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GREEN CREATIVE CITIES. ON CONTEMPORARY URBAN DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN PORT CITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

Urban revitalization strategies imply principles to transform urban areas. These principles are urban planning paradigms as they are subject to planning “fashions” (see Streich 2005) and thus to social, political, and economic ideologies. Therefore, they can also be labeled as programmatic principles. In this paper, urban revitalization strategies are conceptualized as constitutive parts of the greater planning strategies applied in a city. Such planning strategies aim at influencing a city’s development, either in terms of conservation or transformation. The formulation of certain planning strategies is a reaction to social, political, and economic developments within a society. Although planning paradigms and the connected strategies travel around the world as “traveling concepts” (Czarniawska and Sevón 2005), the planning strategies applied in a special city have concrete characteristics. They can be described as locally specific reactions to – again locally specific – societal phenomena. This paper argues that a combination of the paradigms of sustainability and creativity is currently used for transforming industrial port cities into creative sustainable cities (Müller 2013). Based on empirical data from the cities of Dublin (Ireland) and Gothenburg (Sweden), I show that the sustainability paradigm is combined with the creative city paradigm to revitalize inner-city quarters in port cities. This revitalization strategy is part of a greater urban planning strategy. It includes a focus on the creative class (Florida 2004) and aims at integrating the old in the new, both in architectural and social terms. With this, it tries to be an integrative urban revitalization strategy.

In recent years, creativity as urban planning paradigm has been widely discussed (e.g. Landry and Bianchini 1995; Florida 2002; Florida 2005; Landry 2008; for a critique see

Kunzmann 2005; Peck 2005; Scott 2006), and planning strategies to ‘create’ creative cities have been formulated (Landry 2006; Landry 2008). Richard Florida as one of the key figures in the debate emphasized the interrelation of what he calls the creative class (Florida 2004) and a specific geography (Florida 2005; for an early version of the concept, see Florida 2002). As Florida (2005) argues, the lifestyle of the members of the creative class asks for a set of qualities that a place should possess. These qualities include the technical infrastructure of a place (“technology” in Florida’s terminology), a sufficient number of highly educated people (“talent”), and an atmosphere that allows for diverse lifestyles and modes of living (“tolerance”) (e.g. Florida 2004, 244ff.). Florida’s theory is appealing to urban planners and politicians alike as it suggests that the qualities of a place can be subject to planning and designing according to these demands. But this assumption is also the point of departure for critique. This criticism can be divided in two substantial groups: First, as the data derive from the US census, the generalization of the findings is questioned (e.g. Hoyman and Faricy 2009). Second, the ability to plan creative processes, i.e. the ‘planability’ of the creative ‘moment’, is denied (e.g. Pratt 2010).

Despite the critique, Florida’s theory is important for urban researchers for two reasons: (1) It takes into account the interrelation of a city and its users in emphasizing that cities are not just places to live – but places to live *a specific form of life*. (2) As the theory was gratefully taken up and applied by city planners worldwide, it had an apparent effect on practical city planning and thus on cities themselves. Therefore, it is interesting to study the theory’s impact on the material and social structures of cities that themselves are part of a particular society.

To understand Florida’s theory and its importance for urban development, it is necessary to broaden the focus to include the general development of industrialized Western societies. Such theories include Daniel Bell’s (1973) theory of the postindustrial society and Peter F. Drucker’s (1993) theory of the post-capitalist society. Taking into account these theories helps to explain why Florida’s concepts of the creative class and the creative city are useful tools to analyze contemporary urban phenomena.

2. FROM POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES TO THE CREATIVE CLASS

Florida’s theory of the *creative class* is closely connected to conceptualizations of what is called knowledgeable (Lane 1966), post-industrial (Bell 1973), or post-capitalist (Drucker 1993) societies.¹ The theories of post-industrial societies state a considerable increase in (Bell 1973) professional occupations that deal with information and knowledge (Bell 1973, e.g. 117). Although all former forms of work – practical, professional, household work – had been in need of knowledge, what is new in western-industrialized societies in the second half of the 20th century is the kind of knowledge required. It is not so much implicit, embodied knowledge as it was necessary for agricultural farming or for industrial machine work in factories. It is rather the knowledge and technological skills gained in years of education and training. It is not to be able to make things work, but to have an understanding of *why* and *how* things work – in theory and in practice.

Based on the theories of the post-industrial society, Manuel Castells (1996) stressed the importance of information (e.g. Castells, 1996, 204). It is this move that led to the notion of informational society, a term that is now often used synonymously with knowledge society. On the shoulders of these giants (Merton 1965),

Richard Florida published the by now widely received book *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. In this book, he elaborates on what he had worked on before: the growing importance of creativity for people's occupations and lives and the interrelation of place and people (Florida 2002). Based on statistical data from the US, he stated the emergence of a new social group: the *creative class*. The *creative class* was, according to Florida, characterized by a specific way of life that asked for a certain environment – physically and socially. Florida coined the notion of the 3 *T* that characterizes a successful – i.e. attractive – place: technology, talent, and tolerance. While the first *T* belongs more to the physical and spatial environment, the latter two *T*s belong to what I want to call social environment. Florida stresses the fact that, according to his data, members of the *creative class* tend to settle where other well educated people live (talent) and where an open atmosphere characterizes social interactions (tolerance). These “creative centers” (Florida 2005, 44) are better able to attract the creative class as new work forces and inhabitants than places possessing only some or none of the 3*T*. It is this notion of “creative centers” or “creative cities” that made Florida's theory so appealing to city planners and city officials alike. The theory seemed to promise a fairly easy way to transform cities from “Nerdistans” (Florida 2005, 44) or derelict industrial places – like former industrial port areas – to prospering towns and cities, even regions.

