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**Malmö's Eco-branding to the Chinese Public:
a Shanghai Expo case**

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Abstract

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This thesis is a documentation as well as a reflection on the participation of Sweden's third most populous municipality, Malmö, in Shanghai's World Exposition (Expo) during summer 2010. Based on my own involvement as a staff member for 1.5 months, in the thesis I wish to explore eco-branding at Malmö's official showcase (Malmö Case). I want to look at Malmö's eco-branding in an overseas context, in terms of how the thematic experience was produced and consumed by regular Chinese visitors at the showcase, through theoretical conceptualizations on space- and experience production. By identifying problems and limitations that may have occurred during Malmö's exhibition, this thesis opens up a discussion on how they could possibly be minimized and transformed, shedding light on how Malmö's eco-branding could be better facilitated to the vast Chinese public in the future. I argue the form of Malmö Case as of an art gallery put the city in a relatively disadvantaged position at the Expo in competing for public attention and understanding. Thus it is firstly, strongly suggested that tourism mediators could be more developed on the basis of social and cultural context, both to establish the preconceptions of regular visitors and to be more entertaining and informative. Secondly, experience co-created by visitors and the showcase through interactivity-based activities could be an effective way to boost Malmö's eco-brand to the Chinese general public.

Keywords: Chinese public; cultural analysis; city branding; eco-branding; experiencescape; Malmö; Shanghai Expo; trialectics of space ; urban sustainability

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1. Introduction

Background

Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden with around 300,000 inhabitants located in the southernmost province of Skåne, had its heydays during the 1950s to 1970s. It was an industrial town, especially in the shipbuilding industry. The following decades witnessed increasing unemployment rates¹; in the 90s Malmö was desperately finding its way out of the post-industrial era --the old industrial way was no longer working. Sustainable development was then embraced and coined as an important component of Malmö's ambitious urban planning and city branding. Urban renewal projects from the CityTunneln, to sustainable residential blocks of V.ästra Hamnen (Western Harbor) to “ekostaden” (eco-town) Augustenborg, are some of the highlights of Malmö's progress towards becoming an eco-town, gaining wide international recognition. In 2009 Malmö received the Habitat Scroll of Honor Award from the United Nations. Mayor Ilmar Reepalu expressed his affirmations that economic growth and ecologic sustainability can coexist instead of being contradictory; a belief which plays a significant role in Malmö's urban planning.

Along with the heated debates on climate warming, both on and off the political arena, urban sustainable development has gained much attention in various parts of the world. China, for the first time, held the World Exposition in its most modernized metropolitan, Shanghai. Gathering from its slogan “Better city, better life”, it is not hard to sense that urban life is the main highlight of the Shanghai Expo. At the Expo cities were offered to be in line with cities worldwide to present their past, present and future blue prints. Malmö, as one of the participating cities, shared its experience of transformation and sustainable developments at its own showcase (named Malmö Case), as well as in the national Chinese pavilion. As a student of applied cultural analysis, I had the chance to be part of the staff crew at Malmö Case for 1.5 months for my internship. Previously engaged with the project through Malmö's Tourism Board, I wish to research how Malmö's overseas representation in city branding took place and what were the resulting Chinese responses. The internship experience alone

was memorable and exciting, yet it became obvious that several problems emerged. For example, Malmö Case was highly praised by VIP visitors and authorities, while through my conversations and survey interviews with regular visitors present at the showcase, a majority of them expressed that Malmö Case was in fact, too simple and dull, in terms of showcase design, information, and activities offered. What caused such a gap between the two groups? In what ways did Malmö introduce and present its urban sustainable development to the Expo visitors (of whom 90% were Chinese)? Were there any differences between the way Malmö representatives interacted with the VIPs and regular visitors? And how did Chinese visitors perceive sustainability at the Case? The questions raised by the situation motivated me to take a closer look at Malmö's eco-marketing at the Expo, which then became the topic of this thesis.

Aims & Research questions

Based on my internship project and working experience at the Shanghai Expo, the objective of this thesis is to explore the eco-branding of Malmö Case (also being referred to as the Case in this thesis), in terms of how the thematic experience at the Case was produced and consumed by regular Chinese visitors. By utilizing my skills of cultural analysis, I wish to shed some light on some potentialities Malmö could undertake to better communicate its branding as a sustainable city to the Chinese general public. In this thesis I will approach the topic by discussing the following questions:

- How was Malmö's urban sustainability culturally framed at the Expo?
- How was Malmö's eco-brand perceived and received by the Chinese public?
- How could Malmö's eco-brand be reframed in order to target the Chinese general audience?

To clarify further, in this thesis I do not intend to question the legitimacy of sustainable development being marketed as Malmö's brand image, but to pinpoint what actually happened when this "green" image was being communicated to the Chinese visitors at the Expo, and offer possibilities on how Malmö could make

changes to avoid a recurrence of similar problems in the future.

My internship at Malmö Case is what mainly drove me to pursue Malmö's eco-branding to the Chinese public. Malmö city's objectives at the Expo, which I argue in my intern report, were over-generalized and ultimately, were not met. In events like the Expo which tend to be educational and entertaining, as well as fiercely competitive, Malmö's focus on VIPs while neglecting regular visitors triggered my doubts. The notion goes that "place marketing requires the active support of public and private agencies, interest groups, and *citizens*" (Kotler et al. 1993, p.20). It is somehow ironic that the showcase failed in catching Chinese visitors' attentions. I do not regard such undervaluation as reasonable. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. I will now continue and introduce the World Expo.

Shanghai World Expo



The first World Exposition (or World Fair), often referred to by its abbreviated form "Expo", dates back to 1851 in London. Nations worldwide were officially invited to the industrially pioneering Britain under the name "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" to exhibit their advancements within the fields of transport, communications and industry. The success of the World Expo's debut set the new global trend of Expo-hosting. Cities in developed nations found the World Expo to be



Figure 1 – Haibao, mascot of Shanghai Expo

an opportunity to "sell the City as a corporate and touristic entity in itself - ultra-modern, inter-national, and leading the times." The accompanying large-scale urban reformations, social change and interactions helped create a "unique" image as being the host city. In 1928 the "Bureau of International Exhibitions" (or BIE) (<http://www.bie-paris.org>) was founded and became the official regulating authority of World Exposition hosting worldwide.²

China was the first developing country to host the World Expo. China had remarkable record-breaking figures; to name a few, a total of 246 participating

countries/organizations, a 5.28 sq. km exhibition area and a total of 79,965 volunteers recruited. By the time it had ended, the Expo had received a total of 73 million visitors.³ Running from May 1 to October 31, the Shanghai Expo had as its theme, “Better City, Better Life”. This theme expressed concerns toward urban environments of human kind nowadays, and hope towards a better quality of living. Focus lies within policy-making, urban strategies and sustainable development. Overall, harmonious urban lifestyles are what the Shanghai Expo called attention to. It strove to be both an educational and entertaining event for participating organizations and visitors, and to reflect upon our current and future city lives.

China is the world's most populated country (1.3 billion) with stunning economic growth. As the global trend goes, it is no longer possible to ignore the fact that the country is topping greenhouse gas emissions with its industrialization and urbanization processes. China had already 655 cities in 2008, 122 of which had more than one million inhabitants. If one compares this figure with cities of the same geographical size within the EU, China has four times the population. Sustainable development, therefore, has its significance in this developing country. For the first time sustainable urban planning has been intertwined with the Chinese debut of the international mega event. Actors at all levels were involved, from national leaders, government officials, to regular citizens from all backgrounds and occupations. Such variation signifies the democratization of knowledge in urban sustainable development. The World Expo was not merely confined to urban planners, government officials and experts who possess expertise and power, but to anyone. I will go on to present and reflect on the research methods and materials adopted and collected through my internship, and further discuss in what ways we can understand the concept of urban sustainable development in a general sense.

Methods & Material

Project data collected during my internship period at the Expo served as the main empirical source for this thesis. Like other staff, I was given staff T-shirts with the Malmö city logo and an Expo staff badge, which had to be presented when entering the Expo site. There was hardly any difference between me and the rest of the staff members. I engaged in regular tasks (e.g. giving tour-guides, stamping, interacting

with visitors and performing maintenance work), while still keeping in mind my role as a researcher working on a project of my own. The showcase was my “field”.

During and after my internship, online desk research and access to information presented on various websites aided in my understanding of the Malmö Case, as well as other Swedish involvement at the Expo. The following research methods were utilized during the internship:

- **Participant observation**

Malmö Case was an open-air showcase without fixed routes for visitors. The number of daily visitors ranged between 4000 and 8000 people, while topping 10,000 at peak periods. This being said, the maintenance work was very tedious and burdensome for staff members. Giving guided-tours and stamping at the front desk were basic tasks. I had to walk around the showcase from time to time, ensuring everything was under control, as well as talking with visitors in case they had any enquiries. In this sense, as a participant (staff member), observation was naturally part of my work. For this reason, I regard myself as what Gold (1958) categorizes as *participant-as-observer* (Davies 2008, p.82), because my assigned working tasks occupied a bigger proportion than pure observation. I carried a small notebook with me while at work, keeping track of trivialities, incidents and occurrences. In addition, I took photographs around the showcase, but I did not always have my camera with me.

- **Interviews**

Comparing with other showcases, Malmö Case was relatively small and unsophisticated.⁴ Besides the routine tasks as a staff member, I conducted surveys from visitors present at the showcase. It was always desirable when there was more meaningful communication and interaction taking place, so as to make the atmosphere more lively and vibrant. In the one-page survey, in addition to general standardized questions of presentation of the informant, there were also questions where visitors could share their experience at the Expo and their impressions on Malmö Case in particular. Taking the advice from the showcase manager, I guided informants as they went through the questionnaire by reading out the questions and choices (if any), instead of letting them write on their own. I posed the questions to the informants and

then jotted down his/her responses. In this way it was transformed into an *interview* process involving verbal communication between the researcher and the informant. There were good reasons for making the questionnaire interactive: 1) comments and ideas could be better disseminated through face-to-face conversational dialogues instead of written texts; 2) these dialogues further enabled me to request my informants for elaborations on certain aspects as well as some follow-ups, as in semi-structured interviews, thus enriching the data. In conclusion, the interviews were structured (written) with semi-structured elements (verbal). Chinese was the language used during interviews. Quotes from informants stated in this thesis were translated by me.

Since there was an overabundance of small gifts (Malmö city-labeled USB sticks as bracelets), I decided to give them away as a reward to informants who spent their time participating in the questionnaire. There were no objections from colleagues of the USBs being used as compensation for participation in the questionnaire. In all, I conducted 23 questionnaires with in-depth conversations involving eight informants. Our conversations did not merely touch upon what was on the survey; the informants related their own experience when expressing themselves. Surveys were not the only sources used in obtaining insights of the visitors. Guided-tours, front desk work and other routine works also involved interaction with visitors. These incidents were recorded in my log book.

Critique of Methods & Materials

After presenting what research methods have been used in my former internship project, I will now discuss them in a more reflexive sense on how these two methods were carried out in the field, the significant factors that influenced the process, and what I have gained from these.

▪ Participant observation

When conducting participant observation, Davies (2005) emphasizes the importance of reflexive observation – “the ethnographer needs to be sensitive to the nature of, and conditions governing, their own participation as a part of their developing

understanding of the people they study” (p. 83). I am fully aware that as a participant-as-observer, my role in the research process was never neutral. As a researcher, I aimed to study Malmö's eco-branding in an overseas context and the intercultural communication that took place. Yet as a staff member, my outfit signified that I was the “face” of the showcase, carrier and promoter of the Malmö brand. My interactions with the visitors, i.e. what I said and what I did, embodied a conscious pre-defined meaning that was manifested on behalf of the showcase, instead of as an individual. My role as a member of the staff crew provided legitimacy for me to observe my working place (as well as the field) for the project. The interactions and communication from both visitors and staff members offered me access not normally granted to ethnographer's participation. As some kind of member of the society, they might not be allowed to observe, or would simply not know what to observe or how to go about it (p.81).

Despite my privileged position, I was still an outsider to some extent. As pointed out in the intern report, Malmö's prioritization and mingling process with VIP visitors and off-Expo sessions took place in a discreet way, which I hardly had any access to. What is more, during my non-working days I was absent in media interviews and certain VIP visits. These events could have largely enriched the project research. The Expo manager, a former PR manager herself, was in charge of such matters. I was not the only one who encountered the exclusion; a few colleagues who were employed did as well. Thus, the uneven power relationship among the staff largely affected the data gathering process.

▪ **Interviews**

I conducted survey interviews to visitors for two weeks and eventually selected 23 of them, mostly those who had engaged with me in the verbal interview when answering the survey. A selection was necessary since I found copies with only a few vague words and the rest unanswered, usually from those I did not manage to interview. Only surveys with higher degrees of integrity were considered. That is, the person's opinions and experiences were comprehensible and concrete. Informants were regular visitors who were present at the showcase, among them were 15 females and eight males, all residing in China and of Chinese ethnicity. My informants consisted of

many young students, mostly in their late teens, as it was summer vacation during the time. 10 informants were between the ages of 16 and 20. The second largest age group was from 21 to 25 years old. I posed my request to visitors whom I had just given a tour-guide, provided that the communication went well. Most of them were willing to spare their time. I also turned to visitors resting at the tables (a part of the showcase). The tables and chairs provided a suitable setting for interviews to take place.

