. the AAC, OrgX and community theatres provide new spaces and may facilitate learning about various aspects of culture through collective communication and reflection, when understood as SoPs. SoP’s, if at all only exist as discursive spaces, while actual gatherings and talks are primarily used for representation of existing practices rather than rethinking a new way of involving culture in practice, as a seminar on the role of culture at Form and Design Center revealed (April 2019). Besides the need for space, time is mentioned as crucial constraint and emphasis is put on the impossibility of temporal projects aiming for outreach to have sustainable impact. As a result of neoliberal management, long term developments in society need to be detached from economic agendas. With a sensible approach to bottom up and locally relevant approaches and production comes the need to shift away from providing and controlling cultural production, to enabling and learning through what is naturally unfolding. We see a challenge here, given the over-departmentalized activities aiming for security and control, that provide hinders for trial and error and therewith learning that might lead to re-organisation and adaptation to local needs. The action plan revealed that the potential of artists and cultural expression is understood as a resource but rather to build ‘social’ bridges (and therewith fill gaps) than rethink and restructure the entire organisation or come up with novelty. Further we see the need to understand artists as more than messengers for municipal ideas and intentions and agree with the interviewees (cf. I3, I6 & E4) that there is necessary potential to provide oppositional standpoints and ask questions, not at least to foster participation and democratic approaches, since they are understood to be of crucial importance to find cultural solutions to cultural problems.

As summarized in the previous paragraphs, the research questions could be answered and present an idea of relevant aspects that all need further inquiry, regarding the small number of interviewees in this study. The aim to capture the breadth of discourses on cultures roles in SUD has been achieved through the theoretical review. This study has revealed the discrepancies and difficulties of applying culture in sustainable urban development in the city of Malmö. We suggest furthering the discourse on leadership and organisation since it addresses underlying values and ideas on the one hand and asks for how these are best rethought and advanced through practices on the other. Coming to the conclusion that control is an inadequate paradigm in this context, we consider this too little data to further the leadership discourse around enabling eco-cultural development. Though, leadership regarding complexity, understood as ‘rich interconnectivity’ (Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017), has proven to be relevant and necessary for organisational change that aims at a cultural dimension in the sense of ‘culture as SUD’ to unfold.
6 Conclusion and further research

With a main interest in the applicability of the cultural dimension of sustainability in the example of the city of Malmö, this study has examined communicated visions and goals related to actors’ practices, through contrasting documents with actors’ perspectives, and discussed organisational aspects and institutions. Through the analysis of relevant documents and publications, interviews with actors in the field of research, the local government, politics and the individual cultural scene, the study explores specific practices and discourses, and discusses implications for urban organisation and leadership. The thesis puts forward the need of empirical knowledge on cases of implementation of policies in the current divide of demands, ranging from local to global, environmental to economic, and short-term vs. long-term thinking. Given the limited scope of this thesis, the findings provide only tendencies that ideally inspire further research.

Through the framework of cultures roles in SUD (Dessein et al., 2015), current practices in the city of Malmö can be described as ‘culture in, and for SUD’ with a potential to develop ‘culture as SUD’ if the cultural landscape is able to diversify regarding production and geographical location, if adequately funded and enabled instead of controlled. For the internal municipal work this implies to find measures to overcome departmentalized working culture and increase motivation to do and think about things differently. Organisational learning should be appreciated as an active process including the re-thinking and reformulation of the cultural strategy with more actors involved. Cross-sector collaborations should not only be considered as an alternative way to finance pre-planned designs, but as collective search processes that ideally produces new spaces for democratic decision making and planning that is based on local needs and evolves from local knowledge (Ghilardi, 2019, Landry 2000) instead of aiming for international visibility (Florida, 2002).

For the case of Malmö, we can diagnose an ongoing struggle with the deep-seated change while the neoliberal employment of cultural assets for competition and attraction of capital, as well as factors of uniqueness in a global context, is visible in the growing number of festivals and free cultural events. There are ongoing investments in cultural infrastructure including concert houses such as Malmö Live, Culture Casbah in Rosengård, and the further development of Västra Hamnen, that presents Malmö’s version of waterfront development. These examples align well with Baeten’s (2018) description of typical neoliberal development. While these examples express an understanding of the idea of culture as aesthetic capital, the cultural strategy emphasises social sustainability as the main goal to be emphasised through cultural practice in collaboration with artists and cultural players (cf. (CDCM, 2016: 11). Comparing official documents and interviewee descriptions, we identified discrepancies between the ‘positive’ representations through e.g. UCLG (as shown in the reports) that exclude challenges and desired learning and respective measures to reach those learning outcomes. This in turn makes the network resemble a competitive inter-urban arena rather than a learning platform. In accordance with Landry (2000), organisational learning appears as important aspect and prerequisite, that is rarely given space and should be emphasised more, it should finally be mentioned and explored in the reworked cultural action plan.