A number of studies on the impact of the theory of the *creative class* on urban planning and cities have been published (see for example Atkinson and Easthope 2009; Bontje and Musterd 2009; Hospers 2003; Lange 2007; Merkel 2009). They acknowledge that the theories of the creative class and the creative city have entered the fields of urban planning and city branding and study either the local

conditions in which they are applied or criticize what is to their mind a lack of empirical basis of Florida's work. I tie my paper to those studies that are based on research on the effects that the emergence of these theories have on actual city planning (e.g. Atkinson and Easthope 2009; Martí-Costa and Miquel 2012; Peck 2012). My focus is on the effects which local city planning strategies have on port cities' built and social environments if the planning paradigms of creativity and sustainability are applied. In this context, I understand the theories of the creative class, the creative city and the planning paradigms of creativity and of sustainability as “traveling concepts” (Czarniawska and Joerges 1996; Czarniawska 2005). This makes it possible to emphasize the local peculiarities of the planning approaches used by connecting them to the global phenomenon of planning cities according to these paradigms.

3. DATA AND METHODS

To explore the characteristics of creative city planning and its impact on cities, I conducted two case studies: one in Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland, and one in Gothenburg, the second biggest city in Sweden. To analyze the cities, I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data.

3.1 Qualitative Data & Methods

In the course of my empirical research, I applied four different methods of qualitative social research to get five different sets of qualitative data. The methods implied (1) semi-structured interviews with urban planners and members of the creative class, (2) observation as temporary citizen of the cities, (3) photographic documentation, and (4) content analysis of planning documents and archive material respectively. Additionally, I used CENSUS data to describe general economic and social characteristics of

the Irish and the Swedish society, with a particular focus on the situations in Dublin and Gothenburg.

(1) Interviews: The interviews were conducted as qualitative, semi-structured expert interviews. I interviewed both city planners working in the two case study cities and members of the creative class who lived and worked in Dublin and Gothenburg. The interviewees were experts in two senses: On the one hand, and this specifically applied to the city planners, they were experts in their field of work. Working professionally in the field of planning the city, they were experts concerning the city's planning strategies and their implementation and realization. On the other hand, all interviewees were experts in inhabiting the chosen city: Working and living in a city give people a specific perspective on what the city is like, on its physical and spatial form, its atmosphere and on its advantages and shortcomings. This role as experts of city life was interesting to me, too, because it provided additional insights into the city on different levels of society (work, leisure, everyday life, etc.).

(2) Observation: In order to understand the cities' implicit structures, their functioning, and the interrelation of built environment and social interactions, I applied the ethnographic method of observation. I term it *observation as temporary citizen* (Müller 2012) as it comprises elements of participant and non-participant observation. As *temporary citizen*, I lived in the two cities for several weeks in a row, adapting a way of using the cities and behaving in the cities comparable to the locals'. I recorded the impressions and insights gained during the observation in field notes which I later used as complements for other data.

(3) Photographic documentation: Being confronted with a plenitude of visual impressions, I decided for photographic documentation.

This form of documentation accompanied my observation as temporary citizen, and the pictures taken served as visual field notes. Later in the course of research, I took advantage of the value of these pictures beyond sheer illustration. I used them as a systematic way to document the city's actual condition and the materialized and thus visible expressions of urban planning. Additionally, based on my observations and the knowledge gained from the interviews and the analysis of the planning documents, I identified central places of transformation and documented them photographically.

(4) Content Analysis: In order to analyze how the planning authorities plan to develop the cities and how they conceptualize the cities' future shape, I collected all planning documents available and applied content analysis to these documents. The documents included planning strategies, documentations of their implementation, revised strategies, and documentations of citizens' objections. Applying content analysis, I analyzed the documents on the basis of my pre-formulated research questions.

I also applied this method to visual archive material which was the fifth set of data. I selected a time frame ranging from 1950 to the 1980s, as these were the times of fundamental industrial and social changes in Dublin and Gothenburg. Using the central places of transformation that I had identified before as starting point for my search, I searched through national and local archives for pictures and picture postcards of these places. Applying Douglas Harper's method of *rephotographing* (Harper, 1988, 62), I used pictures of present and past conditions of the same place to visualize transformations. By contrasting the pictures in such a way, constancies and transformations became visually manifest. In addition, the archives provided me with valuable visual information on the past shape and design of the cities.

3.2 Quantitative Data

In order to understand general trends in the development of the societies, I used CENSUS data from the *Central Statistics Office Ireland*, the Swedish *Statistiska Centralbyrån* and from the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD). The data comprised information on the demographic and economic situation in the two countries and in the two cities in particular as well as on the developments of the situation. In general, the data served as background information to better explain the phenomena observed in the cities of Dublin and Gothenburg. As the case studies were conducted between 2008 and 2009, the latest available data for both cities at that time were used. This means that the data presented here picture two cities of the nearby past.

4. THE CASE STUDIES

4.1 Case Study Dublin

The chosen city for collecting empirical data was Dublin, and from 2008-2009, I spent nine weeks there altogether. The city of Dublin is an old port city of approximately 500 000 inhabitants in the city's core and about 1.5 million people living within the city's boundaries. Dublin is the capital of the Republic of Ireland, a country with a mostly catholic population, a long tradition as agrarian and poor society and a short phase of liberal economic policy in recent years. The climate in Ireland is moderate, but characterized by frequent rainfall,² a fact that is important for all questions of city planning and design.³

In the course of the 20th century, the Irish society developed from an industrial to a postindustrial, knowledge-based society (see Bell 1973; Drucker 1993). In 1973, the Republic of Ireland joined the European Union (EU) and up until 2006, got subsidies of about 39.4 million Euro.⁴ During this period, the country

underwent substantial changes, both in economic and in social terms. From the 1990s onwards, Ireland experienced an economic boom, finding its expression in the connotation 'Celtic tiger' to describe the state's massive economic growth in analogy to the so-called Asian tigers Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan (see Breathnach 1998). The consequences for the city of Dublin were an increase in multinational companies like Google, Dell or IBM locating in the Irish capital.

The socio-economic situation in Dublin

Concerning the situation of labor and employment in Dublin, the distribution of people working in the different sectors has changed in the last decades: In 1970, 48.28% of the workforce was employed in the services sector, in 2007 it was a share of 64.76%.⁵ This development was accompanied by a massive decline of people working in the agrarian sector (from 16.89% to 1.66%) and, to a smaller degree, in the industrial sector (from 35.7% to 33.57%). The latter remained comparatively strong and hit a peak during 1998 and 2002 when the numbers oscillated between 40.6% and 42.4%.