Having a relatively young generation as the majority of informants could both be an advantage and a limitation. The good thing is that their expressions somehow reflect a general pattern within the generation, if any. Yet the diversity of informants' backgrounds was thus minimized. I did not use a recording device for the interviews but wrote down their statements onto the questionnaire, in a version of my own. The field environment proved hard to do sound-recordings as there was a mix of different sounds. I could hear music or tour-guides speaking through microphones coming from nearby showcases, visitors' screams, laughs, conversations, and water flows from the fountains. Scribbling down what the informants said with keywords and phrases, was instant and concise. I could have a good grasp of their core attitudes and responses toward the questions, since my concern was to know their perceptions on the showcase. Hardly any of their personal life-story would be touched upon. I therefore discarded the necessity of keeping track of their full statements. Gathering interview data through note-taking, however, has its limitations. Though I would regard the survey as mostly positivist, as what Silverman (2006) puts: "[i]n [positivist] survey research ... interview data give access to 'facts' about the world ... these facts all are to be treated as accounts whose sense derives from their correspondence to a factual reality" (p.119). Yet at the same time positivism has difficulty in simply matching informants' words into "facts", the privilege of being emotionalist, that "elicit authentic accounts of subjective experience" (p.123). I have attempted to offer this in my survey conducting process through a more semi-structured way, i.e. guide informants through the questions but with extra informal follow up questions and talks. In this way emotionalism took place in a limited sense. Informants' facial expressions, verbal cues and tones cannot be captured in shorthand notes; emotions were absent.

Many of the informants were accompanied by either family or friends, and I soon realized the problem that during the questionnaire guiding process, the accompanier's opinions tended to blend into the main respondent's. The situation began to look like a group interview and I was at a loss wondering what I could do with two person's opinions on a single questionnaire. The next time, I managed to let them express their opinions separately, and in that way I was unable to go through the questions with them but instead I let them write on their own and posed follow-up questions instantly after skimming through what they had written. I did not succeed in every case however; sometimes the situation was difficult to manage as the visitors were in a hurry and were eager to finish the survey.

I usually consulted with my informants on their preferred method to do the questionnaire. I strongly emphasized the advantage of me conducting the survey on behalf of them, yet not all informants wanted to be guided by me, some of them preferred to express themselves through written word. The reason why I provide alternatives for the informants was that I wanted them to express themselves in a way which they found most comfortable. For those who I had given a guided tour, a relationship (though temporary) had already been established before the questionnaire; therefore they were more likely to continue talking to me verbally. For those whom I did not previously talk to, some of them accepted my guidance politely while some preferred to write on their own without engaging in dialogue with me. Consequently, there were some forms with very few written sentences and many blanks. These had to be discarded.

Due to Malmö Case's open landscape, it was difficult to calculate the average time a visitor spent at the showcase. There were five other city cases in the building, most visitors' attentions got easily distracted from time to time and their actions seemed to be hurried. Interviews from surveys were an important source for receiving instant and direct responses from visitors on their impressions and experiences at the showcase. The rest of the participant observation mostly consisted of my own observations, encounters and incidents within daily routine work involving visitors and colleagues. In the next section I will elaborate on my former engagements in Malmö-related studies.

Previous research

Urban sustainable development is a complex field which various disciplines have attempted to study. Studies on sustainable urban planning are far greater in number than those specializing in the concept as part of a city's urban image. Instead of reflecting upon Malmö's urban sustainability, what is more relevant is the destination branding on the transnational level, i.e. the Øresund region, an area in which the Greater Copenhagen area of Denmark and the southern Swedish province Skåne are constituted. Lousdal & Sihm (1997) explores the possibilities of this region in a branding process to establish a destination image by analyzing local actors. Hospers (2005) focuses on the role of place marketing in the spatial-economic transformation of the Øresund region, and argues that it is an "imagined region" where more integration is needed. The authors all emphasize that a vision as well as an identity which could be *shared* by both sides has to be created in order to lead to concrete integration and a stronger regional profile for destination branding. While Lousdal & Sihm acknowledges that there exists differences across the Øresund, Malmö, the center of Skåne, is not often the subject of research on its own but rather discussed as a part of the bigger transnational region.

Andrén's (2010) work, on the other hand, provides pertinent views and frameworks for discussing urban sustainable development in Malmö. Taking the ecological aspect as a point of departure, she discusses Malmö's ambitious premises within the affluent Northern European context. What I find interesting and rewarding from reading her work is the discussion on tensions and clashes between the local and the global, vision versus reality, especially the prevalent discourses on urban sustainability within the city, as well as pointing out the challenges Malmö city may encounter in realizing its ambitious sustainability visions. These insights offer perspectives in analyzing discourses and narrations on Malmö's official ecological profile.

Project "The Taste of Malmö" – local perspectives

Here I would like to present my own involvement in Malmö research projects. In spring 2010 my fellow classmates and I had the chance to work on an applied cultural

analysis project with Malmö Turism (Malmö Tourism board) as the client. The project is named “The Taste of Malmö – Aura through Senses”. By reviewing officially published information both online and in print, as well as through talks with locals working or studying in the city, we determined that Malmö lacks a unified and clear image that can be easily-grasped by visitors. Therefore, our goal was to (re)map the aura of Malmö's cultural landscape through the five human senses (sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell) by reaching out to locals living in Malmö, specifically targeting artists. The informants contributed significantly and largely enriched our understanding of the city as foreigners. As for project deliverables, we designed a map representing the auras of various parts in town, along with a summary of our major findings and concrete suggestions for improving the Board's branding strategies. Approaching the city with “human-scales” along with an artistic twist is the most unique aspect of this project and we came to conclude that the most attractive things about Malmö lie within the local mundane daily lives—the atmosphere and close relationship between peers, friends and family. The map was praised highly by Malmö Tourism and it is in the process of being officially distributed to local businesses and organizations. Though the project did not touch upon urban sustainability, I found the “human sensory” aspect very inspiring in the city branding process, as well as for the case of the Expo.

Even though the project was completed, my curiosity about Malmö did not stop. Being a student from Taiwan who once studied and lived in Malmö for two years—the first city where I settled down in Sweden, a country I had never previously been—I got to experience and witness the changes that have taken place. The Master program actually turned my past experiences into reflections in pursuit of Malmö's development, and I have found it exciting to re-explore the city with novel and fresh perspectives. In producing this thesis I had the opportunity to document and reflect on Malmö's presence in this mega event in China and how it was received by the Chinese public, not only through my own participation but also through applying qualitative research methods as well.

Malmö and urban sustainability

The industrial town in trouble – a new vision

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden with around 300,000 inhabitants; a third of all inhabitants are foreign-born.⁵ The city had a glorious past especially during the 1950s and 70s in its industries. Malmö's Kockums shipyard had the world's largest crane when it was built in 1974.⁶ The leading ship-building industry dominated the city's economy and the crane was once one of Malmö's most significant landmarks, though it had not been put too much use before the economic crisis began to strike in the following decades. The early 90s witnessed serious economic stagnation--rocketing unemployment rates and factories went into bankruptcy. Malmö was in crisis. It became crystal clear that Malmö needed new vision and planning in order to undergo the transition into the post-industrial era. As the mayor puts it:

“We had found ourselves in the deepest crisis imaginable; it was a question of which path to take now that the pursuit of industry was no longer working for us. The direction we took instead was to promote Malmö as a centre of knowledge and an eco-town. Raising its profile as a town that welcomes business and industry was also a priority.” – Ilmar Reepalu⁷

Urban renewal projects

The new vision was carried out through various urban renewal plans. In 1998 the first local higher educational institution, Malmö Högskola, was established, with most of its campus located near the Central Station, stretching throughout the harbor area. Besides the university campus, the area is also where companies within the service, IT and technology sectors agglomerated. Heading westward toward Västra Hamnen (Western Harbor), which is so far the city's role model in combining urbanization and sustainable living, we see the internationally renowned Bo01 community (built in 2001) and the 190-meter-skyscraper Turning Torso (built in 2006). Other successful cases include Augustenborg, the once deteriorating residential community which is now being transformed into an eco-district with solar panels and 9500m² coverage of “green roof”; and Sege Park – the largest solar cell plant in Scandinavia.⁸

After five years construction, Malmö's City tunneln project was eventually inaugurated in December, 2010. The project involved large scale refurbishment of

Malmö's Central Station, a newly designed extension glass hall, two other new stations within Malmö and a slightly altered railway route which shortened the travel time within the Øresund region. City Tunneln is considered to be more efficient, mobile, and convenient. It represents an important milestone in Malmö's urban development, increasing the city's significance both domestically and internationally.

“Ekostaden” (Eco-city) – leading image of Malmö's city-branding

The renewal attempts presented above clearly show that Malmö has been eager to dispose of its past image as being unattractively “industrial”: old, gray-ish, lifeless, and dirty. It has now instead become a *growing* knowledge-based hub which is vibrant, dynamic and sustainable for human living. After receiving the United Nation's prestigious Habitat Scroll of Honor Award in 2009 for its efforts in becoming a city desirable for human living, Mayor Reepalu expressed his affirmations that economic growth and ecological sustainability can coexist instead of being contradictory. This belief played a significant role in Malmö's urban planning.⁹ The emergence of a new global economy led to more intense global competition with increasing interdependence and communication between national, regional and local economies. Thus in this sense, it is not only the planning that is crucial to the city, but also how to *market* it for the sake of economic advantage. As Kotler et al. (1993) maintain: “[p]laces are, indeed, products, whose values must be designed and marketed” (p.10).

Understanding sustainability

What is sustainability? According to the World Commission on Environment and Development, a sustainable society meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, as stated in the World Commission report, also known as the Brundtland Report (1987)¹⁰. The uneven consumption of environmental resources has resulted in parts of the population living in prosperity while many others have difficulty maintaining their daily survival – the increasing gap between the rich and the poor. The economic and industrial activities aimed to generate prosperity and revenue are being strengthened through exploitation of the natural environment. The positive aspects of a more

globalized and modernized world with flows of commodities and values, are that a number of new-born generations are able to live longer as well as enjoy a higher level of living standard, both in a material and mental sense. Yet despite this, human beings have failed to maintain the balance between economy and ecology. The ways our society consume environmental resources may severely damage the environment and impose great burden on the under-privileged, especially “[t]he consequence has been a considerable increase in human distress and the overexploitation of land and natural resources to ensure survival in the short term”¹¹.

Every year we find climate oddities in different parts of the world, be they extreme or abnormal temperatures, or hazards such as floods, drought, etc. There have been recurrent climatic disturbances which have increased in terms of frequency and the number of regions affected, leaving us with worries and uncertainty towards the future. In Giddens (2002) words, these “external risks” concerning nature are being transformed into “manufactured risks”.¹² While there is no unified scientific view on the causes of the phenomena, what is certain is that we can no longer ignore the environmental risks, with daily influx disseminated through mass media. Giddens argues that risk management has become an essential part of our lives, not only for individuals but institutions as well. Globalization brings revolutionary changes to the world population, to our lifestyles and to the society in which we live. With unprecedented rates of global communication and economic activities taking place, nation-states are no longer self-dependent and instead are inter-linked and inter-dependent – the most direct phenomenon of globalization. Nor are they alone in facing the environmental issue such as climate warming. The Kyoto Protocol and the United Nations Climate Change Conference exemplifies the collective intention to manage environmental risks on an international level. From Giddens’ saying that “risk is closely connected to innovation” (p.3), we may say that such political acts among nation-states brought to the international arena signifies global awareness and a determination to develop *new* approaches toward the environment, and also to development. Environment and development are not separate notions, but “inexorably linked ... in a complex system of cause and effect” (*Our Common Future*). In this sense, cities are important subjects for sustainable development research and its application remains an on-going debate. As Ooi (2005) points out: “an increasing

proportion of the world and most national populations are going to be residing in cities in the near future” and “[...]cities as major sites of growth and change as well as the primary sources of pollutants and pollution” (pp.11-12).

As scarce attention was given to what impact human development had on the ecological system before, it is urgent and crucial for cities nowadays to take sustainability into account in order to “understand the urban development processes that are underway which will have impact on ecological systems and resources” and negotiate the balance between human need and the eco-system. The manifestation of this is the establishment and development of “sustainability indicators” whose incorporation is “a social process involving state, society and market sectors” (p.26). State governments, however, are not the only pushers in this process. More importantly, urban sustainability needs to be effectively understood by the public. The imperative of active participation and support of the public is also stressed in the Brundtland Report:

77. The law alone cannot enforce the common interest. It principally needs community knowledge and support, which entails greater public participation in the decisions that affect the environment. [...]

<http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm#I>

What is stated in the Report, however, does not prevent sustainability from being a hazy and much disputed concept. Gidden's saying that (manufactured) risk management becomes necessary in the post-modern globalized era, is well exemplified in this sense, as societal advancement largely increases the chances of confronting the unknown with *new* approaches. To a large extent, sustainability is a strategic concept that has been taken for granted as a part of risk management. Nowadays the problem is no longer sustainability or not, but what it is *for*. Ecological factors are certainly not the only ones in focus. Orrskog (1999) discusses different stances on sustainability. There are those who advocate putting economy and ecology on two sides of the scale, calling for “slower growth rates in the economy and a better and planned adaptation of the human society to nature”. Then there are those favoring economic growth, arguing ecological sustainability is impossible without it. A thorough development on service and knowledge-based sectors is called upon,

because they do not use up materials and energy. “Economic growth should be steered into green business” was often heard in Sweden. Most importantly, economic growth is seen as the prerequisite for handling environmental problems (Nyström 1999, p.95). Generally speaking, it has been common in Europe to understand sustainability as the sum of *economic*, *ecological* and *social* aspects of sustainability, especially in the years before the millennium, as Orrskog further implies. Shortly said, economic sustainability means “a favorable climate for business”; the essence of ecological sustainability is “when the nature is not harmed at an irreversible way”, while social sustainability, in the author’s least elaborated sense, is “about equality, brotherhood and solidarity” (p.96). These variations of sustainability have been constantly adapted and interpreted differently in politics and urban planning. Then, we may ask, as the first research question of this thesis presents, what is Malmö’s version of sustainability? And how was it framed and staged at the Expo? What follows will be a presentation of my choice of theoretical conceptualizations so as to better grasp these questions.