Future research may be derived from an organisational learning perspective. As the aspect of complexity is central in contemporary organisational studies, it may be well suited for the very challenge to apply the cultural dimension of SUD. Considering the desired artist collaborations (as expressed in the cultural strategy), this might reveal new knowledge about working formats and ways of learning, but also forms of organisation. The independent scene, as an important part of a vital cultural landscape, may also provide an interesting research focus, given the challenge to identify needs and develop a framework that
is enabling but not restricting. Another empirical example to understand the cultural aspects of a larger transformation process (culture as SUD), are transition towns, or in Sweden ‘omställning’. They may provide an interesting case, as they include ongoing efforts and embody the search process for sustainable lifestyles, closely connected to local contexts regarding knowledge and technologies. Moreover, since the thesis could only apply basic methods and give a brief overview of actors involved, we consider social network analysis (SNA) an interesting tool for further research. It would be informative through mapping the complex relationships of actors and their specific roles and positions.

This case study has taken a critical and in-depth perspective onto a city that is referred to as leading example when it comes to sustainable development involving culture. With a strong tendency towards cultures role for sustainable development, good examples and positive indices have been highlighted, while the critical perspective and the positioning of the endeavours indicate space and direction for further development. The search for cultural solutions though is a never ending process, that require organisational forms and spaces that foster active and equal engagement, as conclusively stated by Hawkes: “Communities have a right, as well as a responsibility, to engage with the values that determine the nature of the society of which they are a part. [...] Once again, this is a cultural problem, one that requires cultural solutions.” (Hawkes, 2001: 16). Coming back to Brocchi and the understanding of the crisis as the product of cultural origin, the attempt to place culture at the center of sustainable urban development is a step in the right direction.
References


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Appendix

1) Notions of culture and sustainability from literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notion</th>
<th>Definition/ Understanding</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>“as search process”</td>
<td>Kagan et al. (2018)[31] in Kagan et al. 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Sustainability is the emergent property of a discussion about desired futures”</td>
<td>Robinson in Miller, 2011: 31 in Kagan et al. 2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sustainable development</td>
<td>“Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”</td>
<td>Brundtland Report (1987)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>“The meanings people create, and which create people as members of societies”</td>
<td>Hannerz (1992: 3)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The “integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviors”, human societies have socio-cultural systems, in a broader descriptive way: “[...] culture is something that encompasses all human activities and evolves with time.”</td>
<td>Nyström (1999: 11)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow.&quot;</td>
<td>Landry (2001: 6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural sustainability</td>
<td>Cultural heritage, Cultural vitality, Economic viability, Cultural diversity, Locality, Eco-cultural resilience and Eco-cultural civilisation as the seven narratives in scientific discourse</td>
<td>Soini &amp; Birkeland (2014)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Culture as a fourth dimension in sustainable development</td>
<td>Hawkes (2001)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban sustainable culture</td>
<td>comprises the cultural heritage, cultural practices and cultural expression</td>
<td>Nyström (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable cultural development</td>
<td>Sustainable cultural development as the passing on of knowledge and cultural aspects such as democracy, cultural heritage, the arts, public life, family values…</td>
<td>Nyström (1999: 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural planning</td>
<td>“[...]thinking culturally about place, which means putting people and their relations with space and place first.” that is how “sustainable, cohesive and creative cities are made.”</td>
<td>Ghilardi (2019, 1993)</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Planning culturally’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The cultural dimension of sustainable development</td>
<td>Three roles for culture in sustainable development - culture in, for and as sustainable development</td>
<td>Dessein et al. (2015)</td>
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<td>Culture-led urban development</td>
<td>Top down through large cultural institution</td>
<td>Florida (2002)</td>
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<td>Culturally sensitive urban development</td>
<td>Understanding the city as an ecosystem</td>
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2) Basic interview guideline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consent form (hand out and sign)</th>
<th>We would like to record and transcribe the interview, is that ok with you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Could you tell us about yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- about your path to working with culture?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- about your current position and function?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding of culture and SUD and motivation to work with it</td>
<td>What do you associate with the term ‘culture’?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Which other terms come to mind?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What do you associate with ‘sustainable urban development’?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- What motivates/drives you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday practice and interrelations (cross-sector collaboration)</td>
<td>How would you describe your daily practice?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Who are you in contact with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- (What is your role in organisation x, if affiliated with more org.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- How does that work influence your work here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current transformations</td>
<td>What kind of changes have you witnessed in the cultural sector?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Or in the part you are working with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural strategy</td>
<td>Are you familiar with the Cultural Strategy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- How were you introduced to it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Which role does it play in your practice?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- How do you work with it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future developments</td>
<td>What do you wish the development of culture in the future looks like?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Which role should culture play?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Would you like to change institutions? - How?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which factors could facilitate or support your work, which would hinder it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network</td>
<td>Who can you recommend us to talk to?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>