A general social and societal effect of the economic growth was a reversal of the migration process: Ireland with its tradition as emigration country now became a country of immigration. In Dublin, the percentage of non-Irish inhabitants grew from 6.2% to 16.7% from 2002 to 2007, with people from Poland being the second-biggest group of immigrants (after those from the United Kingdom). The past decades also had a considerable effect on the level of education of the inhabitants. Today, 30.5% of people aged 25-64 have a university degree, a rate comparable to countries like the Netherlands (30.2%), Sweden (30.5%), and Switzerland (29.9%). Additionally, a continually

growing amount of money was invested in research and development (R&D): From 2003 to 2009, the share of spending in the education sector rose from 1.17% to 1.79%. The number of households with access to internet rose as well: From 2000 to 2010, the share of households with internet connection rose from 10.4% to 71.7% in Ireland, with this being among the average of OECD countries. A similar development can be observed for the share of households who have access to a personal computer: In 2000, it was 32.4%, raising to 76.5% in 2010. The numbers for Dublin City are not consistent though: As

the share of households with access to a PC rose from 2002 to 2006 (39.1% to 51.8%), the share of households with access to internet sunk in the same time period (30% to 26.8%).⁶

Using Florida's concept of the *creative class*, the share of the creative class in the rate of overall employees in Ireland is 26.01% in 2000 (Florida and Tinagli 2004, 14), with a growth rate of more than 7% since 1995, being the highest rate of all countries analyzed in the study (Florida and Tinagli 2004, 15). Table 1 and table 2 show a summary of the quantitative data presented above.

	Ireland (2006)	Dublin (2006)
inhabitants	4 240 000	506 211
Share of immigrants	14.20%	16.70%
Unemployment rate	4.50%	9.10%
Share of inhabitants with bachelor degree or higher	30.80%	24.90%
Population density	--	4 300 inhabitants/km ²
Population growth (1991-2011)	--	+23.90%
Employees in service sector	--	64.30%
Growth rate of share of service sector on GDP	5.70%	--
Growth rate of share of industrial sector on GDP	6.20%	--
Growth rate of share of agrarian sector on GDP	-10.60%	--
Rate of households with internet access	50%	26.80%

Table 1. Socio-economic data for Ireland and Dublin, 2006

Unemployment rate	1977	2002	2006
	13.7% (Ireland, no data available for Dublin)	9.2%	9.1%
Share of employees in services sector	1970	2007	
	48.28%	64.76%	
Share of creative class	2000	2006	
	26.01% (Ireland, no data available for Dublin)	Dublin, share of creative industries: 10%	

Table 2. Development of workforce in Dublin over time

As the data show, Ireland's development was a success story until 2008. The financial crisis, hitting its preliminary peak in 2008,⁷ had major consequences for Ireland and Dublin. The gross domestic product (GDP) decreased in 2008 and 2009 while at the same time the national unemployment rate increased up to 13.7% in 2010, the highest rate since 1994. In 2007, i.e. just before the crisis' peak, the unemployment rate in Ireland had only been 4.6%. The data of Dublin show higher numbers than the country's average, but the development as such is the same. According to this data, we have to talk about a Celtic tiger being in poor health.⁸

An observation can be made that adds a qualitative dimension to the quantitative data presented: The city of Dublin was and still is confronted with the situation that a considerable number of people participating in the economic and social boom faces a notable number of people who cannot participate in the city's and the country's (economic) growth. Observing city life in Dublin thus means to see numerous, often homeless, people begging in the streets, literally opposite rich people.

Socio-geographic characteristics of Dublin

With an inner city area of approximately 117 km², Dublin is quite densely populated (4300 inhabitants/km²). In 2006, 27.99% of the Irish population lived in the greater Dublin area, with 11.93% of the Irish population living in Dublin City.⁹

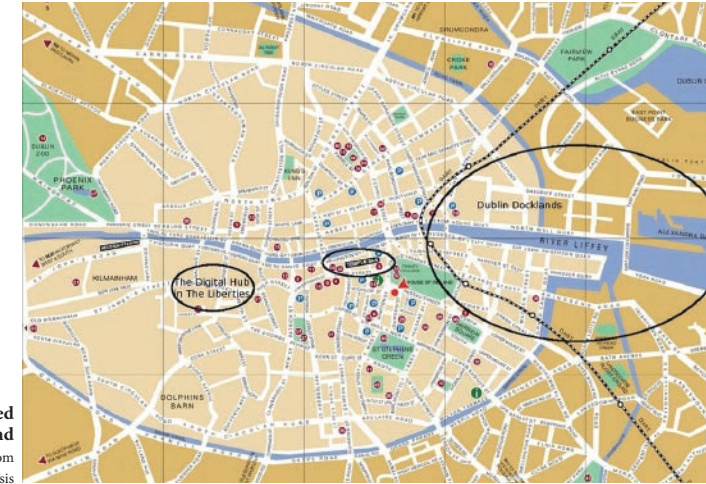
Dublin is located at Ireland's East coast at the Irish Sea, close to the St. George canal, the water route to Great Britain. This makes Dublin being an important port and trading city. Traditionally, trading with overseas and European markets played an important role for both the country's and the city's economy and job market. Today, the port is, based on freight,

economic importance, and the number of passengers cleared, Ireland's most important port (Bennett 2005, 80). But the port and its physical environment has also undergone major changes: As it continued to grow, it was moved out of the inner city, where it was formerly located, and closer towards the seaside, leaving the former dockyards empty. Thus, the former port area is now one of the central areas of transformation in Dublin.

The river *Liffey* runs through the city in East-West-direction, dividing Dublin in a Northern and a Southern part, not only in geographic, but also in social terms. The attributions of the "poorer" Northern part and the "richer" Southern part have historic origins, and they have dug themselves in the collective memory of Dublin's inhabitants. Although the socio-economic reason for this attribution is vanishing today, it has concrete physical and social effects: Both parts of the city have their own city centers, and the division influences the everyday practices of the inhabitants, as an interviewee describes: *That's the big thing, it's the North and South. I don't tend to cross the Liffey too much, from time to time we might have a client over there, but [...] I would never go there [to the North, ALM] to shop or have a coffee or go for a drink, no, and the only reason that would bring me over there would be business or something very specific, but otherwise, no, I don't ever cross the Liffey ((laughing)). I'm a Southsider, [...] So I'll always stick to the South [...] I'm just a Southsider and don't tend to go across the Liffey y'know* (CCD1, paragr. 171-182).