Theoretical Framework

Setting

The Expo has long been a mega-event where experience is intensively commodified and consumed. In the case of the Shanghai Expo, whose temporariness (5 months), number of pavilions (246 participating nations and organizations), and all other programs being held, help signify this. During the period, hundreds of thousands of visitors relocated themselves to Shanghai every day. They came into this new “world” of 5280 m² of glamorously built pavilions, expecting to be shocked, entertained and inspired. These high expectations were not met by all, however, as the non-stop pavilion stamp collection on foot within the area led to some suffering sunstroke, tiredness, eight-hour-long queues in front of Saudi Arabia’s pavilion and so on.¹³ Clearly, experience generated and gained has its differences with everyday mundane experience. In Schechner (1988)’s view, people and objects are assigned certain symbolic roles and values. Turner (1974) treats events as rites of intensification and integration where subjections to extremes of emotional or physical experience leads to greater self- knowledge and consolidation of shared cultural values through

interactions with others – “temporary sense of closeness” or “*communitas*” (Morgan 2008, p.3). However, the educational purpose of the Expo cannot be overlooked. The content of the event encompassed not only the playful, but also served as a source of knowledge (facts), packaged into unique cultural profiles representing the nation staged at the specific pavilions and showcases. To a large extent, the Expo is an “edutainment” site¹⁴—a constructed realm where Chinese visitors are made to believe the significance of what the Expo experience could offer them. It fulfilled not only their curiosity of exoticness but also national pride; the Expo staged people’s everyday urban lives from different corners of the world. The event *per se*, separated those who came into contact with it from the everyday life setting. People came to the Expo and performed specific event-related cults and practices as part of their extraordinary experience. One may observe a software engineer, a housewife together with a child who became “adventurers” in pursuit of stamps from six assigned city cases which had to be collected on a special map held in their sweaty hands, in exchange for direct access to the China pavilion. As my thesis concerns how the Malmö Case communicated its image in such an environment, I wish to first and foremost conceptualize it with the notion of *experiencescapes*, as developed and elaborated by O’Dell & Billing (2005).

Experiencescapes

Nowadays we witness the intensified commodification of *experiences* produced, packaged, consumed and staged around the world; they have become the hottest commodities the market has to offer (O’Dell & Billing 2005, pp.12-13). Beyond sheer materialism, people are willing to pay for new experiences for ephemeral hedonism. The pursuit of new experience, as O’Dell points out, is not only related to the field of tourism, but also to other entertainment forms, leisure activities and consumption practices. The boundaries between tourism and leisure become blurred and transcend the production and consumption of these experiences (pp.14-15).

Under this premise, *experiencescape* is a concept which refers to “the spaces in which experiences are staged and consumed can be likened to stylized landscapes that are strategically planned, laid out and designed ... not only organized by producers (from place marketers and city planners to local private enterprises), but are also actively

sought after by consumers.” (p.16)

In other words, we should not neglect the role *space* plays in creating experiencescapes. For example, how it is constructed through arrays of physical material attributes, design, and manipulation in order to make an impact on those who come in contact with it. Moreover, experiencescapes may be “places of fun and relaxation, but ... can also be places in which the local and global are entwined and where power relations are played out, political interests are materialized, cultural identities are contested and dreams are redefined” (p.18).

The Triadectics of Place

The emphasis of experiencescape on the spatial aspect is largely derived from Henri Lefebvre (1991)'s conceptualization of space – *trialectics of space*. It is therefore necessary to introduce these elements here as well. Social space can be understood in its perceived, conceived, and lived aspects, corresponding with spatial terms along with the consideration of the *body*:

- “Perceived” Social (or spatial) practice – ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. This is the realm of the “perceived”. The spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space, revealed through deciphering (pp. 33 – 38), e.g. everyday interactions of people within that space.
- “Conceived” Representations of space – conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers ... all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. These representations are how the social space is constructed with sets of predefined practices, language and signs.
- “Lived” Representational space - *bodily* lived experience. Space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users” (Lefebvre 1991, p.39) It is where the hegemony of representational space is challenged and resisted, in the manner that people work and rework the world around them and imbue it with (new) meaning in the process (O’Dell & Billing 2005, p.18), possibly invoking creativity and imagination.

As Lefebvre argues, the triad would lose its meaning and integrity if the three elements were not interconnected. In order to understand the three moments, Lefebvre advises taking “body” into consideration, i.e. the embodied lived experience, apart from the “concrete” that he believes the trialectics must be able to grasp (p.40).

Experiencescapes together with the trialectics of social space are contributive as they offer an in-depth conceptual framework to problematize how Malmö promoted its urban sustainability through its staged presence at the Expo among other counterparts from around the world, as well as to deconstruct the showcase through spatial terms and the experience generated through it.

Limitations

This thesis is concerned with the branding of urban sustainability as Malmö's dominant image, and the ways it was communicated to the Chinese public during the Shanghai Expo mega event. The artifacts I documented reflect what was going on at Malmö Case during the one and a half months of my internship work. I experienced three monthly themes, two of which my presence did not last from the beginning to the end, and three others in which my presence was completely absent. As the theme content varied from month to month as well as the organizer¹⁵, the variations also affected how the facts were constructed and presented by each organizer, which may have led to different degrees of responses. These factors were beyond my control.

Additionally, although I worked as a staff member at the showcase, I did not have full access to all activities which took place, especially with the VIPs. As mentioned in the intern report, I was absent at certain events such as media interviews and Swedish politicians' visits, due to external reasons. Additionally, the mingling process was carried out in a discreet way where the Expo manager had exclusive control over matters concerning public relations in both on- and off-Expo circumstances. If I had been able to document such activities, it would have enriched both my experience and data, and would have helped to gain a deeper understanding of promoting urban sustainability.

Thesis Structure

Based on the research questions, this thesis is structured as followed:

Chapter Two consists of thick ethnographic descriptions of the Expo site where Malmö Case was located. Recalling through my personal trajectory, I wish to bring the readers back to the time when the Shanghai Expo was taking place and how a normal working day at the Expo could look like. The descriptive log aims to provide readers some idea on the spatial construction of the Expo, followed by a general introduction to the Malmö Case and its physical and organizational features.

In Chapter Three I discuss the cultural framework of Malmö's theme through an analysis on relevant discourses on urban sustainable development constructed and disseminated at Malmö Case. Chapter Four is where the perspectives of regular visitors, gathered from my empirical data during my work, come into play. This chapter illustrates how Chinese visitors responded and perceived the theme along with other things they had done at the Case. I problematize my findings and relate them to Malmö's Expo objectives and discuss the obvious gap between the two.

In Chapter Five the discussion is based on the previous two chapters and offers practical suggestions and alternatives to order to solve the problems that emerged, by adopting relevant theoretical and conceptual tools.

In the final chapter the above discussions will be summed up and more in-depth reflections are made by rethinking questions on how urban sustainability can be re-framed and delivered to the public in more attentive and effective ways. The relationship of visitor-experience and brand value could be inspiring and constructive to develop new strategies of Malmö's eco-branding to the public within the Chinese context.

2. Introducing Malmö Case



Figure 2 - Joint Case pavilion 4-1, where Malmö Case was located (source: the Internet)

It was a regular summer day, 33°C in Shanghai. With sweat running down, I was on my way to the gate entrance of Area E after leaving the metro station. The walk lasted about ten minutes; I pulled out my staff badge and had it around my neck by the time I arrived at the gate. The entrance to Area E was probably the smallest among all the Expo entrances. Despite this I could still see long queues at the side with several groups of travellers. I entered within two seconds, what lay in front of me was the security check stations. The lanes were categorized as “regular visitors”, “green pass” for seniors in wheelchair, and finally “staff, media workers and VIPs” at the side. The security checks were similar to those found in airports: one had to put all belongings

in a box, no liquids were allowed, after passing the scanning door a body check was imposed. The final stop was to hold my Expo badge in front of a machine. Generally a real badge would allow my information to appear on a screen which a guard constantly had his eyes on. By then the scrutiny came to an end and I was officially inside the Expo area.

The Expo site consisted of five parts, from area A to E. *The Urban Best Practices Area* (UBPA), an innovative highlight of the Expo, was located in Area E. Unlike the former Expos, which were usually dominated by national pavilions, UBPA consisted of selected city cases from all over the world. These demonstrations covered desirable residences, sustainable urbanization, historical heritage preservation and use, and technological innovation in builded environments.¹⁶ Malmö Case was situated in the central part of this Area, where case joint pavilions were common, i.e. - several city cases under the same roof. The joint case buildings were once factories and were adapted to be exhibition halls.



Figure 3 - Case joint pavilion 4-1 (source: the Internet)

I headed left towards UBPA, first getting a bottle of water at the price of three *yuan* (ca. 2.9 Swedish *kronor*). Along the way I saw an omnipresence of Expo volunteers dressed in green and white uniforms standing under umbrellas answering visitors’

questions on getting around. Indeed, the Expo site was big enough to get lost. I had my umbrella above me to insulate the sun.



Figure 4 The Expo “must-get” – colorful portable chairs. They were not the official merchandise and had to be bought before entering the Expo site at a cost of 20 yuan (20 Swedish kronor).

I glanced at the open-air stage where dance performances were going on, the audience gave their applause. I continued to sweat; there were no wind, only heat. At certain spots the vapor-giving machines were cooling off the long queues outside the showcases, while some visitors were washing their faces at the tap area. After passing the factory-like Pavilion of Future (one of the official Expo themed pavilions) and Taipei Cases, I finally came to Case 4-1, a brick-walled building with unevenly distributed patterns on its walls, a 15 minute walk from the security check station. Cool air-conditioned winds blew on my face before I stepped my foot inside. I felt so relieved. Here another world appeared in front of me—long wriggling queues of people by the Bilbao Case, glassy souvenir displays of Paris Case, sounds of water flowing from fountains at the Swiss Geneva/Zurich/Basel Case, courteous Japanese tour-guides bowing in front of the Osaka Case, and screams coming from the castle-like Prague Case, their Czech pancake business adding some scents to the air. Right next to the Czech castle was Malmö Case. However I did not go directly to my work place but went to the staff room (in a corridor besides Osaka Case) where I left my bag, lunch, and put on the black staff shirt. Then I walked through the Swiss Case and went to the open landscape of Malmö Case and said “hi” to my colleagues at the

front desk and began my day. The time was 11 a.m. (See Appendix for photographs of these showcases).



Figure 5 - Side glance of Malmö Case (source: the Internet)



Figure 6 (Right) Malmö Case's slogan on the pillar

Figure 7 (Left) the Expo manager and I at the front desk



General information on Malmö Case

Malmö Case was at one of the corners of the building. Its floor space was 320 m², one

of the smallest of the showcases. Most people, including myself, tended to feel that the Case was pretty small, largely due to the placement of the staff meeting room right in the center of the showcase (see Figure 8 in the following section). Malmö city's official griffins logo was also used here as the logo to represent the showcase. Its major theme was "*Urban sustainable development – projects in a former industrial city*". The showcase was officially organized by Malmö City's Environment Department (Miljöförvaltningen) under the project leader Monika Månsson, along with four Swedish corporate partners who contributed to Malmö's sustainable development in various aspects: SYSAV, VA Syd, E.On, and MKB. The partners played important roles in demonstrating the monthly sub-themes in their field of expertise at the showcase, ranging from waste management, water, climate-smart energy, to urban planning.

Malmö Case's personnel consisted of six staff members and one Expo manager, all of whom were ethnically Chinese. There were four student volunteers from Sweden, including myself, who participated at different time periods. Each month there would be guest staff from the partner companies travelling to visit the showcase. The guest staff would also take part in some of the work, but only to a limited extent, due to language barriers and personal plans.



Figure 8 - Group picture of both Chinese and Swedish staff members in July

Objectives

Stated on the official Expo website (www.southernswedenexpo.cn)¹⁷, jointly ran by Region Skåne and Malmö city, the objectives of Malmö Case were described as followed:

“To demonstrate *Urban sustainable development in a former industrial city*. The exhibition introduces Malmö’s rapid transformation from being industrial to a knowledge-based city, as well as its urban sustainability development.”¹⁸

“Our exhibition offers a number of activities that show different aspects of sustainable development or give a more in-depth look at Västra Hamnen. We provide information about the development of the area and we’ve tried to recreate the feeling of actually being there.”¹⁹

To present how sustainability has been applied in various aspects in urban development, six monthly sub-themes were designated to correspond to the Expo period (May 1 – October 31).