A planning official in Dublin describes the role of the river for the local communities and the resultant challenges for the planning authorities as follows: *[Communities] north and south of the Liffey [feel] that they are, you know, very distinct and different. [...] So the river's a huge thing and, y'know, traditionally in Dublin the city*

1. Location of selected quarters in Dublin, Ireland
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[...] kinda turned it's back on the river, y'know. It's a very Irish thing, the river was a functional thing, not an amenity, so that's what we're working to address. (DDDA1, paragr. 1; 15)

Next to the North-South division caused by the river, the inner city of Dublin has several distinct quarters that form the city in a prominent way. In this paper, I focus on three main inner city quarters: *The Liberties*, *Temple Bar*, and the *Docklands*.¹⁰ The former two are located south of the *Liffey*, the latter stretches across the river. Figure 1 shows their location in the city of Dublin.

City Planning in Dublin

In Dublin, several institutions are responsible for the local city planning strategies and their realization. The *Dublin City Council* and the *Dublin City Development Board* are the most prominent, being responsible for the planning on a city-wide level. The former is the democratically elected administration body of the city and the editor of the *Dublin City Development Plan*, which is valid for a period of six years. The latter is an institution that is explicitly designated for aspects of city development. Its members are representatives of the local

government, and legal and social institutions. It is subordinated to the *Dublin City Council* and formulates the programmatic urban development strategy. This strategy is, in contrast to the city development plan, valid for ten years. Additionally, there are several so-called *Area Action Plans*, formulated by the *Dublin City Council*, that comprise of detailed planning strategies for selected parts of the city. These areas can, but do not have to be identical to the administrative quarters of the city. The quarters of Dublin also have district administrative bodies. These do not only address aspects of urban development, but also the identification of the quarters' inhabitants with the respective area, for example by encouraging them to participate in community life.

As I selected three quarters for the analysis presented in this paper, the institutions in charge of the district planning are: *The Dublin Docklands Development Authority*, *The Digital Hub Development Agency*, and the *Temple Bar Cultural Trust*. The role of the latter differs to the other institutions as it focuses mainly on aspects of arts and culture and not so much on planning and designing the physical environment. In all three cases, there is a direct connection to the (party politically organized) *Dublin City Council* that delegates members to each of these institutions. Thus, it can, at least indirectly, influence the institutions' work.

4.2 Case Study Gothenburg

With slightly more than 500,000 inhabitants,¹¹ Gothenburg is Sweden's second biggest city, located at the West coast of the country. Like Dublin, it is a port city with a long tradition as trading place.¹² Sweden is a country with a long tradition as agrarian and industrial society, historically having many enterprises in the automobile and shipping industries as well as in the timber industry.

The socio-economic situation in Gothenburg

In 1995, the country joined the European Union, but continues to have its own currency.

As biggest port city in the country, Gothenburg was strongly affected by the crisis of the shipyard industry in the 1980s. This led to a shift in the economic structure of the city: Today, enterprises from the IT- and electronic as well as the automobile industries are key drivers of Gothenburg's economic development.

In Sweden, the economic situation is historically very different to the situation in Ireland. In 1977, the unemployment rate was 1.80%; after a period with a rising unemployment rate, the rate declined again until reaching 1.80% in the end of the 1980s. In 1993, the rate rose abruptly to 9.00%, having a peak in 1997 with 9.90%. Between 1999 and 2008, the unemployment rate varied between 5.60% in 2000 and 7.70% in 2005, then rising again to 6.30% (2008) and 8.4% (2010).

In Gothenburg, the situation since 2000 is more stable: From 2003 to 2007, the share of unemployed inhabitants decreased from 5.10% to 2.90%. From 2008 to 2010, the rate increased again, reaching a rate of 4.20% in 2010 by having a peak in 2009 with 5.20%. One reason for this development seemed to be the global economic crisis, its effects being especially noticeable throughout Europe in 2009.

Sweden's GDP rose continually since the beginning of the records. In 2009, it dropped, but rose again in 2010. The share of people employed in the services sector was 74.80% in 1996 and has since continually risen until 79.50% in 2008. The share of employees in the agrarian and industrial sector remained comparatively stable during this period: The former shrank from 0.23% in 1996 to 0.19% in 2002 before rising to 0.24% (2004) and then shrinking again (0.20% in 2008). In the industrial

sector, the share of employees was 22.40% in 1996, reaching its lowest point in history in 2008 with 19.50%.

The population structure in Gothenburg can be compared to that of Dublin. The city's population is growing in numbers, as does the country's. Gothenburg's population growth is part of a general development of urban growth in Sweden.¹³ In 2011, 22.80% of Gothenburg's 520,374 inhabitants were foreign-born. The share of immigrants grew continuously from 2006 to 2011, after having sunken slowly in the period from 1998-2005.

The share of inhabitants with a university degree (bachelor or higher) was 42.30% among the 16-74 years old in 2008. Since 1985, this rate has risen continuously by a parallel stagnation or even decline of the rates for lower levels of education.

The financial support of the R&D sector is higher in Sweden than in Ireland: From 2003 to 2009, its share in the GDP was between 3.80% (2003) and 3.40% (2007). The last available data is for 2009 and was 3.60%.

The share of households with internet connection is not available for the city of Gothenburg; for the region of Gothenburg, it was 88.00% in 2007, showing a continuous growth line since 1995.¹⁴

In Sweden, the share of the creative class in the total number of employment was 21.18% in 2000. With a growth rate of just under +2.00% from 1998-2000, Sweden was third behind Ireland and The Netherlands (Florida and Tinagli 2004, 14f.). Taking Florida's indices as basis, the members of the creative class account for a share of 42.04% in Gothenburg's total number of employment. With these numbers, Gothenburg ranks tenth of Swedish cities (Tinagli et al. 2007, 13).¹⁵

Table 3 and table 4 show a summary of the quantitative data presented above.

	Sweden (2006)	Gothenburg (2006)
inhabitants	9,081,000	489,757
Share of immigrants	12.90%	20.50%
Unemployment rate	7.10%	4.10%
Share of inhabitants with bachelor degree or higher	30.50%	16.30%
Population density	ca. 20 inhabit./km ²	2,600 inhabit./km ²
Population growth (1991-2011)	+9.40%	+23.90%
Share of employees in service sector	76.50%	78.50%
Growth rate of share of service sector on GDP	0.60%	--
Growth rate of share of industrial sector on GDP	4.00%	--
Growth rate of share of agrarian sector on GDP	11.00%	--
Rate of households with internet access	77.40%	--

Table 3. Socio-economic data for Sweden and Gothenburg, 2006

Unemployment rate	1977	1999	2006
	1.8% (Sweden, no data available for Gothenburg)	9.90%	4.10%
Share of employees in services sector	1970	2007	
	48.28%	64.76%	
Share of creative class	2000	2006	
	21.18% (Sweden, no data available for Gothenburg)	Gothenburg, share of creative class: 42.04%	

Table 4. Development of workforce in Gothenburg over time

Socio-geographic characteristics of Gothenburg

Gothenburg is located at Sweden's west coast and has several ferry connections to Denmark, Germany and Poland. The container port is situated out of the city to the East, whereas the port for passenger transport is situated rather close to the city center. With an area of 198 km², Gothenburg is a city with a rather large area. In 2011, almost 2630 inhabitants lived per square meter in Gothenburg – with this, the city is a lot less densely inhabited than Dublin. This little density leads an inhabitant to characterize the city as follows: *The seafaring city and the port*

are fantastic, the big port that is now located a bit more outside, that is enormous. [...] The hills are also part of the Gothenburgian. And the wilderness. The rather light building structure. [...] It is rather small-scaled. (GSB3, paragr. 136-142)

This specific building structure, described as “small-scaled”, also finds its expression in the interviewees' repeated statements that Gothenburg is a “small big city” and “a big small city on its way to becoming a small big city” (GSB1, paragr. 104).

Next to its history as port city and its building structure, Gothenburg is characterized by a rather huge river. The river *Göta Älv* divides the

city in two parts. Like in Dublin, the Northern part is traditionally poorer, the Southern part traditionally richer. Here, almost all administrative offices are located. Comparable to the situation in Dublin, the river produces a spatial division with social consequences: according to the narrative, the Northern part, including the district Hisingen with the former shipyards, is the area of the working poors' quarter and the Southern part of the wealthy's districts. An interviewee describe it like this: "Traditionally, if you were raised in Gothenburg, then Hisingen [...] was a second class-environment [...]. [But] this tends to vanish now." (GLSP1, Abs. 82; 86)

Similar to the case of Dublin, we can identify certain districts in Gothenburg that are of special interest when analyzing the city's contemporary development. These are: the former port area *Norra Älvstranden*, *Kvillebäcken* as well as *Haga*. The former two are located north of the *Göta Älv*, the latter is situated south of the river close to the city center, figure 2 shows their location in the city of Gothenburg.

City planning in Gothenburg

Planning in Gothenburg comprises of two parts: strategies and projects directed at the whole city and strategies and projects aiming at certain districts. Different to Dublin, these districts have own administrative bodies to deal with district-specific aspects of development. For planning projects on the city-level, the *Stadsbyggnadskontoret* is the responsible administrative authority. In addition to an urban planning department, a certain amount of elected, party-political representatives who regularly meet are related to this authority.

The most important document development in the *Stadsbyggnadskontoret* is the city's master plan, called *Översiktsplan*. This plan comprises the overarching visions for the municipality's development and represents the framework for



the physical (re-)design of the design. Different to the *Dublin City Development Plan*, there is no fixed time frame for which the plan applies, but only a date from which the plan is valid. It also mediates between the local and the national level as it integrates certain planning strategies agreed upon on the Swedish national level and formulated in documents called *Riksinteressen*. In this sense, the *Översiktsplan* is a programmatic document. An urban planner, working at *Stadsbyggnadskontoret*, describes the political dimension of the *Översiktsplan* as follows: *The Översiktsplan is something that ought to point the way forwards, therewith you could well call it a political plan. [it states, ALM] what we want with Gothenburg. And what we want to do with a city or a municipality. [...] It is a political steering instrument that quasi has influence on our work.* (GSB2, Abs. 21; 33)

In addition, detailed descriptions of the redesign strategies are formulated in a document called *Stadsbyggnadskvaliteter*, which is not equal to, but comparable to design guidelines. On the basis of this plan, even more details on the design are formulated in so-called

2. Location of selected districts in Gothenburg, Sweden

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Detailplaner. This includes aspects concerning the building law and plans on where and how to erect buildings in certain plots.

The body responsible for realizing the plans is not *Stadsbyggnadskontoret* itself,

but connected authorities like *Älvstranden Utveckling AB*, an incorporated company, controlled by the municipality, and responsible for the development of the area on both sides of the river, including the former port. The management of these bodies is strongly connected to local politics as several party-political representatives are part of the management level. When it comes to the development of selected buildings, other private actors like architects and owners are involved in the development processes as well. A special case in terms of administrative and management structure is Gothenburg's technology park: *Lindholmen Science Park*. Similar to *Älvstranden Utveckling AB*, it is an incorporated company. But its shareholder are municipal and private actors as well as the *Chalmers University of Technology*, a foundation university.

As I selected three quarters from Gothenburg for my analysis, the institutions in charge of the district planning are: *Stadsbyggnadskontoret*, *Älvstranden Utveckling AB*, and the *Lindholmen Science Park*.

4.3 Comparing Dublin and Gothenburg in socio-economic terms

The differences and similarities between the two cities are striking. Having gone through very different socio-economic developments during the last century, the cities and their countries shared a comparatively similar situation concerning their employment structure at the beginning of the 21st century. With a similar number of inhabitants, a comparable share of immigrants, and a share of employees in the services sector of above 60.00%, the situation is supposedly similar. But a comparison of the development of the data over time shows how different the societies are in fact.

Table 5 and 6 show a comparison of the two case studies in socio-economic terms over time.