Month	Theme	Organization in charge
May	The sustainable school	Malmö city
June	Ecocycles: water, wastewater, waste	VA Syd & Sysav
July	Urban everyday travel	Malmö city
August	Smart energy	E.On
September	Sustainable urban planning	MKB
October	CleachTech city	Malmö city

Table 1 Monthly themes at Malmö Case. (Grouped months in black bold lines indicate my internship involvement)

The contents at Malmö Case were displayed in both the Chinese and English languages. Swedish nationalities involved in the films spoke English and the films came with Chinese subtitles.

To get a better picture of what Malmö Case looked like, in the following section I will present the elements that constituted the showcase.

Layout & Elements



Figure 9 - 3D floor plan of Malmö Case

The figure above shows that Malmö Case was an open-air showcase. Occupying a floor space of 320 square meters, the showcase consisted of six main parts:

- Front desk: it was where staff members usually would be at, performing such tasks as stamping²⁰ and gift giving. Behind the desk there was a billboard displaying the city name, its theme, as well as brief background information.
- City model: a model covering Malmö's central station and the Västra Hamnen area. LCD panels were installed by the model displaying information on aspects of the city's urban sustainability such as water and waste management, clean energy and transportation—the showcase's theme in a nut shell. Usually the guided tours began with the city model.
- Västra Hamnen copy: a heightened wooden floor, outdoor tables and chairs, and a wall with a background picture of the Turning Torso and the nearby residential areas, were found in this section. There was a gap filled with flowing water between the background wall and the wooden floor. This section echoed what was described in the objective: to recreate the feeling of “being” at Västra Hamnen.

- Monthly theme walls: highly themed and customizable. Their appearance and displays changed every month to correspond to the monthly theme. Figure 11 illustrates what the walls looked like in July and August.



Figure 10 Peter and Andreas from Malmö city's traffic department, stamping at the front desk



Figure 11 Visitors at the Västra Hamnen copy



Figure 12 Film corner



Figure 13 Display walls in August and July – smart energy & urban everyday travel



Figure 14 Malmö parascope – the scope of future

- Film corner: introductory films on green practices in Malmö were shown. Visitors could sit down and put on the headphones for sound while watching.
- Meeting room: not open to visitors. It was the place where staff members could mingle and where gifts, brochures and booklets were stored. The Expo manager usually stayed in the meeting room. Meetings, presentations, and *fikas* all took place in this room. As it was located in the middle of the showcase, it was not

uncommon to notice visitors passing by who tried to peek into the room through the transparent glass doors.



Figure 15 - A boy paddling hard on the bike, while the other had his eyes on the cell phone to see if it was actually being recharged

- Activities: there were two interactive objects at the showcase, the electricity-generating bike and the Malmö *parascope* (shown in yellow texts in Figure 9). Placed in between the front desk and the showcase's external wall, the bike was usually the first thing that attracted young visitors to the showcase. The bike, also from Malmö, was equipped with cellphone recharger plugs; visitors could recharge their cellphones while having fun riding the bike.

The Malmö Parascope was also transported to Shanghai from Malmö. When looking into the Parascope viewer could see images of Malmö's past, present and future, through visualizations of particular places in the city.

Recalling through my personal trajectory throughout the chapter, I wished to take you back to the time when the Shanghai Expo was taking place and how a normal working day at the Expo could look like. With the autoethnographic log I aimed to give some idea on the spatial construction of the Expo, followed by a general introduction on Malmö Case and its physical and organizational features.

It proved difficult for me to find words to describe Malmö Case by the time I made my first visit. Unlike the other showcases, it was relatively easy to identify "icons" which were closely associated with the theme. Although the bike and the city model were quite catchy, after walking around under the short guidance of the Expo manager,

I still was neither fascinated nor impressed. It seemed as if there was something missing, something which could tell me that this is the showcase talking about urban sustainability. What could a low-profile and simple-designed showcase tell its visitors about the story of Malmö's transformation?



Figure 16 Staff fika

3. Story-telling



Figure 17 – Theme wall graphics in July: urban daily travel

This chapter discusses how urban sustainability was culturally framed at Malmö Case, by incorporating Lefebvre's *representations of space*. By culturally framed, I mean construction of Malmö's "green city marketing" – the ways urban sustainability was narrated and communicated at the showcase. Not everyone has heard of the term sustainability and its variants, yet we may not be strangers to the buzz words used by companies, governments, schools and other sectors such as "green", "clean", "recycle", "renewable", "low carbon"... and so on, which we come across more and more often nowadays. These terms now are woven into the biography which Malmö wished to unfold to its visitors.

As mentioned earlier, Malmö city's Environmental Department (Miljöförvaltningen) was in charge of Malmö Case along with several corporate partners. Malmö Tourism was not involved. This differentiated the showcase from a lot of other city cases which were more tourism-oriented. Tourist information and relevant products were not the focus at Malmö Case, the focus instead was on the contents of urban planning

and environmental science. Nationally and internationally, Malmö tried to create and disseminate the image of its “greenness”. Kotler et al (1995) states image positioning must be supported by *reality* (p.153), which Malmö does have something to tell from its pilot urban planning projects. Malmö sub-categorized its green theme into six monthly themes encompassing education, waste management, urban transportation, energy and urban planning.

Removing the Negative

In its troubled days, facing the necessary transition from the old to new economy, Malmö decided to pursue sustainable development. Looking at this through the lens of Kotler et. al's place marketing (1993, p.160), the transformation Malmö underwent contributed to the construction of a “better” image which disposed the attributes the old economy once had; the once “glorious” and “proud” aspects had become the negative things which the city wanted to dispose. Malmö's desperate need to re-position itself was narrated in the introduction text at Malmö Case's front desk billboard: “...in the 1990s, Malmö's future seemed very bleak. The industries ... were closing down. The budget deficit was gigantic and the jobs disappeared. Malmö was a city in crisis.” Then the city's sustainable development “story” unfolded after 10 years' time, with its significantly successful case, the Bo01 community in the Västra Hamnen area. Urban sustainable development, then, was a positive force which re-altered the city's image.

Once again, let's turn back to Malmö's Expo objective— to demonstrate the transition into a knowledge-based city and its urban sustainable development focusing on the case of Västra Hamnen's Bo01 community. What is more, Malmö Case aimed to offer a number of activities on urban sustainability, provided information on the development of Västra Hamnen and tried to recreate the feeling of being there. Indeed, more than half of the showcase was about Västra Hamnen; besides the introduction on the front desk billboard which I just mentioned, the city model as well as the LCD panels presented information on sustainable development in the area, covering recycling, space planning, renewable energy, sustainable transportation systems and decontamination processes through texts and photo slideshows. Lastly, there was the

Västra Hamnen copy area, occupied with a magnified Bo01 picture, where visitors could sit down at the tables and relax by the wall.

The “feeling” of Västra Hamnen



Figure 18 – city model displaying the Västra Hamnen area

Hyper-modern, futuristic architecture, the Turning Torso skyscraper under the cloudless blue sky, the Øresund Bridge, wind turbines in the sea, people with sunglasses sitting by the wooden platform relaxing with friends overlooking the Strait, was what one saw from the photo slideshows on the LCD screens above the city model. These images are not hard to find in other officially printed materials on the area, thus one can conclude that Västra Hamnen is a beautiful area where people can enjoy themselves on the green grass while having the view of the sea, along with gorgeously cutting-edge designed houses and Scandinavia's tallest landmark, the Turning Torso. However, once being the center of the Kockums shipyard, Malmö used to be heavily polluted. Now, “sustainable development becomes reality at Västra Hamnen”²¹, and the transformation is not only about the attractive designs, but also about how the community uses 100% renewable energy from solar, wind and biogas power, uses bikes as the dominant means of transportation, has an outstanding waste management system, rainstorm-water, green-roof, and biodiversity creation. The success story of Västra Hamnen presented at Malmö Case tended to remind its visitors that the area is representative of the city's sustainable development, and

thanks to visionary sustainable approaches it has been transformed into an attractive spot, not only enjoyable for living but ideal for recreational activities with families and friends; a place which is clean, organized, offering leisure and pleasure. Outdoor tables and chairs, which generally are common to see and become occupied in Sweden during sunny weather, are objects which were used by Malmö city to embody the imaginary “ideal” of the area, from the photos to bodily experience.

Malmö's urban sustainability unfolded through presentations on Västra Hamnen in a variety of ways. Texts shown on LCD screens and printed materials mostly contained facts, figures and mechanisms, representing the more “technical” and “scientific” side of Malmö's strive for ecological sustainability. Special emphasis was paid to waste management, renewable energy, and green plantation. The images and objects signified the sensory pleasures which appeared to be the outcome of ecological sustainability. The transformed environment became a meeting point for people all over the city to come and enjoy themselves in the nature—lying on the wooden floors, diving into the sea, playing volleyball on the beach, to name a few. As outdoor activities in nature constitute an important aspect of people's everyday lives in Sweden, it is natural that sporty activities signify the value-adding aspects of what ecological sustainability would offer. With this narration on spatial practices at Västra Hamnen, we can see how this previous “industrial heart” of the city is transformed into a space dominated by middle-class elites, what Lefebvre describes as “representations of space facilitate manipulation of representational spaces” (p.59).

In contrast, social sustainability was less the focus at the showcase. While Malmö often promotes itself as culturally diverse (with more than 100 languages spoken), it seems that cultural diversity had much less significance. Economic sustainability was not explicit, but taken for granted, as the successful ecological transformation at Västra Hamnen has attracted a number of companies to settle there, mostly those within the IT industry.

Sustainable Lifestyles & Consumption

Ecological sustainability played the biggest role in Malmö's eco-branding by

demonstrating how relevant actors have dealt with the environment and how things have happened. At the film corner, one could find sustainable developments from parts of the city other than Västra Hamnen. One day I was sitting at the film area, together with other visitors, with the headphones on. The screen in front of me showed a woman who owned a store selling eco-food near Malmö's city library being interviewed by the Chinese media who flew to Malmö. The store owner explained the reasons for running the business. Another film was about Malmö's planners from the Traffic Department who talked about the campaign "No Ridiculous Car Trips", which was used to promote public transportation, bikes and walking in hopes of reducing private car use. Through the films, viewers had the chance to learn about locals' actions and views on sustainable development, and how they are making things happen. In the films we see a more mundane aspect of sustainable development, concerning people's everyday consumption and lifestyle: food, transportation, gardening, education, etc. Being ecologically aware may be reflected in the changes to the way people live such as buying local, ecologically grown ingredients or biking instead of driving, not only for the sake of the environment but for the sake of their own health as well.. The messages these films tried to deliver belonged to the discourse which I think corresponds well to what André (2010) concludes in her analysis on the prevalent discourse from informants in Malmö: "sustainable lifestyles will not demand a radical shift on an individual basis, but rather that we can live on much in the same way as now only that we will do things smarter and more efficiently" (p.79).

The Sustainable Equation



Figure 19 – the "slogan" in July, on urban daily travel.



Figure 20 – Malmö Case stamp in July

The parts on Västra Hamnen were permanently exhibited throughout the Expo period, while the theme walls which presented the core information of the sub-theme were changed every month. It was in July that Malmö's urban transportation was displayed. Compared with June, the July theme did not have much text descriptions on display but offered a seemingly symbolic image (see Figure 19); let us call it “the sustainable equation”. It was used in the monthly stamp, in graphics by Annika Carlsson presented on one side of the theme wall (see Figure 17), and on the other side which was plainly white and in magnified form. The plain wall was intended for visitors to express their opinions on urban transportation by writing thoughts on post-it notes and placing them on the wall. Easy to decipher, the equation is composed of a walking man, a bus, a bike, a train, and a heart. If we are to comprehend the equation by looking at it through an ecological aspect and personal health, we may conclude that travelling by bike and foot are healthy, while modes of public transportation such as buses and trains are considered means of sustainable transportation as they impose less burden on the environment. The heart would therefore mean both love for the environment and love for ourselves—the sum of what these would eventually lead to. What visualized the equation were the screens installed on the wall, depicting these sustainable icons as integral parts of Malmö's citizens' daily lives. There were pictures of children with helmets riding their small bike; people from Malmö City talking about their “No Ridiculous Car Trips” campaign and their attempts to engage the community; a happy man in a suit riding his bike on his way to work... and so on.

Energy-saving & Renewable energy

It was described by Malmö City that the Case offered “a number of activities that showed different aspects of sustainable development”. Among the showcase’s facilities, as mentioned earlier, the only parts of the exhibit that visitors could physically interact with were the Parascope and the electricity-generating bike. The Parascope inspired its viewer with the evolutionary images of Västra Hamnen at different time scales (past, present and future) under sustainable development. While through biking one could generate electricity to recharge cell phones, which was not only fun but also demonstrated the value of renewable energy. In addition, an online energy-saving campaign was used where visitors were encouraged to participate by visiting Malmö and Region Skåne’s official Expo website (www.southernswedenexpo.cn). The aim of the campaign was to demonstrate efforts the participants had made to save energy, by uploading two household electricity bills: the most recent bill and the bill from the same month last year. Comparing the two bills showed there was an apparent decrease in energy consumption, plus a description on how the participant had minimized electricity consumption at home. A board of reviewers chose a winner who was offered a trip to Malmö with travel, food and hotel provided. Experiencing sustainability through these two activities, then, became much focused on energy – especially its reduction and renewability.

Malmö was not only staging an ideal vision, but more impressively, what it has achieved in realizing this vision; it is what the slogan “Making urban sustainability reality” tried to show. Urban sustainability at Malmö Case was packaged and narrated through climate-smart approaches in the city’s urban planning between the collaboration of urban planners, engaging businesses and citizens. At the Case, it could be said that climate-smart attitudes and values were narrated through two types of people: by city planners and companies facilitating the process; while the images and objects showed the personal experiences of individual citizens, enjoying and contributing to sustainability.