	Ireland		Sweden	
	Dublin		Gothenburg	
inhabitants	4,240,000	506,211	9,081,000	489,757
Share of immigrants	14.20%	16.70%	12.90%	20.50%
Unemployment rate	4.50%	9.10%	7.10%	4.10%
Share of inhabitants with university degree (Bachelor degree or higher)	30.80%	24.90%	30.50%	16.30%
Population density	ca. 50 inhabit./km ²	4,300 inhabit./km ²	ca. 20 inhabit./km ²	2,600 inhabit./km ²
Share of employees in services sector	69.00%	64.30%	76.50%	78.50%
Growth rate of share of services sector in GDP	5.70%	--	0.60%	--
Growth rate of share of industrial sector in GDP	6.20%	--	4.00%	--
Growth rate of share of agrarian sector in GDP	-10.60%	--	11.00%	--
Share of households with internet connection	50.00%	26.80%	77.40%	--

Table 5. Ireland and Sweden in quantitative comparison, year 2006

	Dublin			Gothenburg		
	IE ¹ 1977	2002	2006	1977	1997	2008
Unemployment rate	13.70%	9.20%	9.10%	1.80%	9.90%	6.30%
Share of employees in services sector	1970	2007		1996	2008	
	48.28%	64.76%		74.80%	79.50%	
Population growth	Dublin City 1991-2011: +23.90%			Gbg Kommun 1990-2010: +18.64%		
Share of creative class, year 2000	Ireland	Dublin 2006		Sweden	Gothenburg ²	
	26.01%	Share of creative industries: 10.00%		21.18%	42.04%	

Table 6. The socioeconomic development of Dublin and Gothenburg in comparison

After this presentation of the methods used, the data on which I base my findings, and the case studies Dublin and Gothenburg, I am now going to present selected results of my research on the characteristics of urban planning by using the planning paradigm of creativity.

5. FINDINGS

Analyzing the way in which the creativity paradigm is used in Dublin's city planning strategies, we find that the understanding of creativity is twofold. Creativity is understood as (1) an aesthetic-cultural and as (2) a technological-innovative way of creating (material and immaterial) objects. The two understandings of creativity, conceptualized as ideal types in a Weberian sense (see Weber 1985), represent two poles of a continuum. The understanding of creativity on the city level is broad and unspecific, but on the district level, the understanding of creativity employed is substantiated and differs depending on the district and the strategies used.

The second finding is that creativity is combined with a second urban planning paradigm: sustainability. By using this paradigm in a three-fold way – as economic, ecological, and social sustainability –, it is possible to apply it for a

variety of planning strategies. Thus, it is used for very different strategies in very different districts. Additionally, combining them enables the planning authorities to realize a more inclusive planning strategy. This combination of creativity and sustainability as planning paradigms leads me to term the thus emerging type of city Green Creative City.

In the next sections, I am going to describe the planning strategies and their impacts on the physical and social environments of the city. I exemplify this by three selected districts in Dublin: *The Liberties*, *Temple Bar*, and the *Docklands*.

5.1 The Liberties: Technological creativity and sustainability

The inner-city quarter *The Liberties* is home of a new-built technology cluster, *The Digital Hub*. The cluster's objective is to attract and to host a variety of small, medium-sized, and big companies from the field of IT- and digital technology. In the buildings of the former Guinness brewery, a protected building, office spaces are created that can be rented for varying periods of time. Figure 3 shows the outward appearance of the building of the former brewery, figure 4 shows the interior of one part of *The Digital Hub*, located close by the brewery's building-

3. The outward appearance of the former Guinness brewery buildings, today The Digital Exchange, Crane Street, Dublin
© Simon Crowe 2012

4. The interior design of the Digital Depot, Thomas Street, Dublin 2007
© Digital Hub Development Agency



Here, creativity is understood by planners and workers alike as technological-innovative way of problem solving and producing objects. Additionally, the representatives of the planning authority in charge, the *Digital Hub Development Authority*, emphasize the sustainable characteristic of their planning approach: *C: the campus of the Digital Hub that is fundamentally connected to a very dynamic, very inspirational local community, is a much more sustainable campus [...] and to do a number of things that are connected together, and because our thoughts are that it's the connection of these individual things together, that will create the dynamic environment that will be attractive to industry, that will be inspirational to research, and that will connect a community, in such a way as to create some sort of sustainable future for all. [...] B: there is a premise that the Digital Hub will be economically sustainable* (DDH2, paragr. 555-703, author's emphasis).

The creation of a technology cluster is put in context with the community living in the district. It is anticipated that the cluster will have an effect on the local community in *The Liberties* by focusing on the economic development of the area. In this case, economic sustainability is combined with a technological-innovative understanding of creativity. In addition, the development project has a socially sustainable dimension as it is thought to “connect a community” and to improve the community's situation.

Fostering the economic development by attracting IT enterprises to open a new field of work for employees is only one aspect of the planning strategies. Looking closer at the strategies applied, we see that the ecological dimension of sustainability is also present: Old buildings like the former *Guinness* brewery are used for new work spaces. The conversion of existing buildings and “infrastructure”, as an interviewee puts it, is a way to create new

spaces¹⁶ of work: “we're certainly **taking advantage of the infrastructure that's here already**, [...] the other thing I would say is that there is certainly some innovation in terms of the way those buildings are being used, and the way they're designed to be used [...] because certainly, as an agency, we're striking a balance between trying to create economically viable infrastructure, and infrastructure that tries to facilitate the clustering and the collaboration that needs to go on” (DDH2, paragr. 671-681, author's emphasis).

With this, the planners acknowledge the urban environment that is already existent and use it as basis for their future-oriented planning strategies that aim at creating a cluster of people working in the technology sector. The physical environment is thus combined with the socio-economic environment. Additionally, understanding *The Digital Hub* as part of the creative city strategy and interpreting its creating as a sustainable urban planning strategy is a way to (rhetorically) connect the creativity paradigm with the sustainability paradigm. Finally, the planners understand the technology cluster as a means to transform the area in a sustainable way – sustainable in three respects: “the goal is to create [...] an enterprise cluster [...] that in fact will have a significant economic impact here, and that will actually **help to drive the regeneration of this area [...], socially [...], economically and physically**” (DDH2, paragr. 60ff., author's emphasis).

To sum up, we can say that *The Liberties* is a district in Dublin where the creativity paradigm is applied to create a technology cluster, thus understanding creativity in a technologically-innovative sense. Creativity is then combined with sustainability as planning paradigm that serves as basis for an integrative development strategy. With this, the technology cluster is conceptualized as a means to transform the area economically, ecologically, and socially.

5.2 Temple Bar: Cultural Creativity and Sustainability

In *Temple Bar*, Dublin's cultural quarter, the emphasis is on a socially sustainable approach that is combined with an understanding of creativity in an aesthetic-cultural sense. Using Temple Bar's history as Dublin's cultural quarter, the planning strategies have a strong notion of conservation. Different to *The Digital Hub* with its re-use of the *Guinness* brewery, the buildings in *Temple Bar* are taken as symbols of a past that has to be conserved both physically and substantially. Figure 5 shows how selected building structures are preserved and renovated in *Temple Bar*.

Therefore, the planning authority supports artists and cultural initiatives in the quarter in terms of infrastructure and financial assistance. With this, they target at preserving the quarter's image as cultural quarter. Additionally, their strategy has a socially sustainable dimension as the structural support by the planning authority makes it possible for artists and cultural initiatives to use a certain infrastructure to affordable conditions. To sum up, *Temple Bar* is an example for an urban planning strategy that combines cultural creativity with social sustainability and thus represents a second facet of planning a "creative sustainable city" (DCC2, paragr. 69). I now turn to the third example, the *Dublin Docklands*, which can be characterized as a quarter where the two paradigms creativity and sustainability are applied with all their different dimensions.

5.3 The Docklands: Combining Aesthetics with Technology

In the *Docklands*, the area of the old inner-city port, an attempt is made to combine all three dimensions of sustainability with the two dimensions of the planning paradigm of creativity. The area serves as flagship for Dublin's transformation

process. As the port's original designation is no longer valid, the planning authorities' concepts comprise a mixed-use in the area. The planning objectives here are transforming the Docklands to a place for working, spending leisure time, and living. Industrial occupations are replaced by enterprises of *creative class* occupations like Google, an IT enterprise, or McCannFitzgerald, a law firm. The *Docklands* as living place are designed for different life styles, trying to allow for the fact that the ways how people want to live changed during the past decades. This implies creating flats of different sizes and with varying infrastructure, for example for families, single-person or 2-persons households, the elderly etc.

This approach is explicitly expressed by the Dublin City Council when they formulate the planning objective as to achieve a "sustainable social and economic regeneration of area" (Dublin City Council 2005, 9). This also includes the re-use of existing infrastructure like the general structure of the *Docklands*. Figure 6 illustrates how old structures of the port are still visible in today's redesigned *Dublin Docklands*. Comparable to the strategies employed in *The Liberties*, but on a larger scale, the re-use of the existing physical environment is also a means of transforming the *Docklands* in an ecologically sustainable way.

By re-designing public spaces in the Docklands and adding new cultural places to the area, the aesthetic-cultural dimension of creativity is explicitly used in the planning strategies. Thus, all notions of the planning paradigms, creativity and sustainability, can be found in the planning paradigms used in the *Docklands*.

6. THE TURN TOWARDS GREENING THE CITY

The urban revitalization strategies presented above have one thing in common: In all cases, creativity and sustainability are used as planning

5. Comparison of facades, Temple Lane South, Dublin, 1984
© National Photographic Archive, and 2008, © Anna-Lisa Müller



6. Comparison of structure of parts of the Dublin Docklands, 1988
© Irish Architectural Archive, and 2008 © Anna-Lisa Müller

paradigms and are combined with each other to allow for a more integrative planning strategy. Based on these findings, it is thus no longer possible to talk solely about the creative city. Rather, planning institutions aim at what I want to call the Green Creative City (Müller 2013). Its characteristics and an illustrative example are presented in the following.

6.1. The characteristics of the Green Creative City

An important characteristic of this particular planning approach is the re-use of (protected) buildings. In general, old buildings, serving as symbols for the city's industrial past, are renovated and combined with new buildings to form an architectural and spatial image of Dublin as a city with a future that is rooted in an industrial past. In the case that the buildings are protected, like the *Guinness* brewery in *The Liberties*, this is due to legal reasons: The buildings have inevitably to be integrated in the re-structuring of the quarters. In other cases, the decision to re-use existing buildings is rooted in a sustainable planning approach: It is economically sustainable to use existing infrastructure, it is ecologically sustainable not to use additional construction material, and it is socially sustainable to offer people a symbolic and physical identification with the city's past.

The districts analyzed comprise of strong local communities that react potentially reluctant to revitalization strategies performed by the local planning authorities. Thus, a socially sustainable development strategy is necessary. Re-using the existing physical environment and adding a new meaning to buildings – e.g. by transforming the industrial work place brewery to a work place for the new economy – is a way to respect the local residents and their emotional bond with the area and attracting new inhabitants to a place at the same time.¹⁷

By adding a new usage of the built environment, the planners attempt to tie the planning of the new to a grown identity of Dublin as port city and to its specific local culture (Warsewa 2014, 418). In the course of this development, the working port of industrial times becomes a working port of post-industrial times, adding a usage as living port (Warsewa 2010, 380f.). In this sense, the planning strategies have (1) a socially sustainable dimension because they acknowledge the people's emotionally laden bond to the city's port area. They have (2) a physically sustainable dimension because they respect the value of the built environment. Therefore, the urban regeneration approach even has a notion of architectural and historical sustainability.

To sum up, by creating new buildings (ecological sustainability) for both 'old' and 'new' inhabitants (social sustainability) and work space for growing industries like the knowledge-intensive industries (economic sustainability), the planning strategies in Dublin address all three dimensions of sustainability. The importance of this planning paradigm is formulated by the *City Council*: "This development plan sets out a new approach to meet the needs and aspirations of the citizens of Dublin and the country in the long term. This approach is based on the principles of sustainability" (Dublin City Council 2011, 6, emphasis by author).