In other words, Malmö’s urban sustainability could be categorized into two versions: that from the “top”—the technological, climate-smart mentality—and the “bottom” –

the “users” of the city, and their behavioral changes in lifestyles, such as waste sorting, bike riding, car-pooling, and consuming ecological products. Ecological sustainability was not only about facts and figures; the *sensory* aspect was also emphasized as value-adding; sustainable development was associated with beauty, tranquility, comfort, leisure, pleasure, well-being, and health. For Malmö, sustainability and attractiveness go hand-in-hand and it lives up to the image of being a knowledge city. In becoming an eco-city, images of Malmö's past were hardly demonstrated at the Case, but rather congested with the current glossy images of Västra Hamnen—a transformed space in the post-industrial era. What was made more noticeable was what the area looks like and how it is used by inhabitants across the city, instead of who is actually living in the area.

4. Between the Known and the Unknown



Figure 21 - Wall filled with post-it notes in July.

In the previous chapter I discussed how urban sustainability was framed at Malmö Case by analyzing the objectives and discourses presented through spatial elements. While urban sustainable development was presented as a desirable and integral part of Malmö, let's shift the focus to how the "users", i.e. regular visitors, perceived the theme as well as their bodily "lived" experience (representational space, in Lefebvre's term) during their stay at Malmö Case.

Theme wall with post-it notes

If the films, images and models at the showcase were sources which visitors could only "passively" receive information, then the wall in July would be quite the opposite. The wall with the "sustainable equation" was a platform where visitors were encouraged to express their opinions on urban transportation by writing on them post-it notes. Small gifts such as bookmarks were given as rewards for their contribution. I had the task of taking care of the wall and compiling the notes; I maintained the wall and selected a bunch of memorable notes and translated them into English as the compilation was for the guest staff. Since the showcase did not have a

fixed route, visitors could come and go as they wished; my experience interacting with them also became quite random. The wall therefore served well for those who were shy but still wanted to express their opinions towards the showcase. As colorful as it appeared (see Figure 20), the wall became one of the popular spots where exclamations were often heard, mostly for its beauty and awe. It also led to increasing curiosity among children and teenagers who showed interest in writing their own notes.

When carrying out the selection and compilation work, I came across notes with all sorts of comments, some within and some beyond my imagination. Note-writing was the spatial practice at the showcase, perceptions and interactions were being produced and reproduced, and as Lefebvre points out, such practice ensures continuity and cohesion (p.33). This was exemplified in the construction of the visitor's Expo experience. And what did the visitors write? Besides the ones with irrelevant content, the notes could be distinguished into two general types:

- **Appraisals toward the “Swedish way”.**

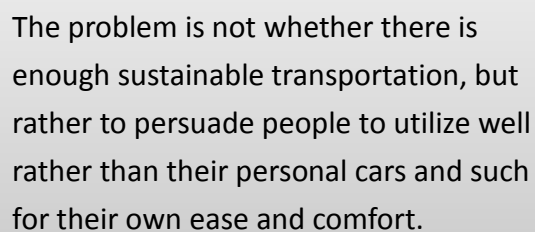
It is not at all strange to find that Malmö was praised by visitors as a role-model. Visitors expressed their impressiveness by comparing China with Sweden, saying “if China will be like Sweden one day...”, “the Swedish attitude is what we must learn from”, and “the European cities have proven that transportation are the key to urban planning...”. Other praises were given to what was presented as sustainable and healthy—public transportation, car-pooling, and bikes—through expressions like “I love bikes!” and “Mamma, buy me a bike!” Moreover, Malmö Case gave visitors a chance to reflect on how things are where they come from, which is the second type of comment, as discussed below.

- **Reflections on the current situation in China.**

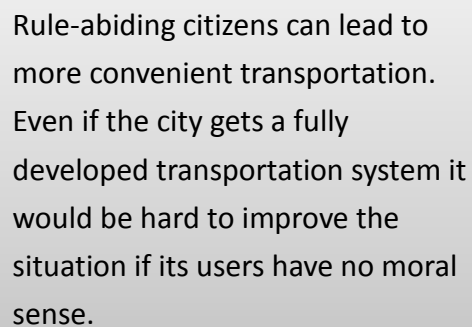
When encouraging visitors to express themselves, we as staff suggested that they could say something in relation to their home town, since there were quite a few who looked confused and did not know what to write. Therefore it would make things easier if they could relate to the city that they are most familiar. I saw that a number of the notes were about the “problematic” traffic in the Chinese cities, that there was an

overabundance of private cars and congested crowds, improperly dangerous designed traffic lanes and a lack of busses during rush hours, to name a few.

In addition to the “complaints”, suggestions on what “should” be done were more common. Not only were reforms of the infrastructure offered, the *human* aspect was also much emphasized. For example, there were suggestions to mobilize citizens to adopt more sustainable means of transportation, as well as to increase their moral sense and awareness of following traffic rules and personal safety.

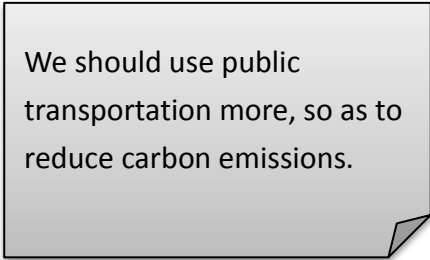


The problem is not whether there is enough sustainable transportation, but rather to persuade people to utilize well rather than their personal cars and such for their own ease and comfort.

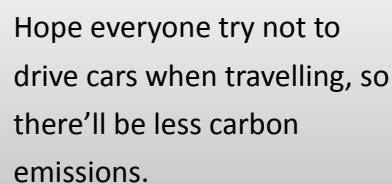


Rule-abiding citizens can lead to more convenient transportation. Even if the city gets a fully developed transportation system it would be hard to improve the situation if its users have no moral sense.

Visitors seemed to know the “right” things to do in order to travel in a more ideal and sustainable way. There was also an abundance of comments which appeared slogan-like, in a preaching tone, calling for greater utilization of public transportation systems and bikes.

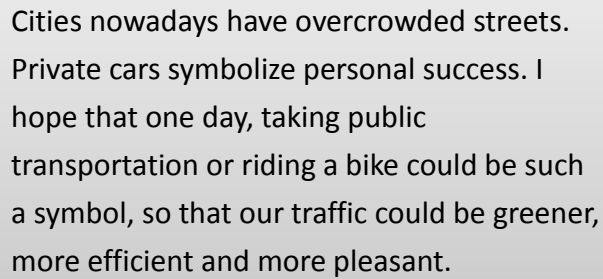


We should use public transportation more, so as to reduce carbon emissions.



Hope everyone try not to drive cars when travelling, so there'll be less carbon emissions.

Impressively, one note stood out from rest by pointing out the cultural value behind car-congestion:



Cities nowadays have overcrowded streets. Private cars symbolize personal success. I hope that one day, taking public transportation or riding a bike could be such a symbol, so that our traffic could be greener, more efficient and more pleasant.

China has been a bike country for the past 30 years. The above comment reflects the current dominant value in China in transition. Along with economic development and increased standards of living, career and wealth become important pursuits in life for most Chinese people. Attaining housing properties and cars are the most common life goals; they are symbols for success, status and stability, while at the same time easing one's insecurity deep within. In the big cities, transportation has always been problematic due to the large size of the cities and the enormous population size. Travelling within the city can take up to one or two hours or even more by public transportation. Bikes are being replaced by motorbikes as they are faster and more affordable. Moreover, high temperatures in summer also make biking in the city more difficult in big cities, and sunstroke is common if one is exposed to too much sun. Therefore taking taxis is another popular way to get around in the city, it provides an alternative to avoid rush hours and the congestion of public transportation. City biking, in the Chinese context, is seen as more of a recreational activity, with not much possibility of becoming the ideal mean of transportation.



Figure 22 – a girl writing a note.

Taking part in note-writing contributed to the cohesiveness of generating people's experience as visitors. What they had done within the Expo site and the various showcases implied a certain level of competence and performance (Lefebvre, p.33). They were able to document their presence in various forms at the showcases they visited. Through the post-it notes I saw all kinds of comments and writing styles, some even used their own note without obtaining one from staff members. The conceived discourses (discussed in the last chapter) seemed to be re-emphasized through these comments in different ways. From the post-it notes, visitors seemed to understand and show appreciation for the concepts and symbols of sustainability and the good reasons for doing so. They were aware of the problems in their country. Urban sustainability constructed by Malmö city seemed to be well-grasped. But one point has to be made, as Ooi (2005) says, "[t]ourists constitute a diverse and unmanageable group of consumers and their behavior is not easily predictable" (p.52); that is, enjoyable or impressive experiences would mean something different from visitor to visitor. While a majority expressed that the showcase was "not bad", "nice", "good environment", how much did they know about urban sustainability presented at the showcase? I found it was very frequent that after having their "wow" moment, seeing the "cute" sustainable equation which appeared either on the wall or on the stamp in their passport, a "what" question was commonly expressed by a child or

even an adult: “what is this?” “What does it mean?” or “Why a bike plus a train plus a man equals a heart?” It becomes necessary to reflect upon if the concept of urban sustainability which Malmö wished to convey was really that effectively communicated. To most visitors, their first impression on the equation was its cuteness, some visitors told me they came to Malmö Case just to retrieve the cute stamp which they heard about from their friends. The Malmö Case stamp in July was indeed rather extraordinary compared to the stamps at the other showcases, especially the heart sign. Though attractive, the heart was also what dumbfounded most visitors; it was tricky to interpret the equation if the person had no idea about Malmö's general and monthly theme. Despite the stamps unique design it was not making too much sense to visitors. Nor were there any clear hints telling people what this equation might mean, or guides of any sort leading visitors to find out the answer. Such confusion could have been avoided if relevant implications could be made so that the equation was not used merely as a tool in getting attention but also used to convey the sustainable message behind it.

It is not enough to discuss how the constructed concept was perceived, we also need to see what visitors said about the experiencescape within which the theme was contained and communicated. This leads us to those who participated and completed my surveys.

Focus? Distraction?



Figure 23 – A long stamping queue at Malmö Case.

Stamping at Expo was highly-repetitive and stressful work. While the task was *per se*, far from meaningful for the staff, the Case stamp meant a great deal to the visitors who obtained it. In July my colleagues decided to change the stamping “rule”, that is, in most cases the visitors would make the stamp on their own. The initial consideration was to save effort for the staff so we could concentrate on other tasks. But as it turned out, the stamping process was slowed down as the visitors had to figure out how the stamp worked, and the longer the queue became the harder for people to jump queues. This brought more people in due to curiosity. The Expo manager was quite pleased by such a spectacle and said that a certain degree of “length” of the queue shall be maintained. The queue thus functioned as a “magnet” which made visitors notice Malmö Case and increased the possibility of them spending time there—a contingent “strategy” to claim more visibility among the competition with five other showcases. Still, we need to get back to what people said about Malmö Case. What were their impressions? Opinions made by visitors basically fell within three groups concerning *landscape*, *way of presentation* and *physical space*.

▪ **Landscape**

Three informants commented straightforwardly that the showcase exterior was *not* outstanding, with one saying that it was “a bit messy”. As a staff member and from my own encounters I could totally understand their points. Every day the same old questions would be posed by incoming visitors asking “which Case is this?”, having no idea where they have stepped in. Worse yet, there were some who thought Malmö Case was the extension of the nearby Swiss Case. At the wall-less showcase, several things could take place simultaneously. While one was queuing to receive a stamp, there would also be kids peddling hard on the electricity-generating bike just right next to you; behind the front desk billboard there were a few visitors gazing upon the city model, another small queue was forming in front of the Parascope; and teenagers walking back and forth between the front desk and the theme wall to write the post-it note and claim their gift.²²

Another common impression was *simple*. Three male and one female informant used the word “simple” when answering. The word could be meant in a positive tone—that the showcase was not overly-decorated and complex, and/or it could negatively imply that there was a lack of elements which they could bodily interact with. I will turn back to this when discussing the way of presentation. The trenches at the copy of Västra Hamnen were once filled with water, however almost nobody noticed the small yellow warning signs between the trench and the wooden floor and people started to fall into them. Eventually there was no more water filled in. Despite this, the tables and chairs at the copy and the film area were much praised for its practicality; visitors were able to rest after long walks within the Expo site.