The – economically sustainable – strategy to foster occupations in the field of the creative industries or, more broadly, of the creative class is also a means to realize the creative city paradigm. Thus, creativity and sustainability as planning paradigms have an intersection – in terms of planning strategies. This culminates in the expression of a planning official: "Our vision at the moment is to have a creative sustainable city." (DCC2, paragr. 69)

6.2 Kvillebäcken and the risks of the designing Green Creative City

A final example from Gothenburg shall now illustrate in what sense we can talk of a Green Creative City emerging from the combination of the two planning paradigms. The quarter Kvillebäcken in Gothenburg is an excellent example for the outcome of this combination. Located north of the *Göta Älv* and thus in the city’s area formerly comprising poor and/or working class districts, the quarter is currently redeveloped to become Gothenburg’s “new urban district” (“Om Kvillebäcken” 2015). In general, the development in Kvillebäcken shows characteristics of state-led gentrification (Uitermark, Duyvendak, and Kleinhans 2007) which includes public and private actors whose strategies lead to the purposeful upgrading and social control of an economically deprived neighborhood. In the course of this transformation, Kvillebäcken is represented – both in the media and in planning documents – as being completely new-built. Addressees of the planning project are what I call the Green Creatives (Müller 2013, 21): those people of the creative class that explicitly show an ecological orientation in their lifestyle. In fact, those people who moved to Kvillebäcken during the last years in the course of the city-led redevelopment process, state the proximity to nature, the possibility to live a car-free life, the quarter’s social diversity or the quarter’s architecture as advantages of Kvillebäcken (“Kvillebäcken. Boende” 2015).

The planning strategies for this quarter, including a focus on public transport, resource-saving building structures and mixed use, resemble those commonly applied under the paradigm of ecological sustainability. By focussing on the preferences of the Green Creatives, though, at least one dimension of

the overarching sustainability paradigm are ignored: it is not a development project aiming at benefiting the whole society (general social sustainability), but only at selected few (selective social sustainability). Paradoxically, under the paradigm of sustainability which also includes “the social imperative” (Dale and Newman 2009, 670), the district is developed for the advantage of a few and the disadvantage of others. As it often occurs in the cases of state-led gentrification, long-term residents then feel colonized (Lees, Slater, and Wylie 2007, 221–222) and might, in the long run, be subject to (not only rhetorical) invisibilization strategies.

The development in Kvillebäcken points to two things: to the characteristics and to the risks of designing the Green Creative City. This specific type of city emerges from a combination of certain planning strategies under the umbrella of the two paradigms creativity and sustainability. These urban development processes are especially visible in contemporary European port cities and aim at transforming the cities according to the needs of the Green Creatives, a societal group assigned high social and economic status in Western industrialized societies.

The focus on this group is thus also the risk which included in this development. Addressing a selected group under the combined paradigms of creativity and sustainability shifts the focus towards a certain understanding of the combination: economically promising creativity – be it aesthetic-cultural or technological – is combined with ecological sustainability. Instead of having an integrative concept that tries to include as many of the city’s users into the transformation process, the combination of selective parts of the paradigms goes together with an implicit emphasis on certain elites of the cities’ users.

1. In the course of this paper, I use the term post-industrial because I want to stress the fact that the theories conceptualize a form of the social that has its roots in an industrial society but that has developed modified forms of work and life. Traces of industrial forms of working and living can still be observed, but the hegemonic paradigm is that of post-industrialism.
2. According to the Irish Meteorological Service Online (MET), there is rainfall on 50% of the days in Ireland’s East, see URL: <http://www.met.ie/climate-ireland/rainfall.asp> (March 18th, 2012).
3. It is remarkable that Dublin’s Inner City is hardly characterized by public outdoor life – apart from crowded streets with (motorized) transport and people making their everyday walks through the city, there are hardly any flaneurs, cafés, or outdoor activities observable.
4. Information and data available on the European Union’s website, URL: <http://europa.eu> (March 21st, 2013).
5. All data taken from the Central Statistics Office Ireland, URL: <http://www.cso.ie> (March 18th, 2012).
6. The data for Dublin are taken from CENSUS of the Central Statistics Office Ireland, URL: <http://census.cso.ie/census> (March 18th, 2012).
7. See IMF Summary Data, URL: <http://www.cso.ie/en/statistics/imfsummarydatapage> (March 18th, 2012).
8. My inquiry period ended in fall 2009 so that I cannot give any statements on the actual Irish development. Nonetheless, according to media news, Ireland is the one of all PIGS’ countries (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain) that recovers best.
9. Data taken from the Central Statistics Office Ireland, URL: <http://cso.ie> (March 21st, 2013).
10. For a detailed description of these quarters, see Müller (2013).
11. In 2009, 507,330 inhabitants lived in Gothenburg, see the City of Gothenburg’s *Statistisk Årsbok 2012*, URL: <http://statistik.goteborg.se> (May 6th, 2012).
12. For data on Gothenburg, see *Statistiska Centralbyrån*, Sweden’s central statistics office, URL: <http://www.ssd.scb.se> (March 19th, 2012).
13. See the documentation on Gothenburg’s development, URL: <http://www.goteborg.se/wps/portal/gotrends> (March 19th, 2012).
14. For these data, see URL: <http://www.nordicom.gu.se> (March 19th, 2012).
15. Places 6 to 10 only have a difference in percentage points of less than 4, so the rates are comparatively similar.
16. I use the concept of space developed by Martina Löw (2001), stressing the fact that people constitute spaces, among other things, on the basis of surrounding objects.

Acronyms of interviews

CCD1: interview with a representative of the *creative class*, Dublin
 DCC2: interview with a representative of the *Dublin City Council*, Dublin
 DDDA1: interview with a representative of the *Dublin Docklands Development Authority*, Dublin
 DDH2: interview with a representative of the *Digital Hub Development Agency*, Dublin
 GSB1: interview with a representative of *Stadsbyggnadskontoret*, Gothenburg
 GSB2: interview with a representative of *Stadsbyggnadskontoret*, Gothenburg
 GSB3: interview with a representative of *Stadsbyggnadskontoret*, Gothenburg
 GLSP1: interview with a representative of the *Lindholmen Science Park*, Gothenburg

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