▪ **Way of Presentation**

When I asked the informants if there was anything inspiring they gained from their experience, eight informants expressed positively that Malmö Case was eye-opening in terms of general content, in the sense that they had learned something which they did not know earlier. They expressed that they had learned basic knowledge on Sweden; sustainable development is better and creates hope for the future; the Swedish attitude on urban sustainability is worth learning; and they would love to visit Malmö in the future. Those whom I gave tour-guides thought the tour-guide was

a vital part in deepening their understanding, and they had more to say toward the survey questions. Although guided-tours contributed to visitors' positive experience at the showcase, the number of guided-tours was very limited in comparison to the number of visitors per day. Three informants expressed that there existed limitations in gaining an understanding of the city of Malmö and the theme:

“Parts of the campaign are not clearly shown, please add some [more] guided-tours.” (Male, 30)

“[More] Guided-tours.” (Female, 16)

“I haven't got much understanding on the city [Malmö].” (Female, 20)

Suggestions on showcase displays were also made:

“Pictures can be enlarged. People who are impatient and not interested don't even sit down. Enlarged pictures can catch their attention and make them start to think a little.” (Female, 65)

“There should be one or two highlights.” (Female, 32)

I recall that in the first few days of my work, there was a bin placed by the theme wall close to the external wall. I curiously peeked into the hole and found a small LCD screen with a photo slide show running. Some days later, I looked in it again but this time the view was obstructed by garbage and Czech pancake leftovers disposed within. There were many like me who did not know that the bin was not a regular trash can at first, but they eventually *treated* it as one. There was nothing telling them that it was a special bin with photo slide shows of Malmö. During the post-it note campaign, there was a number of visitors who did not pay attention to the notice on the board about the desired content, but rather wrote whatever they wanted. Therefore I had to emphasize from time to time to those who were interested, on what they *should* write, instead of “I love XXX” and “XXX has been here”. Why was the guideline paper not noticed? It was because it became worn out very quickly and was soon covered by accumulated post-it notes.

▪ **Physical Space**

Three informants referred to the small size as something which the Case should

improve upon. I heard the same comments while giving tour-guides to visitors. To them, the bigger the showcase, the more it had to offer. Two informants even suggested that Malmö Case should have a section selling souvenirs and food – exactly what Paris and Prague Case had done. What implications could *small* have here? Not enough diversity of activities and information? Less fun? But speaking of sustainability, is big actually good at all? Being big in size would mean needing more resources and materials. That is, theoretically speaking, production of bigger spaces may be ecologically unsustainable than smaller spaces. Therefore could the smallness of Malmö Case be turned into a positive aspect in relation to the sustainability mentality, that “less is more”? Despite its small size, did visitors in general grasp Malmö's urban sustainable development?

Discussion

Malmö Case was a wall-less showcase where people could come and leave as they wished as there was no clear picture showing how the Case wanted its visitors to experience the value of Malmö's urban sustainability. It was totally free for visitors to choose how they wanted to enjoy their time. While staff offered guided-tours to those who seemed to show interest, nothing was planned or imposed on them. Regular visitors possessed absolute power of choice, they decided when their tour at the showcase started and ended. If visitors were not even aware of the products Malmö Case was offering, which could possibly attract them and make them stay longer, they would soon become bored and leave. Their attention could easily be distracted to another showcase since the showcases were so close to each other.

Jensen points that “value has always been socially constructed, but the difference is that value doesn't relate so much to the product or service itself, but to how it is experienced (2005, p.151). The more the visitor experience matches the conceived aspects, the more value it generates. Therefore as part of the spatial construction, mediators of a guiding nature are essential. Apparently, Malmö Case did not gain enough attention; presentational “guiding” elements were underdeveloped. These elements fit well into what Ooi defines as “mediators” which “facilitate the consumption of tourism products in desired directions” (p.68). The result was that it

deepened the gap between how Malmö Case was conceived and how it was perceived and lived. Following Ooi's points, it could be determined that not enough "crafting" was done by Malmö city-visitors' experience was not sculpted in the *desired* way. Staff work thus became much more tedious, as we were the "sculptors" who had to do almost everything from narration to order maintenance and other trivialities concerning space use. Moreover, the lack of other forms of mediators made guided-tours less influential and persuasive. It generated a number of confusions and distractions which largely affected Malmö's brand identity as well as theme products being conveyed to regular visitors. Visitors knew the Case had cozy chairs, a colorful wall full of post-it notes, a fun electricity-generating bike, a cute sustainable equation, but they had no idea what it all meant. What they were expected to write on the post-it notes? What was Västra Hamnen special for? What the meaning behind the Parascope and bike? And worst of all, which Case were they in?

As mentioned before, I consulted with visitors whom I gave guided-tours on their willingness to take part in the survey. The interviews were semi-structured so I could blend survey questions with less formal conversation. In general our conversations were laid-back and pleasant. All informants who were tour-guided by me were impressed by what they have heard and learned, and regarded the guide as a very positive aspect of their experience at Malmö Case. Before they left, I gave them gifts, a USB-stick hand-strap with the sustainable equation logo and the text "Malmö city" written across, and a hard-cover booklet with an introduction to, and photos of Malmö's sustainable development together with some one-page brochures with descriptions on various aspects of sustainability. Surprised, but also delighted, the visitors thanked me with gratitude. Almost coming to an end of the visitors' experience at Malmö Case, their attention was once again brought up by the gifts – cultural products, given directly to their hands from the staff member, as Ooi puts: "[w]ith the control of attention, strong emotional experiences can be invoked" (p.56). These cultural products were not only consumed on the spot, but were memorable for their encounter with Malmö at the Expo.

Malmö Case was chosen as one of the three most interesting showcases in UBPA among VIP visitors by the Expo Committee. The VIP visitors were mainly groups

consisting of government officials, experts, managerial staff from other showcases, and media workers. When a group of VIPs was invited to Malmö Case, without question, they were given the “full-package service” stated above, with more detailed guided-tours along with gifts. The invitational act along with the package service provided guidance and the feeling of being taken care of and flattered. The visitors were welcomed and guided with exclusive courtesy. Their experience at the Case was formed under all-rounded guidance; interpersonal interactions were maximized and distractions minimized. In other words, the VIPs were fully accommodated by staff during their entire stay and every single facility and information relating to it was thoroughly explained. In this circumstance, staff successfully mediated the experience of the VIPs, as exemplified by their satisfaction and good impression of the Case.

While being a mediator to VIPs was of great symbolic value and self-fulfilling, it was far the opposite when it came to regular visitors. Physically, Malmö Case was made to be easily accessible, yet regarding knowledge dissemination it was not. Physical size was not the issue, nor was breadth of information, it was the lack of “props” which could mediate and reduce the contradictions between the “conceived” and the “perceived” and “lived”. There was not a clear focus but many distractions and confusions. Malmö Case was to a large extent, segregated. Urban sustainability was broken down into fragments and pieces through presentations of texts, photos and short films, while this knowledge could only be made coherent through the narration of guided-tours. Comparing with other counterparts, activities at Malmö Case were far less “edutaining”.

Osaka Case had its staff dressed in uniforms standing in front of the entrance leading to the cherry blossom tunnel (cherry blossom scenes were projected onto the tunnel walls); the Swiss Basel/Geneva/Zurich Case was built around a big fountain with flowing water to emphasize its water-cleaning technology; Prague Case resembled a typical tourism package by adopting a number of national icons on display – a two-story tall castle-like exterior and a real Škoda car, a small area carved out for eating where Czech cuisine were available ; souvenirs were also part of the business. Paris and Bilbao Case used a lot of black color in their exterior that yielded more curiosity and a mysterious feeling for visitors. The Cases, mostly tourism-oriented,

were constructed in different ways to present their unique *aura* as well as to stand out. Malmö, being exceptionally knowledge-based and non-commercial, however, did a far less accomplished job to impress the regular visitors.

Although the reason for the VIPs' favoring of Malmö city over the regular visitors is unknown, the showcase itself was designed in the manner that the regular visitors had both over- and under-estimated. What I mean by over-estimated is that visitors expected to have the thirst to know what sustainability is, but the reality was that many rushed to the showcase just to obtain a stamp and left once they decided there wasn't anything catchy; secondly they were expected to read the texts on the billboards, on the LCD screens and the notices printed on A4 papers on the theme wall, yet these were hardly noticed. Moreover, Malmö Case under-estimated regular visitors as there was a demarcation of knowledge dissemination; as a staff I was made to know extra "gifts" (brochures, booklets, gifts) shall be given to those who expressed interest in the theme to some extent. If these extras meant more in-depth information on urban sustainability, then what was publicly displayed at the showcase was to be more of a general nature. Yet as I mentioned earlier, what sort of general information was there? Conceived messages of sustainable development were not grasped by regular visitors because they had never been made known explicitly, not even was the name of the showcase. Through my personal experience there were quite a few who tried to make an influence in promoting sustainable development in their everyday lives. Why couldn't urban sustainability be reframed in a more accessible and attractive way?

We cannot deny that urban sustainable development to a large extent is operated by governmental city planners, research centers and companies where policy-making is in cooperation with field expertise and know-how. In the official booklet *Malmö – making sustainability reality* (2008), there are such lines:

Together we're strong. This is what Class 5B at the Augustenborg School has found and what people in Malmö have come to realize. Sustainability is about co-operation. (p.8)

What is being illustrated is a game between children and parents. To further emphasize that team solidarity and determination are essential to foster sustainable

development – “[i]n Malmö city, co-operation has been a prerequisite for driving the work on change towards sustainability” (p.9). Striving for urban sustainability is not merely an issue involving experts and the government, but *everyone*—those *living* and *perceiving* the city. It is not only about planning and designing, but learning, participating, and understanding. The Shanghai Expo was not only about gaze, spectacles and grandeur, but dialogue and rooms for reflections. UBPA, despite being the smallest area, had its uniqueness and advantage in terms of knowledge concentration and its close relevance to the theme. Unlike national pavilions, waiting time was much shorter here, and queuing was not even necessary for some city-cases. The agglomerated cities strove to get attention. They wanted to display their uniqueness and have their urban experience appreciated and offer inspiration to those who were there. Along with five other cities which were already quite globally well-known, Malmö was a relatively new player being extraordinarily non-utilitarian and knowledge-oriented. Being knowledge-oriented, however, does not mean the utilization of tourism mediators should be overlooked. What is more, meaningful public involvement should also be taken into consideration. If we recall Malmö's “green” slogan, “Making sustainability reality”, the “reality” displayed seemed to be like a faraway unapproachable dream at Malmö Case. How could the “everyone” notion be re-worked into Malmö Case? Previously I mentioned how the long queues DIY stamping unexpectedly made the Case attract more attention, a space produced based on body flows. As an open-air showcase without fixed routes it proved difficult for Malmö Case to generate more attention with other ways besides a music instrument solo. Its landscape also made it vulnerable, disempowered in a manner that staff became inspectors to prevent the showcase from being abused. Could urban sustainability be experienced in attractive ways involving more reflections and dialogue between the Case and the regular Chinese visitors? Could Malmö Case become a site of “reality” instead of just merely presenting “reality”? If so, how could this “reality” be reconstructed, reproduced and delivered to the Chinese public?

In this chapter I discuss how Malmö Case was “perceived” and “lived” by regular visitors based on my selection and analysis of post-it notes gathered in July and my own survey interviews with certain visitors. Through the notes it appeared that besides the general appraisals towards the city, information at Malmö case reinforced

what they had already “known” about sustainable development, what is “wrong” and what is “right”, and much reflections were based on the situation in China—the place they were most familiar. Yet parts of Malmö’s sustainable values did collide with current values and practices in Chinese big cities which resulted in appreciation by the Chinese towards Swedish sustainability on the superficial level. On the other hand, the interviews showed that visitors’ understandings of the city were limited to some extent and staff members played an important role in bridging the showcase and the visitors, yet staff capacity was also limited. It proved problematic that the lack of mediators led to more distractions caused, focus de-highlighted, and the confusions affected the visitors’ experience at the Case. The gap between the “conceived” and the “lived” was so great that staff members constantly strove to be the broker between these two in order to minimize the difference, and maximize the value of the Case. More mediators as well as controlling and slowing down the flow may improve Malmö’s attractiveness, as well as to better shape visitors’ impressions and opinions.

There was much more appearing to be “unknown” to the visitors, which they were *expected* to know. Though Malmö Case perhaps was more aimed at being educational than the rest of the showcases in the building, its educational purpose was, to a large extent, limited and its lack of identifiable icons and elements (usually for tourism-purpose) failed to make it stand out among its counterparts. Malmö Case had its high reputation built upon in-depth interpersonal relationships with VIP visitors and its success was achieved also in a quite limited sense – that is, on the authoritative level. Was Malmö City targeting the VIPs only? From its own experience sustainability is something everyone shall be involved in learning and doing. While Malmö’s sustainable experience may be of great value to Chinese city planners and experts of relevant fields, why was it not made the same to the public? There are many things Malmö Case could have done to make an effort, besides *presenting* urban sustainability, to create more dialogue and interactions with the visitors. Based on these reflections, in the coming chapter I will formulate relevant suggestions on how Malmö city could re-construct its eco-brand to the Chinese general audience.

5. Re-constructing the “reality” of sustainability

Shanghai Expo demarcated its own space where experience was highly condensed and commodified through temporarily constructed showcases and pavilions with national/city brand symbols and icons designed to haunt one's senses in all aspects. Here knowledge was intertwined with leisure and pleasure. Different experiences were produced within highly conceived spaces. Each pavilion/showcase represented a world of its own with its own particular aura. Along with 35 other cities all over the world, Malmö was having its debut at the World Expo in China. The Expo theme was in perfect line with what Malmö has been gaining wide popularity for – urban sustainable development. Yet as I discussed earlier, the eco-brand was not effectively communicated to the regular visitors, a majority of whom were Chinese. It could be argued that Malmö Case as a space, failed to bring together the regular visitors and the brand through spatial construction. Therefore, I wish to discuss the possibility of how re-constructing the space could lead to a better expression and communication of urban sustainability.

It is notable to mention that Malmö Case was not unaware of its problems. At the end of July, almost a month after my internship begun, an informal brainstorming meeting was organized by the Expo manager involving me, the other volunteer (a high school student from Malmö) and two staff members. In the meeting everyone was encouraged to come up with ideas which could make the Case more fun and interactive. Eventually the meeting did not lead to any fruitful or constructive results; the staff seemed uninterested and indifferent. In my intern report it was determined that timing, manager-general staff relationships and showcase physique all contributed to the failure of the brainstorming meeting. There was an internal communicational breakdown among the staff members which largely hindered the feasibility of possible improvements. The demotivated attitudes among the staff were mostly the burned-out feelings from daily routine works. For the staff, Malmö Case represented an experiencescape dominated by exhaustion and apathy which affected their performance as the only key mediators. The same reminders and words were repeated over and over every day to the visitors, some staff members became tired of it and preferred to stay at the front desk for a longer time to avoid troubling situations.

The significance of the staff as mediators is that their tasks relied a great deal on neutralizing psychological and physical distractions of visitors as well as offering detailed information incorporating different contexts when selling the cultural product to visitors (Ooi 2005, p.65). As staff became demotivated and felt helpless as they were unable to control flows of people, visitors did not feel welcome at the showcase. There were no guided-tours and no one to tell them what the showcase was about and how they could interact, therefore there hardly were any impressions made.

The re-construction of Malmö's sustainable "reality" was reinforced into regular visitors' experience; the main point of departure was to treat Malmö Case with the notion of *space* and its production.

So far the concept of production is concerned, it does not become fully concrete or take on a true content until replies have been given to the questions that makes possible: "Who produces?", "What?", "How?", "Why and for whom?" Outside the context of these questions and their answers, the concept of production remains purely abstract. (Lefebvre 1991, p.69)

The previous chapters tried to answer part of the questions in the above statement and will be further expanded, re-explored along with the rest throughout this chapter. We have to re-think these firstly through the background of the Expo and the relationship between the hosts and visitors. We will inevitably compare these actors so as to position Malmö Case and the ways it could improve its brand communication with regular visitors through space and experience production.

At the Expo, the majority of visitors were ethnically Chinese coming from different provinces throughout China. Whether or not it was their first time in Shanghai, they were here to "see the world" in their own country. In this sense visiting the Expo and Shanghai became a form of tourist sight-seeing, visitors made their tours in a world of brands. Here we can see a double reversed host-guest relationship between the non-Chinese pavilions/showcases and its main visitors: the national/city representatives were guest-hosts and had to accommodate visitors who mainly came from the host country. This would imply the products these foreign participants were displaying needed certain degree of compliance to the Chinese context, while trying to retain their cultural uniqueness and express authenticity.

As Figure 1 shows, Malmö Case shared the same building with five other cities: Bilbao, Osaka, Geneva/Zurich/Basel, Paris and Prague. These are all cities which have established sound popularity worldwide as well as the “big” names most Chinese have already heard of. Not until recent years has Malmö been put on the map due to its achievements in sustainable development. As it was its first time to take part in the Expo independent from the national Swedish pavilion, it was clear that an effort had to be made if Malmö wanted to make a name and let itself be known. Yet my first impression coming to the Case, and those I interviewed expressed similar beliefs, was that Malmö Case was not that memorable. At the Expo the assumption of “experiences can be managed and packaged, so that tourists will only be offered exciting and memorable experiences” (Ooi 2005, p.51) was constantly reinforced and manifested. Oppositely, Malmö Case resembled an *art gallery*, where there was hardly any direction given to the visitors and instead they were given absolute power to shape their own experience. Art galleries are lived in the manner that we know: the art pieces are only to be appreciated with mostly our eyes rather than involving bodily movements. At the Expo, experiences generated encompassed all human sensory aspects; “seeing” was not the only thing a visitor could do, but touching, tasting, smelling, as well as screaming, laughing, jumping, running etc. It was all these aspects which made the Expo experience fun and rewarding. People found it worthwhile queuing for seven hours in front of Japan Pavilion just to ride the horse carriage and go skiing; queuing for entry into Liverpool Case to make a real goal-shoot; or for Taipei Case to simulate taking the elevator to the 101st floor. Running Malmö Case in the form of an art gallery was counteracting the “nature” of the Expo and was disadvantageous for the city as a new player whose “foundation” has not yet been laid. Though being non tourism-oriented, what could be counted as general tourist information was, I believe, the first step of laying such “foundation”—a window through which the public was introduced to the existence of Malmö as well as a bridge to its urban sustainability profile.

Better Communication, better Malmö Case

To further develop the “foundation” model, Ooi’s attention management theories on tourism experience management are of great help. Previously I mentioned the

“mediators” as being possibilities for improvements. Four arenas are concerned when it comes to the designation of tourism mediators and attention competition:

- Cultural products;
- Social cultural contexts;
- Physical environment;
- Preconceptions

(Ooi 2005, p.58)

To begin with preconceptions, it is the aim of the “foundation” to establish the preconceived images of Malmö with which the Chinese visitors could easily associate. I usually began my guided-tour by asking the visitor if they knew something about Sweden. Most of them frankly said they knew almost nothing about it. There were a number who mistakenly confused Sweden for Switzerland. Besides merely showing where on the map Sweden and Malmö is, it was also important to highlight Sweden and what the country is famous for. That is, stereotyped national icons and symbols must be adopted. When I mentioned the giant global chains and brands such as Ikea, Volvo and H&M, and even the Vikings, visitors began to nod and showed more interest in listening. Following this, an introduction on Malmö took place. It would be more ideal if these symbols, icons, along with facts and figures could be visualized in advance. They all helped to craft the preconceived image of Sweden and Malmö to make a good and concise introduction and to signify those who enter where they have come. Advertising is never enough.

Mediating strategies like visualization could also be applied in the arena of cultural products that are most theme-relevant. What could be considered as a variant of this is objectification. Malmö was trying to stress energy-saving and renewable energy as important issues within sustainable development. Then why not show visitors the actual materials involved in the energy renewal process? What is being recycled at the recycling station? Plastic bottles, soda cans, milk cartons, glass bottles, newspapers and magazines could be found anywhere. These are the most mundane examples of waste management and are encountered by every person and household every day throughout the world. These bits and pieces of garbage could have been transformed into aesthetically appealing art which not only would have added color to the Case but would strengthen the message of recycling.

To create a more lively space, the objectification of Malmö's citizens could also be considered. In my previous group project *The Taste of Malmö*, the analysis and outcomes were based on our interviews with locals. In the project deliverables, selected quotes from informants were blended with the cultural-mapping method and in its completion the project was well-received. I suggest that Malmö residents should not necessarily live in the films and the photo slide-shows in small sizes, but should rather “come out” with what they think and say. This was inspired by my visit at the nearby Osaka Case (see Figure 23). These locals could be a school teacher, a child, a family, a driver... so on and so forth. In addition to the enlarged standing images, dialogue bubbles could be designated with expressions containing keywords reflecting sustainable lifestyles in Västra Hamnen or in Malmö. The people objects, though not real humans with flesh, would be *from* Malmö, and they may serve well as projections for Malmö's local life in different facets as well as “guides” for the showcase. Most visitors were very excited and delighted when they saw staff members of foreign origin of that particular showcase, and it was not uncommon to see that many showed initiative to take photographs with them; it was a significant part of experiencing the exoticness of the Expo.

Slogans are also common strategies in advertising. But there were hardly any slogans at Malmö Case. “Making Sustainability Reality” is the slogan Malmö city used. It was shown, as mentioned before, on the pillar and the external wall, yet these were awkward spots which visitors tended to ignore. The slogan on the pillar was only in English and was the only text with the absence of the name Malmö. What needed to be taken into account is the fact that there is a considerable amount of Chinese population whose English proficiency is limited. The Chinese texts at Malmö Case seemed to be mere translations of the English version and were plain descriptions and presentations of scientific facts relating to a certain field that viewers from non-professional background may find uninteresting and hard to relate (see Figure 25 and Figure 26). The advantage of slogans is that they are able to mediate visitor experience cognitively through literal expressions. While I was at the front desk supervising visitors making their own stamp and simultaneously distributing handouts, there were people who appeared skeptical and questioned: “we have to make the stamp on our own?”. I replied, “Yeah, do it yourselves, and you will have ample food

and clothing”²³, then there came laughter and agreements from the crowd and tension was resolved as they realized the value and fun of DIY stamping. Slogans in a particular context could be appropriated in more comprehensible and interesting ways. Buzzwords could be nicely blended into slogans on subjects such as Västra Hamnen, the Bo01 community, the city of Malmö, the monthly sub-themes and the campaigns. Urban sustainability is such a vague concept that it could be de-constructed and concretized with buzzwords and slogans; to name a few, “do you want to know how a zero carbon emission residential community work?”, “bikes – pride of Malmö”, “sustainable development saved Malmö’s life, together we’re strong!”.

The arena of *social cultural context* in which the product is embedded was underdeveloped at Malmö Case. Not only should it be reflected in formulating pre-conceptions on Sweden and Malmö, but also the cultural product itself. What is the relationship between Malmö and China? Has any communication and/or cooperation taken place so far? The answer is affirmative. Malmö has established a sisterhood relationship with Tangshan, an old northern industrial city 150km from Beijing, since the late 1980s. The two cities have collaborated on a sustainable development project named *Tang Ma: Training for future urban growth*. This project would be a good example as part of a permanent exhibition, increasing visitors’ general knowledge of the city once again by relating it to something they are familiar with. It would make Malmö less “a distant city”, by knowing that their country has been having contact with it. In addition to this, the act could possibly lead to more reflections, which I will elaborate in the following section.



Figure 24 – The geishas at Osaka Case.

Better interactions, better Malmö Case

Designations and adoptions of tourism mediators are crucial in order to manage visitors' attentions by minimizing distractions caused by the physical environment where essence is highlighted and signified. During my internship I witnessed so many young people and children who could not help but to *experience* the showcase with their body. They eagerly jumped onto the Parascope, rushed to the bike, touched the city model with excitement and curiosity (though they would be stopped and warned once seen by staff). From them I could see the strong desire to interact. Hence, the aspect of *interactivity* cannot be ignored. The mediators could also help to bring dynamism into the products involving interactions. The electricity-generating bike, the Parascope and the post-it note writing were the activities offering possible interactions during my internship period, yet most visitors hardly understood the message behind these activities. Theme-relevant connotations are important elements to be incorporated into interactivity and should be made known to those who participate in the activities. Three aspects are worth consideration in planning activities on sustainable development: *learning by doing*, *reflections* and *dialogue*.

Learning by doing

The value of the electricity-generating bike could be more emphasized if people were made known that they were not simply riding it to get their cell-phone recharged but to understand the importance of energy and the concept of energy-saving. The act of riding the bike could also have been made more interesting, for instance, if it had been in the form of a *competition*: which ever played generated the most amount of electricity within a limited time would win. Another similar idea is that the visualizing green symbols and icons described previously could also be made into waste sorting games or competition.

Deeper knowledge on the theme could be obtained through *quizzes*. Visitors would be more willing to learn more about Malmö and sustainable development if challenges with rewards were offered. Relevant questions could be designated in a way that the answers lay within the entire showcase: in films, in the city model, the Parascope, on the theme walls and so on. This also would add more fun and excitement to visitors as being “explorers” would become an unforgettable moment of their Expo experience.

Reflections & Dialogues

Earlier I discussed the importance of context when staging cultural products which increase visitors' understanding. The post-it notes campaign in July had the attempt to let visitors reflect on urban sustainability and most comments concerned the situation in China. Following Ooi's attention management model within the context arena (p.65), since a part of sustainable development discourse has been based on creating solidarity, cooperation and attitude change involving all parties in society, could reflections be framed in a way that visitors were encouraged to think about their own role in their country and the place they reside? They could reflect on such questions as: in what ways their hometowns are climate-smart and in what ways they are not? How could one make an effort individually and collectively to lead their hometown in becoming more sustainable, and how could one be more climate-smart in various life scenarios, at home, at school, at work, and in trips?

These interactive activities not only hold the attention of visitors, but also represent a more “edutaining” way of theme products through the creation of various “moments”

in which visitors get to experience and learn urban sustainability by doing, reflecting and establishing their own dialogue. These activities create a “bond” between visitors and the showcase, at least in a more genuine sense. The showcase would no longer be a passive “object” to be approached by visitors and mediated by staff members, but the entire showcase would be more lively and engaging. Information would not be merely presented, but could possibly be made to push beyond the facts themselves and physically engage people and inspire them to think. In this way the value of the theme would be maximized through visitors’ experience and interactions. The spread of knowledge, in this sense, would not be a one-way process but a two-way. Not only was Malmö city doing sustainability, but the ones who came, were inspired and took part in the activities could also be seen as doing sustainability. This *co-creation* of experience between the public and Malmö Case would thus increase the value of Malmö’s city brand in a more inclusive manner. Co-creation, as Prahlad & Ramaswamy (2004) explain, is the shift from the “firm-centric” view—that the firm is no longer in charge of the overall orchestration of the experience—instead it creates an experience environment in which consumers can have active dialogue and co-construct personalized experiences. With such co-creation, the “reality” of Malmö’s urban sustainability would be reproduced and appropriated; Malmö’s experience is the brand, which would be communicated through public involvement.



Figure 25 – One side of the theme wall in August, staging Swedish energy company E.On.

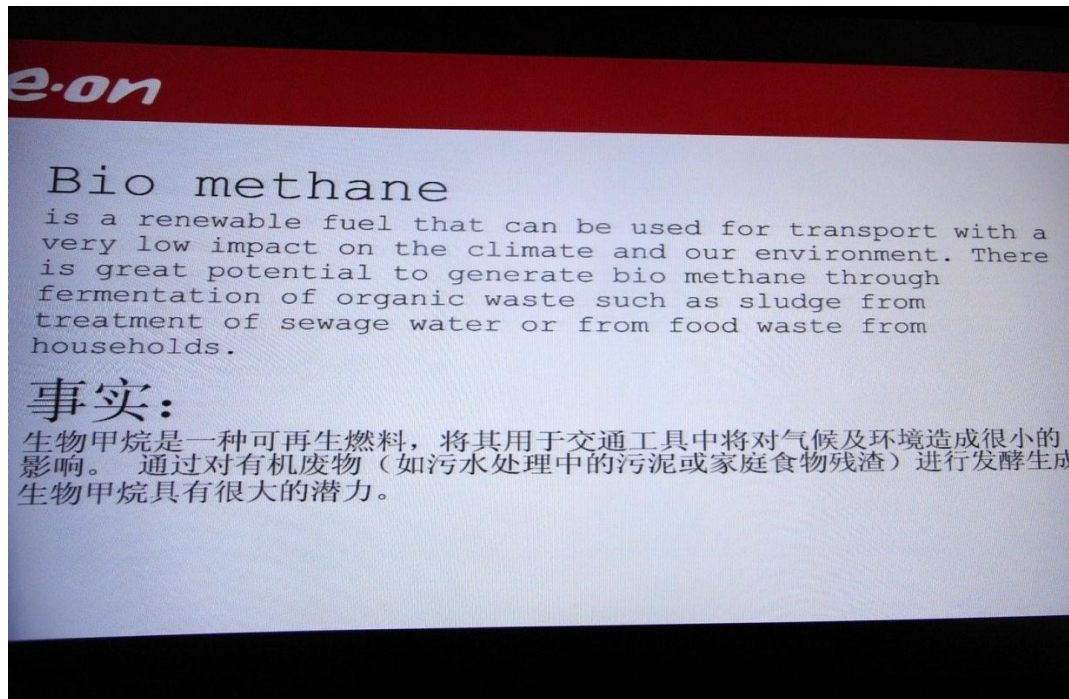


Figure 26 – Presentation on the LCD screen.

This chapter discussed possibilities for Malmö's eco-brand to be reframed towards the Chinese public. The framework of discussion was formulated through Lefebvre's perspectives, that the Expo and the relationship between host and visitors was examined and my suggestions were made with reference to Ooi's attention management. It is essential for Malmö Case to have diverse forms of mediators based on the following aspects: the establishment of preconceptions, visualizations and objectifications, slogans and interactivity. The issue of context is very crucial when developing these mechanisms. Secondly, room for reflection and dialogue should also be provided. The significance of these is that they aim to lead knowledge exchange between the showcase and visitors instead of being a one-way process. Urban sustainability could be done through visitors' own (mediated) bodily experience and could offer a novel way for Malmö's eco-brand to be communicated.

6. Conclusion

In this thesis I sought to understand Malmö's urban sustainability as its brand image and the ways it was communicated and perceived by regular Chinese visitors at the Shanghai Expo, based on my participation as an intern at Malmö Case for 1.5 months. Due to the *ad hoc* nature of the Expo, I found experience and space to be essential components to understanding the topic, and therefore the *experiencescape* concept and *trialectics of place* are most pertinent tools for its discussions and analysis. I deconstructed Malmö Case by looking at how the Malmö brand (urban sustainability) was culturally framed and how it was perceived by Chinese visitors. I then identified the gaps that emerged between the conceived and lived aspects. Malmö Case received quite opposite reputations among VIP and regular visitors. Such contrast revealed the fact that the members of the staff were the only mediators bridging the visitors and the showcase in nearly all aspects. The work was burdensome and the staff was emotionally burned-out. As tourism mediators were to a large extent, underdeveloped, causing unnecessary confusion and distraction which significantly affected Malmö's brand and the effectiveness of its theme being delivered to regular visitors, which consequently shaped their Expo experience. Therefore, what could be suggested to Malmö in order to gain exposure in the international city competition in China is to establish a firm grounding, telling people where Sweden and where Malmö is and utilizing tourism mediators. I argue that Malmö's urban sustainability could be made as meaningful to regular visitors as to VIPs, in non-conventional, more "edutaining" ways. It is not only crucial to have a firm grounding but also to express the *spirit* of being sustainable, representing the *aura* of its own. To achieve this, not only what is "local" has to be taken into account, but the political, social and cultural context. The majority of the target audience should also be regarded as important references as appropriations have to be made so as to lead to more successful communication.

Cultural analysis offers perspectives in bridging the brand owner and its consumers by studying the process of brand communication through interactions with consumers in order to identify what they *really* want and their opinions on brand products and eventually offer possibilities for improvement. In the case of the Shanghai Expo, my main concern lies within how urban sustainability could be re-framed and better

understood by visitors. With my experience as a staff member working at the showcase, from facing thousands of visitors each day to handling trivialities, I attempt to *translate* regular visitors' experiences to suggestions for improvements of brand communication. Compared to conventional statistical quantitative surveys, my qualitative interviews enabled me to have more impersonal interactions with informants from whom I learned their thoughts on the showcase while participant observation made it possible for me to shuttle between the "lived", "conceived" and "perceived". Theoretical conceptualizations and applications of experiencescapes and spatial trialectics contributed in revealing and analyzing the communicational breakdown of Malmö's eco-branding to the general public through spatial lenses – concerning space production, perspectives from its creators, users and bodily experience. Furthermore, my internship made me realize two things: first, the importance of visitor experience and its close relationship with brand image, the two go hand in hand and mutually reinforce each other; second, the importance of internal and external communication.

To a certain degree, it is necessary for Malmö to comply with the Chinese context, while at the same time retain its exoticness. From an outsider's perspective, this thesis offers possibilities on Malmö branding its greenness to the Chinese public. I recommend more *human* aspects to be taken into account when designating tourism mediators in terms of optimizing human senses and interactivity, based on co-creation of experience and value between visitors and the organizer. In this sense, urban sustainability is not only happening in Malmö, but being brought to China and experienced by the Chinese, packaged through certain particular "moments". Malmö's urban sustainable "reality" will thus be heightened to a less superficial level.

There have been quite a few academic discussions on Malmö's sustainable development within the context of Sweden from different disciplines, however very few of them embark on cross-cultural contexts. As Malmö is gaining wider popularity and attention internationally, the ambition will become larger as the city continues to develop and grow. It perhaps can be foreseen that Malmö will have more international exposure in the future, not only from the authorities but from the public as well. This thesis intended to shed light on Malmö's debut to the masses in China and serves as a

dedication of applying cultural analysis to the city's eco-branding, which, for many reasons I was not able to achieve during my internship but was instead reflected and expanded in this research.

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Appendix

Malmö's counterparts in the joint case pavilion



Figure 27 – Prague Case. Source: the Internet



Figure 28 – Swiss Basel/Geneva/Zurich Case. Source: the Internet

Figure 29 – Osaka Case. Source: the Internet

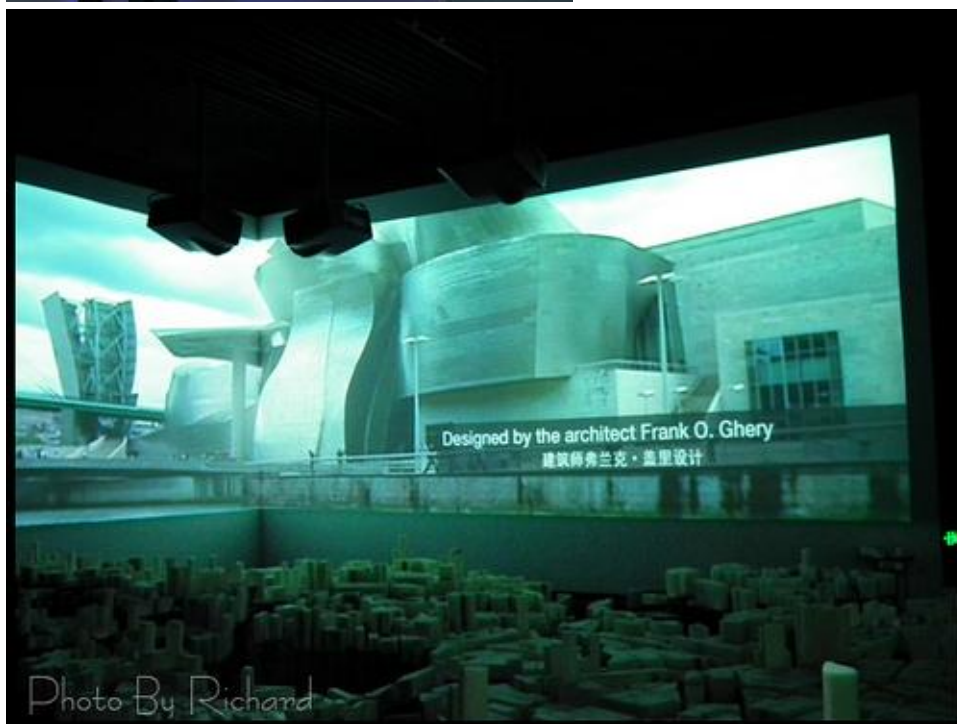


Figure 30 – Bilbao Case, staging Guggenheim Museum. Source: the Internet

Notes

¹ In the late 80s the city had a loss of 30,000 jobs in 3 years' time. Source: Internal powerpoint slide in "Urban everyday travel in Malmö/Sweden" by Malmö city, Shanghai Expo 2010.

² <http://www.foundationexpo88.org/expofaqs.html>

³ <http://www.expo2010.cn>

⁴ Among other city showcases, usually with a planned-route and tour-guided, that a limited number of visitors were allowed to enter at a time and queuing was necessary. At Osaka Case, after passing a short tunnel digitally projected with sakura scenes, visitors were guided through walking on a bridge with flowing water and at a certain point we were informed sakura scents were being released by the time the guide read a traditional Japanese poem (although I did not smell anything in particular). Then we entered into the next room where a short film-clip on the city's history was shown on four sides of the walls above us with another guide speaking. At Taipei Case, interactive elements were incorporated onto large LCD screens, where small photo thumbnails of citizens could be zoomed in by a finger touch and visitors would see their words on attitudes towards the city. Maps and other sightseeing information were also incorporated. Liverpool Case emphasized much on their soccer culture and visitors had the opportunity to make real goal shooting at the showcase. Chapter 2 illustrates more detailed introduction on the showcase.

⁵ <http://www.malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Om-oss/Statistik-om-Malmo.html>, retrieved 2011/01/19

⁶ http://www.malmo.com/thecity/history/1601_1900.asp?Menu=City, <http://www.ne.se/kockums-ab>, retrieved 2011/02/22

⁷ <http://www.southernswedenexpo.cn/what-we-offer/sustainability-and-clean-technology/vision-vital>, retrieved 2010/01/20

⁸ http://magnusonmedia.net/malmo_tidning/en/, retrieved 2011/02/22

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm#I>, retrieved 2011/02/22

¹¹ <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-01.htm>, retrieved 2011/02/22

¹² To Giddens, what demarcates "external" and "manufactured" risks is the *known* and *unknown*. External risks, as it literally implies, comes from the outside, "from the fixities of tradition or nature", such as disasters from nature, floods, bad harvests, famine, etc, phenomena which are already known by human beings; on the other hand, manufactured risks are "risk situations which we have very little historical experience of confronting" – i.e. dealing with the unknown (2002, p.26). With the advancement of human civilization, what also has been developing is human being's agency on natural environment. Nowadays we concern less on what those natural disasters could do to us, but more on what we have *done* to the nature – what the causes are, and what impacts it will have on our future, which at most cases remain uncertain and much disputed among researchers and scientists.

¹³ By the time it ended on October 31, 2010, Shanghai Expo has received a total of 73 million visitors and held 22,900 events, with nearly 80,000 volunteers participated, making it the largest Expo ever.

¹⁴ John Hannigan (1998) defines edutainment as "the joining together of educational and cultural activities with the commerce and technology of the entertainment world"

(p.98).

¹⁵ Malmö Case had different sub-themes (sustainability in fields such as education, daily transportation, energy and etc.) each month, hosted by corporate partners from Sweden. More information in Chapter 2.

¹⁶ <http://www.expo2010.cn/czsw/czsjscz/indexn.htm>, retrieved 2011/03/29

Unfortunately, the site is no longer available. I have to access it through Google cache and not all previous contents are available.

¹⁸

<http://www.southernswedenexpo.cn/zh-hans/meet-us-at-the-expo/malmo-urban-best-practice-area>, retrieved 2011/03/31 through Google cache

¹⁹

<http://www.southernswedenexpo.cn/meet-us-at-the-expo/malmo-urban-best-practice-area/ehibition>, retrieved 2010/11/05

²⁰ Official Expo passports were issued for visitors to collect pavilion stamps.

²¹ Title of handouts given to visitors during July.

²² In order to prevent visitors writing irrelevant things, supervision was imposed before staffs could hand out the gift.

²³ “自己動手，豐衣足食！”. It was a slogan expressed by Mao Zedong (aka Chairman Mao) in 1939, two years after the Second Sino-Japanese War started. The slogan was the strategy the Chinese Communist Party adopted to encourage production in order to be self-sufficient and overcome the nation-wide economic crisis. Even after the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949 the slogan was still commonly used in popular mobilization by local governments to combat economic recession.